



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

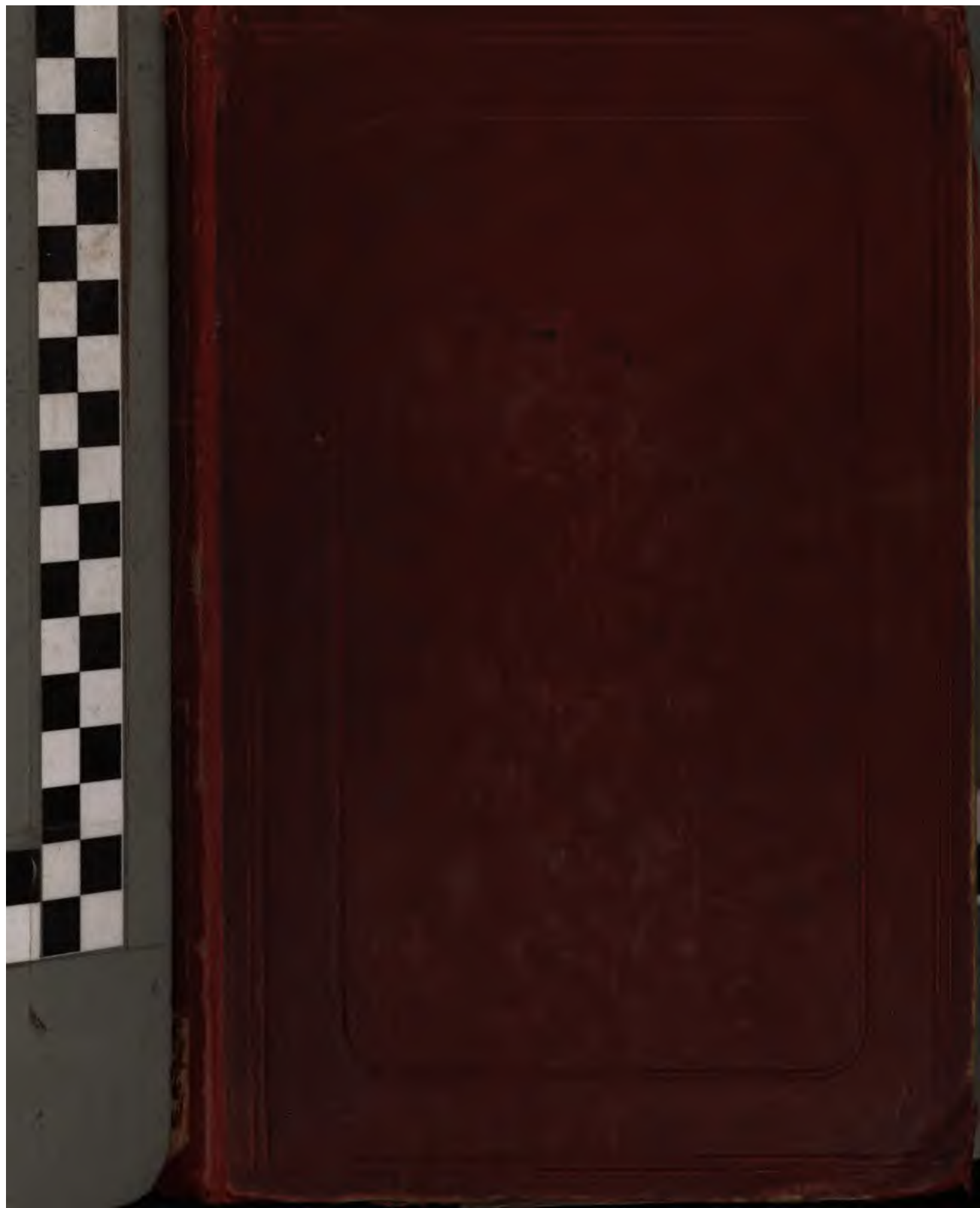
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

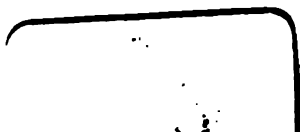
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





600027928Y

210 e 243.



WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES: INCLUDING A HANDBOOK OF LIBRARY ECONOMY. 2 vols. 8vo. [Pp. xxviii. 842; xxxviii. 1104. With 8 steel plates; 36 woodcuts; 16 lithographic plates; and 4 illustrations in chromo-lithography.] 48s.

LIBRARIES, AND FOUNDERS OF LIBRARIES. 8vo. [Pp. xx. 508.] 16s.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF SCHEMES WHICH HAVE BEEN PROPOSED FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE. Fol. 5s.

SYNOPTICAL TABLES OF THE RECORDS OF THE REALM. WITH AN HISTORICAL PREFACE. Fol. 9s.

CHAPTERS OF THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY, &c. 8vo. [Pp. 176.] 5s.

LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA; COMPRISING A CHRONICLE OF THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SAXONS TO Cnut; AND A CHARTULARY; A.D. 455-1023. Edited by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE LETTERS OF RALEGH.



Good Lord Is return for the families
If it may be

THE LIFE
OF
SIR WALTER RALEGH.

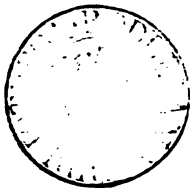
BASED ON CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS
PRESERVED IN THE ROLLS HOUSE, THE PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE,
HATFIELD HOUSE, THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
AND OTHER
MANUSCRIPT REPOSITORIES, BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

TOGETHER WITH HIS LETTERS:

NOW FIRST COLLECTED.

BY

EDWARD EDWARDS.



VOL. II. LETTERS

MACMILLAN AND CO.
1868.

210. e. 243.

[The Right of Translation and Reproduction is reserved by the Author.]

LONDON:
R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL.

TO THE MOST NOBLE
ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOYNE-CECIL,
MARQUESS OF SALISBURY,

ETC. ETC. ETC.

THIS FIRST COLLECTIVE EDITION OF THE
LETTERS OF RALEGH,

DERIVED IN LARGE MEASURE FROM THE RICH COLLECTION OF
MSS. AT HATFIELD,

IS, BY PERMISSION,

gratefully inscribed

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

EDWARD EDWARDS.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

INTRODUCTION TO THE <i>LETTERS OF RALEGH</i>	PAGE xxxix
--------------------------------------------------------	---------------

LETTERS OF SIR WALTER RALEGH :—

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS I.-V.— <i>RALEGH'S MILITARY SERVICE IN IRELAND</i>	I
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

I.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

1580-81. Feb. 22. <i>From Cork</i> . Detention at the Isle of Wight.—Arrival in Ireland.—Pay and Rations of his Company	7
From the Original. <i>Irish Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 73 (Rolls House).	

II.—TO SECRETARY SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

1580-81. Feb. 23. <i>From Cork</i> . Proceedings of some covert Fosterers of the Rebellion.—His Escape from an Ambush in Barry's Country.—Character of the Soldiery in Munster	9
From the Original. <i>Irish Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 74 (Rolls House).	

III.—TO THE SAME.

[1580-81.] Feb. 25. <i>From Cork</i> . Causes of the Delay in the Seizure of Barry's Court.—Mismanagement of the War in Munster, by the Earl of Ormond; and Contrast offered thereby to the Government of Sir H. Gilbert	11
From the Original. <i>Irish Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 82 (Rolls House).	

IV.—TO ARTHUR, LORD GREY OF WILTON, LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND.

1581. May 1. <i>From Cork</i> . State of the Army in Munster.—Intrigues of the Rebels.—Fortification of Barry's Court and 'the Island'	14
From an official and annotated Copy, sent by the Deputy to Sir F. Walsingham. <i>Irish Correspondence</i> : vol. lxxxiii. § 16 [1] (Rolls House).	

	PAGE	
V.—TO ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.		
[1581.] Aug. 25. <i>From Lismore.</i> Professions of Attachment.—Dissatisfaction with the Irish Service.—Recommendation of John Fitz-Edmonds of Cloyne	17	
From the Original. MS. Harl. 6933, fol. 5 (British Museum).		
VI.—TO SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.		
1582–83. March 17. <i>From the Court at Richmond.</i> With a Token from the Queen, and good Wishes for Sir Humphrey's Voyage	19	
From a Transcript made for Dr. Thomas Birch from the Original, then in the possession of Major Pomeroy Gilbert, of Plymouth. MS. Addit. 4231, fol. 85 (British Museum).		
VII.—TO THOMAS EGERTON, SOLICITOR-GENERAL.		
1583. April 10. <i>From the Court.</i> The Queen's Grant of the Leases of Stolney and Newland, and Raleigh's Assignment of them	20	
As printed from the Original, in the Collection of the Earl of Ellesmere, by Mr. J. Payne Collier. <i>Egerton Papers</i> , p. 94 (Camden Society's Series).		
VIII.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.		
1583. May 12. <i>From the Court at Greenwich.</i> Intercession with the Queen, at Burghley's Request, on behalf of the Earl of Oxford	21	
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth.</i> Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House).		
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS IX. XI. XII. AND XVIII.— <i>RALEIGH'S GRANT FOR THE LICENSING OF VINTNERS THROUGHOUT ENGLAND</i>		23
IX.—TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.		
1584. July 9. <i>From the Court.</i> On the Licensing of Vintners in Cambridge .	24	
From the Original. (University Registry, Cambridge .) [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 340.]		
. For the corrected text of this Letter see <i>Vol. II., Introduction</i> .		
X.—TO MR. RICHARD DUKE, OF OTTERTON, IN DEVONSHIRE.		
1584. July 26. <i>From the Court.</i> Proposal for the Purchase of Hayes Manor House	26	
As transcribed from the Original by John Aubrey. MS. Aubrey iv. fol. 47 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).		
XI.—TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.		
1584–85. Feb. 10. <i>From the Court at Somerset House.</i> On the Licensing of Vintners in Cambridge	27	
From the Original. (University Registry, Cambridge .) [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 341.]		
. For the corrected text of this Letter see <i>Vol. II., Introduction</i> .		

	PAGE
XII.—TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.	
584-85. On the Licensing of Vintners in Cambridge	28
From the Original. (University Registry, Cambridge.) [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 342.]	
. For the corrected text of this Letter see <i>Vol. II., Introduction.</i>	
XIII. — SIR W. RALEGH AND SIR T. HENEAGE TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.	
585. May 7. With a Report of an Inquiry respecting the Ransom of certain Captives in Barbary	29
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. clxxviii. § 78 (Rolls House).	
INCLOSURE IN LETTER XIII.	
Report on the Case of Thomas Powell and Peter Williams, taken Captives in Barbary, 1581	31
XIV.—TO ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.	
586. March 29. <i>From the Court.</i> The Sending of Pioneers to the Nether- lands	33
From the Original. MS. Harl. 6994, fol. 2 (British Museum).	
XV.—TO SIR JOHN GILBERT.	
586. May 29. <i>From the Court.</i> On the Victualling of Ships at Plymouth .	34
From the Original. MS. Sloane, 1519, fol. 137 (British Museum).	
XVI.—TO ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.	
587.] Oct. 8. <i>From Windsor.</i> Announcement of the Visit of Sir Francis Drake to the Netherlands	35
From the Original. MS. Tanner, lxxix. fol. 117, formerly marked 175 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).	
[See facsimile.]	
XVII.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.	
587. Dec. 20. <i>From Exeter.</i> Defence of the Country; Proposals for the Levies in Devon and Cornwall	36
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. ccvii. § 40 (Rolls House).	
INCLOSURE IN LETTER XVII.	
Account of the Chardg of trayning of 2,000 Foot and 200 Hors in Devon and Cornwall, for 16 Dayes	38
XVIII.—TO SIR THOMAS EGERTON, AFTERWARDS VISCOUNT BRACKLEY AND LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.	
87-88. March 8. Renewal of his Patent for granting Wine Licences throughout England	40
As communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, March 2, 1854, by Mr. J. Payne Collier. From the Original, in the Library of the Earl of Ellesmere (Bridgewater House).	

	PAGE
XIX.—TO SIR GEORGE CAREW (AFTERWARDS EARL OF TOTNES).	
[1589.] Dec. 27. [<i>From London?</i>] Cause of his recent Absence from the Court.—Proceedings of the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam.—Lawsuits about Lismore	41
From the Original. <i>Carew Papers</i> , MS. Tenison, dcv. fol. 140 (Lambeth Palace).	
XX.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.	
[1591.] Oct. 16. <i>From Durham House</i> . On the Value of certain Prizes captured by the Ships of John Watts and others, and on the Partition of Profits	43
From the Original. MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxix. fol. 60, verso (British Museum).	
XXI.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
[1591-92.] March 10. <i>From Chatham</i> . Preparations for an Expedition against the Spanish Fleet. Allusions to Rumours about his Marriage . .	44
As printed by Murdin, from the Original in the <i>Cecil Papers</i> at Hatfield .	
NOTE ON RALEGH AND FROBISHER	45
XXII.—TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM.	
[1592.] June 8. <i>From Durham House</i> . Answer to the Complaint of some Merchants of Middleburgh in relation to the Treatment of certain Flemish Ships	46
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. ccxlii. § 48 (Rolls House).	
XXIII.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
[1592. July. <i>From the Tower</i> .] Dealings of the Lord Deputy with Sir Walter's Tenants in Munster	48
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxi. ff. 58, 59 (Hatfield).	
XXIV.—TO THE SAME.	
1592. July. <i>From the Tower</i> .] Rebellion in Ireland.—Proceedings of the Lord Deputy in relation to the Raleigh Lands in Munster	50
As printed by Murdin, from the Original in the <i>Cecil Papers</i> at Hatfield .	
XXV.—TO THE SAME.	
[1592. July. <i>From the Tower</i> .] Routine Duties, as Captain of the Guard.—Passionate Regrets for the Loss of the Queen's Favour	51
As printed by Murdin, from the Original in the <i>Cecil Papers</i> at Hatfield .	
XXVI.—TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM.	
1592. August? <i>From the Tower</i> .] Affairs of the Navy.—Thanks for Lord Howard's Interposition with the Queen'.	52
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. ccxlii. § 131 (Rolls House).	

	PAGE
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XXVII.— <i>CAPTURE OF A SHIP OF BAYONNE</i>	55
XXVII.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHEY AND THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL HOWARD.	
1592. August 27. On the Capture of a Ship of Bayonne by one of Raleigh's Captains, John Floyer	56
From the Original. <i>Burghley Papers</i> , in MS. Lansdowne, cv. fol. 173 (British Museum).	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII.—XXXIV.— <i>THE PRIVATEERING EXPEDITION OF 1592, AND THE CAPTURE OF THE SPANISH CARRACK, 'MADRE DE DIOS,' BY RALEGH'S SHIP, 'THE ROEBUCK'</i>	59
XXVIII.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHEY.	
[1592.] September (on or before September 15?). <i>From the Tower</i> . Partition of the Spoils of the ' <i>Madre de Dios</i> '.	67
As printed by Strype (<i>Annals</i> , iv. 18c), from his own transcript of the Original; with some corrections.	
XXIX.—TO THE SAME.	
[1592. Sept. 16. <i>On the Road to Dartmouth</i> .] Same Subject	69
As printed by Strype (<i>Annals</i> , iv. 182, as above.	
XXX.—TO THE SAME.	
[1592. Sept. 17.] <i>From Hartlebury</i> . Same Subject	70
As printed by Strype (<i>Annals</i> , iv. 178), as above.	
XXXI.—TO THE SAME.	
[1592. Sept. 21. <i>From Dartmouth</i> .] Same Subject	71
As printed by Strype (<i>Annals</i> , iv. 177, as above.	
XXXII.—SIR ROBERT CECIL, SIR WALTER RALEGH, AND OTHERS, COMMISSIONERS OF INQUIRY AT DARTMOUTH, TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHEY AND THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.	
1592. Sept. 27. Joint Letter. Same Subject	73
From the Original. MS. Lansdowne, lxx. fol. 93 (British Museum).	
XXXIII.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHEY AND OTHERS.	
1592. Dec. 13. <i>From Durham House</i> . Proceedings pending in the Court of Admiralty respecting the Ship ' <i>Uggera Salvagnia</i> '.	75
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth, vol. ccxliii. § 89 (Rolls House).	

	PAGE
XXXIV.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.	
1592. December. Recapitulatory Statement of the Charges of the Expedition of 1592, and of the proposed Partition of Prize Money	76
From the Original. <i>Burghley Papers</i> , in MS. Lansdowne, lxx. § 94 (British Museum).	
XXXV.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
[1593.] May 10. <i>From Sherborne</i> . Progress of the War in Ireland.—Aims of the King of Spain	78
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxii. fol. 93 (Hatfield).	
XXXVI.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.	
1593. June 15. <i>From Durham House</i> . Enterprize of preparing and exporting Pipe-staves from Munster	81
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxii. fol. 100 (Hatfield).	
XXXVII.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1593. Aug. 15. <i>From Sherborne</i> . On behalf of one Kelly, a Merchant of Dartmouth	83
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxiii. fol. 31 (Hatfield).	
XXXVIII.—TO THE SAME.	
1593. Aug. 27. <i>From Gillingham Forest</i> . Enterprize of preparing and exporting Pipe-staves from Munster.—The Falconry at Gillingham	84
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxiii. fol. 41 (Hatfield).	
XXXIX.—TO THE SAME.	
1593. Oct. 8. <i>From Weymouth</i> . In favour of the Bearer, John Wollridge, who had a Matter pending in the Court of Wards.—News of Rimonde	85
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxiii. fol. 77 (Hatfield).	
XL.—TO THE SAME.	
1593-94. Feb. 25. <i>From Sherborne</i> . In favour of Henry Thynne, whose Proceedings at Sea had been complained of by the French	86
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxii. fol. 49 (Hatfield).	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XLI.— <i>THE BARRY'S OF BARRY'S COURT, AFTERWARDS EARLS OF BARRYMORE</i>	
	88
XLI.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1593-94. March 4. <i>From Dorchester</i> . Affairs of Ireland. — Recommendation of Lord Barry; and Assertion that Florence MacCarty is not sincerely reconciled to the English Rule	89
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxii. fol. 52 (Hatfield).	
XLII.—TO THE SAME.	
1594. April 14. <i>From Sherborne</i> . Capture of a Jesuit in the House of Lady Stourton	91
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxvi. fol. 25 (Hatfield).	

Contents.

XV

	PAGE
XLIII.—TO THE LORD KEEPER, THOMAS EGERTON (AFTERWARDS VISCOUNT BRACKLEY).	
1594. May 2. Proposal for the Removal of a Cause, <i>Deunshire v. Stevens</i> , from the Star Chamber to the Stannary Court	92
From the Original. MS. Harl. 6696, fol. 132 (British Museum).	
XLIV.—TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL HOWARD.	
1594. June 21. <i>From Sherborne</i> . News of the Spanish Fleet.—Desire to serve under the Admiral against Spain, "as a poore mariner or soldier"	93
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxvii. fol. 8 (Hatfield).	
XLV.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1594. July 20. <i>From Sherborne</i> . News of the Spanish Fleet.—Despatch of Cornish Miners for Ireland.—Intended Expedition to Brittany	95
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxvii. fol. 46 (Hatfield).	
XLVI.—TO THE SAME.	
1594. Aug. 25. <i>From the Coast</i> . Private Affairs.—Dealings of the Dean and Chapter of Sarum with John Fitz-James	96
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxvii. ff. 101, 102 (Hatfield).	
XLVII.—TO THE SAME.	
1594. Sept. 20. [<i>From the Coast</i> .] Preparations for the Guiana Voyage.— The Plague at Sherborne	100
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxviii. fol. 40 (Hatfield).	
XLVIII.—TO THE SAME.	
1594? September? <i>Written at Sea</i> . Delays of an Expedition by stormy Weather	101
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lviii. fol. 52 (Hatfield).	
XLIX.—TO THE SAME.	
1594. Dec. 21. Loss of a Letter which had fallen into the Hands of the Earl of Essex.—Lawsuits	102
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxix. fol. 44 (Hatfield).	
L.—TO THE SAME.	
1594. Dec. 26. <i>From Sherborne</i> . In favour of a Page who desires to serve Cecil.—Delay of Guiana Expedition by contrary Winds	103
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxix. fol. 53 (Hatfield).	
LI.—TO THE SAME.	
1594. Dec. <i>From Alresford</i> . Private Affairs.—Lawsuit with Mrs. Smith.— Proposal for a Restraint of Shipping	104
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxix. fol. 61 (Hatfield).	

	PAGE	
LII.—TO SIR JOHN GILBERT.		
1594? On a Levy of Mariners, apparently for the Guiana Expedition . . .	105	
From a MS. Copy of the Original, formerly belonging to Macvey Napier, of Edinburgh, Esq.		
LIII.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.		
1594-95. Jan. 2. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Recommendation of a Kinsman who has a Controversy with the Townsmen of Plymouth.—He is only waiting for a Wind to set Sail	106	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxiv. fol. 76 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
LIV.—TO THE SAME.		
1595. Nov. 10. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Alleged Naval Preparations in Spain against Ireland.—Desire to hear if anything is to be done in the Matter of Guiana	107	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxvi. § 4 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
LV.—TO THE SAME.		
1595. Nov. 13. <i>From Sherborne.</i> On the Colonization and the Mineral Wealth of Guiana	109	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxvi. § 9 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
LVI.—TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.		
1595. Nov. 25. <i>From Sherborne.</i> On Levies of Men; and on the Defence of the Coasts of Devon and Cornwall	112	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxvi. § 26 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
LVII.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.		
1595. Nov. 26? <i>From Sherborne.</i> Proposals for the Colonization of Guiana. —Arrangements for the Defence of Devon and Cornwall	117	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxvi. § 44 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LVIII.— <i>THE PANAMA EXPE-</i> <i>DITION OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE IN 1595</i>		119
LVIII.—TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL HOWARD.		
1595. Nov. 30. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Proposals for sending of Spanish News to Sir F. Drake; and for renewing the Enterprise of Guiana	120	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxvi. § 42 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
LIX.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.		
1596. May 3. <i>From Blackwall.</i> On the Levying of Men for the Cadiz Expedition	122	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xl. § 55 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LX.— <i>RALEGH AND HUGH</i> <i>BROUGHTON</i>		124

	PAGE
LX.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1596. May 3. Recommendation of Hugh Broughton for the Bishopric of Lismore and Waterford	125
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xl. § 52 (Hatfield).	
LXI.—TO THE SAME.	
1596. May 3. <i>From Mile End</i> . Recommendation of Charles Cartie for a Grant of Lands in Ireland	127
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xl. § 50 (Hatfield).	
LXII.—TO THE SAME.	
1596. May 3. Personal Affairs	128
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xl. § 51 (Hatfield).	
LXIII.—TO THE SAME.	
1596. May 4. <i>From Northfleet</i> . Preparations for the Cadiz Expedition . . .	129
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xl. § 60 (Hatfield).	
LXIV.—TO THE SAME.	
1596. May 6. <i>From Queensborough</i> . Recommendation to Cecil of a Kinsman who had incurred the Queen's Displeasure	130
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xl. § 63 (Hatfield).	
[LXIV.*] TO THE SAME.	
1596. May 13. <i>From Dover</i> . Naval Matters connected with the Fleet pre- pared against Spain	381
See CLXI.	
LXV.—TO THE SAME.	
1596. May 26. <i>From Plymouth</i> . Recommendation of William Hilliard for a Prebend in Exeter Cathedral	131
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xli. § 14 (Hatfield).	
LXVI.—TO THE SAME.	
1596. May 29. <i>From Plymouth</i> . Recommendation of John Randall, Vice- Admiral of Dorset	132
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xli. § 25 (Hatfield).	
LXVII.—TO THE SAME.	
1596. July 7. <i>Written at Sea</i> . Victory at Cadiz	134
From the Original. MS. Cotton, Vespasian, C xlii. fol. 290 (British Museum).	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXVIII. — RALEGH AND SIR	
ARTHUR SAVAGE	136

	PAGE
LXVIII.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1596. August 6. <i>From Plymouth Sound.</i> Victory at Cadiz	137
From the Original. MS. Cotton, Otho, E ix. fol. 365, verso; formerly numbered '334.' (British Museum.)	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXIX.— <i>ENGLISH AND SPANISH</i> <i>ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE IN CADIZ HARBOUR</i>	
	139
LXIX.—TO A PERSON UNNAMED.	
1596. Narrative of the Action in Cadiz Harbour.—Results of the Victory . .	146
As printed in 1699, by Philip Raleigh (Grandson of Sir Walter), from a Copy, or Draft, found among Sir W. Raleigh's Papers.	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXX.— <i>DEATH OF LADY CECIL</i> <i>—CECIL AND THE BROOKES</i>	
	157
LXX.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1596-97. Jan. 24. <i>From Sherborne.</i> A Letter of Consolation and Sympathy on the Death of Lady Cecil.	161
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxvii. (Hatfield).	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXXI.— <i>ESSEX, RALEGH, AND</i> <i>CECIL.—SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY OF 'KING RICHARD THE</i> <i>SECOND'</i>	
	164
LXXI.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
[1597.] July 6. <i>From Weymouth.</i> Preparations for the Island Voyage.— "Richard the Second"	169
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Bolls House.)	
LXXII.—TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.	
1597. July 18. <i>From Plymouth.</i> Disasters at the Outset of the Island Voyage.—Refitting of the Fleet	170
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Bolls House.)	
LXXIII.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1597. July 20. <i>From Plymouth.</i> Disasters at the Outset of the Island Voyage.—Report on the Condition of Ferrol	174
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, 1597. (Bolls House.)	
LXXIV.—TO THE SAME.	
1597. July 26. <i>From Plymouth.</i> Proceedings of the Fleet	176
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, 1597. [Formerly numbered '189'] (Bolls House.)	

Contents.

xix

	PAGE
LXXV.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1597. Sept. 8. <i>From Terceira.</i> Proceedings of the Fleet in the 'Island Voyage.'—Account of the great Storms met with in the Bay of Biscay . . .	177
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lv. § 21 (Hatfield).	
LXXVI.—TO THE SAME.	
1597. Oct. 13. <i>From Durham House.</i> Proposition for the sending of a secret Emissary to examine the Ports of Spain	179
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lvi. § 17 (Hatfield).	
LXXVII.—SIR WALTER RALEGH, THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, AND THE LORD MONTJOY, TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.	
1597. Oct. 29. <i>From Plymouth.</i> Proceedings of the Fleet; and News of the Spaniards	180
From the Original (wholly in the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh). <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lvi. § 61 (Hatfield).	
LXXVIII.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1597. Oct. 30. <i>From Plymouth.</i> News of the Spanish Fleet	182
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lvi. (Hatfield).	
LXXIX.—SIR WALTER RALEGH AND THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.	
1597. Oct. Intelligence of the Spanish Fleet	184
From the Original Draft (wholly in the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh). <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lvi. § 81 (Hatfield).	
LXXX.—SIR WALTER RALEGH, THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, THE LORD MONTJOY, AND SIR FRANCIS VERE, TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.	
1597. Nov. 6. Proceedings of the Fleet.—News of the Spaniards	186
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lvi. § 110 (Hatfield).	
LXXXI.—SIR WALTER RALEGH, THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, AND THE LORD MONTJOY, TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.	
1597. Nov. 9. Conclusion of Island Voyage, and Arrangements about Prizes	188
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, 1597. [Formerly numbered '272.']. In the hand of an amanuensis. Signed. (Rolls House).	
LXXXII.—TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL?	
1597. Proposed Enterprise against Spain	191
From the Original (wholly in the hand of Sir W. Raleigh). MS. Cotton, Otho E ix. fol. 377, formerly numbered '346' (British Museum).	

	PAGE
LXXXIII.—TO SIR JOHN GILBERT, THE YOUNGER.	
1597? Participation in the Profits of a Privateering Adventure.—Personal Affairs	193
From a Transcript, made for Dr. Thomas Birch, from the original (but mutilated) letter, then in the possession of Major Pomeroy Gilbert, Fort-Major of Plymouth. MS. Addit. 4231, ff. 85, 86 (British Museum).	
LXXXIV.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.	
1597-98. Jan. 16. From <i>Durham House</i> . Appointment of Deputy-Lieutenants for Cornwall	197
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xlviii. § 101 (Hatfield).	
[LXXXIV.*]—TO MICHAEL HICKES, SECRETARY TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.	
1598? July 12. From <i>Sherborne</i> . Entreaty for the Furtherance of the Payment of a Debt owing to Captain Spring	382
See CLXII.	
LXXXV.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1598. Oct. Concerning a Plot for the 'killing of a rebel' in Ireland	198
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. [Formerly marked "Bundle 226, No. 144."] (Rolls House.)	
LXXXVI.—TO THE SAME.	
1598? The Queen's Appointment of a Captain to serve in Ireland	199
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xix. § 66 (Hatfield).	
LXXXVII.—TO THE SAME.	
1599-1600. March 15. From <i>Durham House</i> . Report on the Revision of an English Translation of FRANCHI CONESTAGGIO'S <i>History of the Conquest of Portugal</i>	200
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxviii. § 103 (Hatfield).	
LXXXVIII.—TO THE SAME.	
1600. March 27. [From <i>Sherborne</i> .] Account of the improved Health of William Cecil (afterwards second Earl of Salisbury), then a Visitor at Sherborne	202
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxviii. § 7 (Hatfield).	
LXXXIX.—TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.	
1600. April 6. From <i>Sherborne</i> . Raleigh's Desire to have the Government of Jersey. Cobham's Sales of Timber.—Hope of a Meeting at Bath	203
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House.)	
XC.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1600. April 21. From <i>Sherborne</i> . In favour of the Son of Henry Carew, then under Imprisonment	204
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxviii. § 83 (Hatfield).	

	PAGE
XCI.—TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.	
1600. April 29. <i>From Bath.</i> Disappointment at Lord Cobham's Absence	205
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House.)</i>	
XCII.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1600. October 15. <i>From Jersey.</i> Proceedings in the Fortification of the Island.—Character of Paul Juey, the Engineer.—Accounts of the late Governor, Sir Amias Paulet	206
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers, Pillar C, b ii. § 14 (Hatfield).</i>	
XCIII.—TO THE LORD TREASURER BUCKHURST AND SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1600. Nov. 4. <i>From Radford.</i> Affairs of the Stannaries.—Agreement with the Tinnars	209
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers, vol. clxxxi. § 33 (Hatfield).</i>	
XCIV.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1600. Nov. 15. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Tin Mills on Roborough Down.—Suits between one Crymes and the Town of Plymouth	211
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers, Pillar C, b ii. § 107 (Hatfield).</i>	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XCV. — <i>RALEGH'S COUNSEL TO SIR ROBERT CECIL, ON THE TREATMENT OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, IN 1600</i>	
	213
XCV.—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1600. Between February and August. Persuasions against the Return of the Earl of Essex to Office or Power	222
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers, vol. xc. § 150 (Hatfield).</i>	
XCVI.—TO THE SAME.	
1600-1. Feb. 2. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Local News of the Spanish Fleet.—Lord Cobham	224
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers, vol. clxxiii. § 36 (Hatfield).</i>	
XCVII.—TO THE SAME.	
1601? Aug. 13. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Lord Cobham's Journey into Cornwall.—News of the Spanish Fleet.—Cecil's Purchase of Rushmore	226
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers, vol. xliii. § 84 (Hatfield).</i>	
XCVIII.—TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.	
1601. Aug. 14. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Hope of a Visit from Cobham.—Lawsuits with the Meeres.—News of a Dutch Ship	227
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House.)</i>	

	PAGE
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XCIX. AND C. — <i>RALEGH</i> <i>AND THE DUKE OF BIRON</i>	229
XCIX.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1601. Sept. 6. <i>From Crosby House, in London.</i> Attendance on the Duke of Biron at Westminster and at the Bear Garden.—Arrangements for the Duke's Journey to Basing	233
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxxviii. § 22 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
C.—TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.	
1601. Sept. 12. <i>From Basing.</i> Desire for his Attendance on the Queen.— Presence of the Duke of Biron and his Suite at Court	234
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (<i>Rolls House</i>).	
CI.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1601. Sept. 19. <i>From Sherborne.</i> News of the Spanish Fleet.—Knavish Proceedings of John Meeres	235
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxxviii. § 53 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CII.—TO THE SAME.	
1601. Sept. 25. [<i>From Sherborne.</i>] Lawsuits with Meeres; and other Per- sonal Affairs.	237
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxxviii. § 62 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CIII.—TO THE SAME.	
1601. Sept. 26. <i>From Weymouth.</i> Arrival of two Scotchmen at Weymouth, with News of the Spanish Fleet	240
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, marked '261' (<i>Rolls House</i>).	
CIV.—TO THE SAME.	
1601. Sept. 27. <i>From Sherborne.</i> News of the Spanish Fleet.—Occurrences on the Irish Coast	241
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers; formerly marked '261' (<i>Rolls House</i>).	
CV.—TO THE SAME.	
1601. Oct. 13. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Recommendation of Mr. Stucley for Service in Ireland. —Invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards	243
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxxviii. § 128 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CVI.—TO THE SAME.	
1601. Oct. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards.— Knavery of John Meeres	244
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxxix. § 41 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	

	PAGE
CVII.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
[1601? <i>From Jersey?</i>] Remittance of Money to Jersey by the hands of Thomas Freake.—Particulars of a Privateering Adventure	246
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. clxxxvi. § 151 (Hatfield).	
CVIII.—TO THE SAME.	
[1602. July 20. <i>From Jersey.</i>] Greetings.—Foreign News and Rumours.—Expected Arrival of Normans in Jersey	247
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xciv. § 56 (Hatfield).	
CIX.—TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.	
1602. Aug. 12. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Return from Jersey.—Its Defences.—Hopes of an early Meeting with Cobham and with the Earl of Northumberland	249
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House .)	
CX.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1602. Aug. 21. <i>From Weymouth.</i> Continued Efforts for the Colonization of Virginia, and Foundation of a Trade therewith.—Arrival of some Cargoes of Sassafras Wood, &c.	251
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xciv. § 160 (Hatfield).	
CXI.—TO THE SAME.	
1602. Sept. 15. <i>From Bath.</i> News of the Spanish Fleet, sent from Jersey	253
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, 1602. [Formerly numbered '174.'] (Rolls House .)	
INCLOSURE IN LETTER CXI.	
SIR GEORGE POULET TO SIR WALTER RALEGH.	
Same Subject	254
CXII.—TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.	
[1602?] Oct. 14. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Greetings.—Raleigh is about to go into Cornwall.	255
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House .)	
CXIII.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1602. Nov. 3. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Regulation of the Mines of Cornwall.—Detention by private Affairs at Sherborne	256
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , Pillar C, b ii. § 102 (Hatfield).	
CXIV.—TO THE SAME.	
[1602. <i>From the Court?</i>] Business of the Wine Office.—The Queen's Disfavour.	256
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xcvi. § 104 (Hatfield).	

	PAGE
CXV.—TO THE QUEEN.	
[1602?] On Proposals for the Declaration of a Successor to the Crown.— Regrets at his Exclusion from the Queen's Presence	259
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxxiii. § 35 (Hatfield).	
CXVI.—TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
[1602?] Embarkation of the Duke Orsini	260
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. clxxxvi. § 132 (Hatfield).	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXVII.— <i>RALEGH AND THE LONDON PALACE OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM.—SUB- SEQUENT HISTORY OF DURHAM HOUSE</i>	
	262
CXVII.—TO THE LORD KEEPER EGERTON AND OTHERS, COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY KING JAMES I. TO INQUIRE INTO THE TENURE OF DURHAM HOUSE.	
1603. May. <i>From London</i> . On a Claim made upon him for giving up Possession of Durham House to the Bishop of Durham	269
As printed, from the Original, in the Collection of the Earl of Ellesmere (<i>Bridge- water House</i>), by Mr. J. Payne Collier. <i>Egerton Papers</i> (<i>Camden Society</i>).	
[CXVII.*]—TO LADY RALEGH.	
1603. July. <i>From the Tower</i> . A Letter of Consolation and Farewell.— Reasons of his purposed Suicide.—Directions as to the Disposal of his Estate and Payment of his Debts	383
See CLXIII.	
CXVIII.—TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, THE LORD CECIL, AND OTHERS, COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXAMINATION AND TRIAL OF THE ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS OF 1603.	
[1603. Aug. <i>From the Tower</i> .] Denial of the Charge brought against him.— Origin of Cobham's Accusation	271
As printed in Raleigh's collective <i>Works</i> .	
CXIX.—TO THE SAME.	
[1603. Oct. ? <i>From the Tower</i> .] Answer to a new Accusation made by Cobham.—Protest against the Unfairness of the Method of Examination.— Contrast between God's Law and English Law	274
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 25 (Hatfield).	
CXX.—TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
[1603. Nov. <i>From Winchester</i> .] Assertion of the Injustice of his Arraign- ment of Treason.—Entreaty for Cecil's Intercession with the King, should he fall within the Meshes of the Law	278
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 67, B (Hatfield).	

	PAGE
CXXI.—TO THE KING.	
[1603. Nov. <i>From Winchester.</i>] Protest of the Injustice of his Conviction.— Appeal to the King's Justice and Mercy	280
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 67 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXII.—TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, THE LORD CECIL, AND OTHERS, COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXAMINATION AND TRIAL OF THE ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS OF 1603.	
[1603. Dec. 10. <i>From Winchester.</i>] The Scene on the Scaffold at Winchester Castle.—Entreaties for his Life.—Cobham's Confession and Accusations	282
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 111, B (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXIII.—TO LADY RALEGH.	
[1603. Dec. <i>From Winchester.</i>] A Letter of Farewell and Consolation. Written on the Eve of his expected Execution	284
From a contemporaneous Transcript in <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : James I., vol. xcvi. § 71 (<i>Rolls House</i>). Collated with another Transcript in MS. Sloane, 3520, ff. 14 -17 (<i>British Museum</i>), and with another, also contemporaneous, amongst the <i>Cecil Papers</i> (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXIV.—TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
[1603. Dec. <i>From Winchester.</i>] Thanks for his friendly Offices.—Promises of unalterable Affection	288
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 112 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXV.—TO THE KING.	
[1603. Dec. <i>From Winchester.</i>] Thanks for the sparing of his Life	289
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 109 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXVI.—TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
[1603. Dec. ? <i>From the Tower?</i>] Personal and landed Estates.—Debts.— Desire for a royal Re-grant of Sherborne.—Other personal Affairs	291
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 22 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXVII.—TO THE SAME.	
[1603. Dec. ? Or 1603-04. Jan. ? <i>From the Tower.</i>] Message sent by the Earl of Pembroke for the Seals of the Duchy of Cornwall.—Expression of his Desire to write to the King.	294
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 10 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXVIII.—TO THE SAME.	
[1603. Dec. ? Or 1603-04. Jan. ? <i>From the Tower.</i>] With the Seals of the Duchy	295
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 12 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXIX.—TO THE KING.	
[1603-04. Jan. 21. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Assertion of his persistent Loyalty.— Appeal to the King's Justice and Mercy, in relation to the Remnant of his Estate.	296
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 111 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	

	PAGE
CXXX.—TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL	
[1603-04. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Estates and other personal Affairs	298
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 23 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXI.—TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
[1604. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Renewed Protestations of the Injustice of his Condemnation. — Assurances of Affection to Cecil. — Entreaties for the Preservation to his Family of his landed Estates	300
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 17 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXII.—TO THE SAME.	
[1604. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Conveyance, in Trust, of Dorsetshire Estates.— Expectation of a Pardon	303
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 16 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXIII.—TO LEVINUS MUNCKE.	
[1604? <i>From the Tower.</i>] Fraudulent Dealings of one Thomas Scott, a Merchant	305
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 21 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXIV.—TO LORD TREASURER BUCKHURST, TO SECRE- TARY LORD CRANBORNE, AND OTHERS, LORDS OF THE COUNCIL	
[1604. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Particulars of his Estates at Sherborne	307
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 14 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXV.—TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.	
[1604. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Estates and other personal Affairs	311
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 24 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXVI.—TO THE SAME.	
[1604. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Change in Cranborne's Behaviour towards him.— Injustice of his Condemnation. — Personal Affairs.—Appearance of the Plague in the Tower.—Desire of Removal	314
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 13 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXVII.—TO THE SAME.	
[1604. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Entreaties for the Restoration of his landed Estates	316
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cv. § 50 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXVIII.—TO SECRETARY THE EARL OF SALISBURY.	
[1605. <i>From the Tower.</i>] On the same Subject	317
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 9 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	
CXXXIX.—TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY, LORD HIGH TREASURER.	
[1605. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Restoration of the Dorsetshire Estates.—Terms of the Re-grant in Trust	319
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cix. § 11 (<i>Hatfield</i>).	

	PAGE
[CXXXIX.*]—TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.	
[1605. Nov. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Explanation as to his Intercourse with Captain Whitelocke, a Retainer of the Earl of Northumberland	387
See CLXIV.	
CXL.—TO SIR ROBERT COTTON, BART.	
[After 1605? <i>From the Tower.</i>] Request for the Loan of various Books of History	322
From the Original. MS. Cotton, Julius C iii. fol. 311 (British Museum).	
[CXL.*]—TO THE LORD TREASURER SALISBURY.	
1608? or 1609? <i>From the Tower.</i> Proposals for an Expedition to Guiana	389
See CLXV.	
CXLI.—TO THE LORD TREASURER SALISBURY.	
[1607-08. Jan. 29. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Proposed Conveyance of his Sher- borne Estate to the King	323
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cxx. § 36 (Hatfield).	
CXLII.—TO HIS STEWARD, JOHN SHELBURY?	
1608-09. Jan. 3. [<i>From the Tower.</i>] Lease to John Meeres of Bishop's Down, near Sherborne	326
From the Original? <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : James I., vol. xliii. § 6 (Rolls House).	
, The authenticity of this Letter would seem to lie open to some degree of doubt.	
CXLIII.—TO SIR ROBERT CARR, AFTERWARDS EARL OF SOMERSET.	
[1609? <i>From the Tower.</i>] Written on receiving Intelligence that Carr had obtained from the King a Grant of the Sherborne Estate	326
From a nearly contemporary Transcript in MS. Addit. 4106, fol. 81 (British Museum).	
CXLIV.—TO SIR WALTER COPE.	
1610. Oct. 9. [<i>From the Tower.</i>] Requesting his Intercession for Leave to Lady Raleigh to return to the Tower	328
As communicated to the Society of Antiquaries (June 2, 1853) by Mr. J. Payne Collier, from the Original, then in the possession of Mr. Willoughby, of Lancaster Place, London (<i>Archæologia</i> , vol. xxxv. pp. 219, 220).	
CXLV.—TO HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.	
1610? [<i>From the Tower.</i>] On the building of a Ship of War	330
As printed, in 1656-57, in the Collection entitled <i>Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh</i> .	
[CXLV.*]—TO JOHN RAMSAY, VISCOUNT HADDINGTON (AFTERWARDS EARL OF HOLDERNESS).	
1610? <i>From the Tower.</i> Proposals for an Expedition to Guiana	392
See CLXVI.	
CXLVI.—TO QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.	
1610? [<i>From the Tower.</i>] Proposals for the Colonization of Virginia	333
From a contemporaneous Transcript in MS. Harleian xxxix. fol. 359 (British Museum).	

	PAGE
CXLVII.—TO QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.	
[1611. <i>From the Tower.</i>] Proposals for an Expedition to Guiana	334
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : James I. (Rolls House).	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXLVIII.— <i>PROPOSALS FOR A VOYAGE TO GUIANA IN 1612?</i>	
	336.
CXLVIII.—TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL?	
[1612? <i>From the Tower.</i>] Proposals for a Voyage by Keymis to Guiana	337
From a nearly contemporaneous Transcript in MS. Harl. xxxix. ff. 350, 351 (British Museum).	
CXLIX.—TO SECRETARY SIR RALPH WINWOOD.	
[1615–16? Jan.? <i>From the Tower.</i>] On the same Subject	339
As printed, in 1656–57, in the Collection entitled <i>Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh</i> .	
CL.—TO SIR GEORGE VILLIERS, AFTERWARDS DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.	
1615–16. March 17. [<i>From London; Broad Street?</i>] Thanks for procuring his Release from the Tower	341
As printed by Oldys, from the Original, then in the Library of James West (<i>Life</i> , p. 468).	
CLI.—TO PETER VANLORE.	
1616. July 1. With a Form of a Letter to be written by Vanlore to Amster- dam, for Information about Guiana	342
As printed, by Oldys, from a Copy made by Browne Willis of "the original draft of Sir Walter's own hand," then in Willis' Library at Whaddon Hall.	
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLII.— <i>RALEGH AND THE 'CONSEIL D'ETAT' OF FRANCE</i>	
	344
CLII.—TO M. DE BISSEAU.	
1617. May 14. <i>From Plymouth.</i> Proposals respecting the Guiana Voyage.— Application for Permission to enter, if needful, a French Port	346
As printed by Mr. S. R. Gardner (from a MS. at Simancas, in the <i>Fortnightly Review</i> , vol. vii. (May 1867).	
CLIII.—TO LADY RALEGH.	
1617. Nov. 14. <i>From Caliana.</i> Particulars of his disastrous Voyage.— Bailey's Desertion.—Numerous Deaths among his Officers	347
As printed, in 1656–57, in the Collection entitled <i>Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh</i> .	
CLIV.—TO SECRETARY SIR RALPH WINWOOD.	
1618. March 21. <i>From St. Christopher's.</i> Misfortunes of the Guiana Voyage. —The Information sent to the King of Spain from London.—Conflicts with the Spaniards	350
From a contemporaneous and official Copy, in <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : James I., vol. xcvi. § 70 (Rolls House). Collated with another Transcript in a Letter Book belonging to the Marquess of Salisbury, <i>Cecil Papers</i> , Pillar A, b, v, fol. 12 (Hatfield).	

LETTERS OMITTED IN THEIR DUE ORDER OF TIME.

	PAGE
CLXI. [LXIV.*]—TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1596. May 13. <i>From Dover.</i> Naval Matters connected with the Preparation of a Fleet against Spain	381
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. clxxiii. § 73 (Hatfield).</i>	
CLXII. [LXXXIV.*]—TO MICHAEL HICKES, SECRETARY TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.	
1598? July 12. <i>From Sherborne.</i> Entreaty for furtherance of the Payment, by the Lord Treasurer, of a Debt owing to Captain Spring	382
<i>As printed, in 1720, by Arthur Collins, in the first edition of his <i>Baronetage of England</i>.</i>	
CLXIII. [CXVII.*]—TO LADY RALEGH.	
1603. July. <i>From the Tower.</i> A Letter of Consolation and Farewell.—Reasons of his purposed Suicide.—Directions as to the Disposal of his Estates and Payment of his Debts	383
<i>As printed, in 1839, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, from an early Transcript in MS. Yelverton xvi. fol. 100 (All Souls College Library, Oxford).</i>	
CLXIV. [CXXXIX.*]—TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.	
1605. Nov. <i>From the Tower.</i> Explanation as to his Intercourse with Captain Whitelocke, a Retainer of the Earl of Northumberland	387
<i>From a Transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6178, fol. 469 (British Museum).</i>	
CLXV. [CXL.*]—TO THE LORD TREASURER SALISBURY.	
1607? <i>From the Tower.</i> Proposals for an Expedition to Guiana	389
<i>From a Transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6178, fol. 827 (British Museum).</i>	
CLXVI. [CXIV.*]—TO JOHN RAMSAY, VISCOUNT HADDINGTON (AFTERWARDS EARL OF HOLDERNESS).	
1610? <i>From the Tower.</i> Proposals for an Expedition to Guiana	392
<i>From a Transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6177, fol. 241 (British Museum).</i>	

APPENDIX.

I.—LETTERS OF LADY RALEGH.

	PAGE
I.—LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.	
1593-94. Feb. 8. Thanks for Tablets; alluding to some Instance of the Queen's "curiosity of deciphering;" and entreating him not to forward Raleigh's Plan of an Enterprize "towards the sunset"	397
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxii. fol. 50 (Hatfield).	
II.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.	
1594-95. March 20. From <i>Sherborne</i> . Entreaty that no Impediment be suffered to the due Course of Law in the Suit against the Earl of Huntingdon	398
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxi. § 29 (Hatfield).	
III.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.	
1595. April 7. From <i>Sherborne</i> . Recommendation of Arthur Radford, who is desirous of serving at Sea	399
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxi. § 77 (Hatfield).	
IV.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.	
1595. July 25. Recommendation of a Suit of Mr. Brett	400
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xxxiii. § 53 (Hatfield).	
V.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.	
1596. July. From <i>Mile End</i> . On the Return of Keymis from Guiana	402
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. xliii. § 29 (Hatfield).	
VI.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.	
1597. Sept. Anxiety for News of Sir Walter	403
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lv. § 88 (Hatfield).	
VII.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.	
1600. Oct. Fire at Durham House	404
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , Pillar C b, ii. § 36 (Hatfield).	
VIII.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.	
1601-02. March. On ill Offices at Court, done by Lady Kildare (Wife of Henry, Lord Cobham)	405
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. lxxxv. § 134 (Hatfield).	

	PAGE
IX.—LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
1603. Nov. 18? Entreaties for his Intercession with the King on her Husband's behalf	406
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 20 (Hatfield).	
X.—LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.	
[1604?] Entreaty for his Interposition against Seizures made by the Earl of Nottingham, under pretext of Grants from King James, of part of Sir W. Raleigh's Possessions	408
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cxc. § 6 (Hatfield).	
XI.—LADY RALEGH TO KING JAMES THE FIRST.	
1609? Entreaty that the King would spare to herself and her Children some Fragment of Raleigh's Dorsetshire Estates,—of which the bulk had been given to Carr, after the gift of Raleigh's other Possessions to the Earl of Nottingham.	409
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cxcv. § 85 (Hatfield).	
XII.—LADY RALEGH TO SIR JULIUS CÆSAR.	
1617. [After June 30.] Delays in the Payment of her Annuity from the Exchequer	411
From the Original. MS. Lansdowne, cxliii. fol. 282. [Formerly numbered '292'] (British Museum.)	
XIII.—LADY RALEGH TO SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.	
1618. Oct. 30? On the Burial of Sir Walter	413
As printed (from the Original?) by Manning and Bray, <i>History of Surrey</i> , vol. ii. p. 495.	
XIV.—LADY RALEGH TO LADY CAREW, WIFE OF GEORGE, LORD CAREW OF CLOPTON.	
1618. Nov.? Respecting the Seizure, by Sir Thomas Wilson, of Raleigh's Library	414
From a Copy made by direction of Sir Thomas Wilson. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> James I., vol. ciii. § 76 (Rolls House).	

II.—COMMERCIAL AND PRIVATEERING ENTERPRISES.

I.—PRIVATEERING ENTERPRISE OF 1589.	
The Answer of Sir Walter Raleigh to the Complaints of Albert Reynardson	415
To the Complaint of Walter Artson	416
To the Complaint of Walter Artson and others	416
To the Complaint of Michael Leomans	417
From the Original. <i>Cæsar Papers</i> , in MS. Lansdowne, vol. cxliv. ff. 57-60 (British Museum).	

II.—ENTERPRISE FOR THE EXPORTATION OF PIPE-STAVES
FROM MUNSTER. PAGE

- 1590-1602. Articles to be considered touchinge the makinge and transportinge
of Pipestaves, etc. out of Irelande 418
From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiv. § 68 (Hatfield).

III.—CHARTS OF GUIANA.

I.—THOMAS HARRIOT TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

1596. July 11. On the framing of Charts of Guiana, from the Papers of
Raleigh and Keymis 420
From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. (Hatfield).

II.—SIR GEORGE TRENCHARD AND SIR RALPH HORSEY
TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

1596. July 31. *From Dorchester.* On the Disposal of certain Documents and
Charts relating to Guiana 423
From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 17 (Hatfield).

III.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1596. Aug. 10. With certain Charts and Documents relating to Guiana . . . 424
From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 72 (Hatfield).

IV.—JOURNEY OF RALEGH AND COBHAM TO
OSTEND, IN JULY 1600.

HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, K.G. TO SECRETARY
SIR ROBERT CECIL.

1600. July 10. *From Sandwich.* Arrival of Sir Walter Raleigh and other
Friends of Cecil at Sandwich.—News of the War in the Low Countries . . . 425
From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C, b iv. § 100 (Hatfield).

V.—IMPRISONMENT OF THE LADY ARABELLA
STUART IN 1603.

I.—ELIZABETH, DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY,
TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

[Extract.]

- 1602-03. Feb. 6. *From Hardwick Hall.* Arabella's Willingness to make
Disclosures, and her Desire to see Sir Henry Brouncker 427
From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xci. § 105 (Hatfield).

PAGE

II.—THE LADY ARABELLA STUART TO SIR HENRY BOUNCKER.

[Extracts.]

- 1602-03. *From Hardwick Hall.* Acknowledgments of past Kindness.—Protest against the Commission of Inquiry now entrusted to him.—Complaints of the Queen's Ill-usage of her, through the adverse Influence of Sir R. Cecil and Sir J. Stanhope.—Allusions to her Love Affairs and their Impediments 428
 From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxv. ff. 130-142 (Hatfield).

III.—THE LADY ARABELLA STUART TO THE DOWAGER
 COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

[Extract.]

- 1602-03. March? Love Affairs 434
 From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxv. § 143 (Hatfield).

IV.—SIR HENRY BOUNCKER TO SECRETARY
 SIR ROBERT CECIL.

[Extract.]

1603. March 25. *From Hardwick Hall.* His Uncertainty as to the Council's Resolves about the Succession to the Crown; and as to the Continuance of the Imprisonment of the Lady Arabella 435
 From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcii. § 73 (Hatfield).

VI.—PLOTS AND COUNTERPLOTS OF 1602-1603.

I.—LORD HENRY HOWARD (AFTERWARDS EARL OF NORTHAMPTON)
 TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

[Extracts.]

- [1602. Probably between March and June.] Suggestions as to the Means of injuring Raleigh and Cobham in the Queen's Opinion.—Impediments to the Queen's Service arising out of their Unpopularity.—Advice that Cobham should be employed in some Negotiations with Spain 436
 From the original Minutes or rough Draft. MS. Cotton, Titus, C vi. ff. 386-392.
 (British Museum).

II.—THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH TO HENRY BROOKE,
 LORD COBHAM, K.G.

1602. Nov. 22. *From Brussels.* Desire for a renewed Conference.—Importance of a Peace.—His Wish to receive a promised Portrait 445
 From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcvi. § 53 (Hatfield).

	PAGE
III.—HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, K.G. TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
1603. May 23. <i>From Black Friars.</i> Correspondence with the Count of Arenbergh	446
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. c. § 33 (Hatfield).</i>	
IV.—HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
1603. May 24. Thanks for the Promotion of his Suit for Leave to go abroad. —His Letters Patent for the Exportation of Woollen Cloth	447
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. c. § 36 (Hatfield).</i>	
V.—GEORGE BROOKE TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL.	
[<i>Extract.</i>]	
1603. July 22. Complaints of his Misery.—Entreaties for the Continuance of Cecil's Favour to him	448
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. ci. § 85 (Hatfield).</i>	
VI.—HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
1603. July 23. Cobham's Intercourse with, and Project concerning, Lady Arabella Stuart.—Lapse of Time since the Project was conceived and abandoned	449
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. ci. § 87 (Hatfield).</i>	
VII.—SIR WILLIAM WAAD TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
1603. Aug. 12. Examination of one Penycuik, a Scottish Messenger em- ployed between Lord Cobham and the Count of Arenbergh	450
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. ci. § 111 (Hatfield).</i>	
VIII.—THE DECLARATION AND CONFESSION OF THOMAS MARKHAM.	
1603. Aug. 14. Details of the Plot of his Brother, Sir Griffin Markham, and others, for surprising the Court and the Tower of London	452
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. ci. § 114 (Hatfield).</i>	
IX.—"CERTEN QUEERIES MINISTRED UNTO WILLIAM WATSON."	
1603. July or Aug. ?	454
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. ci. (Hatfield).</i>	
X.—AN ABSTRACT BY SIR WILLIAM WAAD, FOR THE USE OF SECRETARY LORD CECIL, OF "A LARGE DECLARA- TION OF WILLIAM WATSON."	
1603. Aug. 18	455
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers (Hatfield).</i>	

	PAGE	
XI.—SECRETARY LORD CECIL TO THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH.		
1603. Aug. 18. [Illustrative of the Relations subsisting between the King's Government and the Archduke's Ambassador after the Examinations of Cobham and Raleigh].	459	
From the Original Draft; corrected in Lord Cecil's hand. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. ci. ff. 121, 122 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
XII.—SECRETARY LORD CECIL TO SIR GEORGE HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.		
1603. Aug. 20. Letters of Supplication from the Prisoners in the Tower.— Message to Lord Grey	460	
From the original Minute. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. ci. § 125 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
XIII.—SIR EDWARD COKE'S <i>ABSTRACT OF THE TREASONS</i> .		
1603. Aug. ?	462	
From the Original. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : James I. (<i>Bolls House</i>).		
XIV.—SECRETARY LORD CECIL AND OTHER LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR BENJAMIN TICHBORNE, HIGH SHERIFF OF HAMPSHIRE.		
1603. Dec. 4. The King's Reception of Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter.—Direc- tions for the Burial of George Brooke	465	
From the original Minute. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 48 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
XV.—ANTHONY WATSON, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, AND THE OTHER LORDS COMMISSIONERS.		
1603. Dec. 4. <i>From Winchester</i> . George Brooke's Retraction, on re- ceiving the Holy Communion, of his Charge against Cobham for saying, ' <i>We will kill the fox and his cubs</i> '.	467	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 49 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
XVI.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.		
1603. Dec. <i>From Winchester</i> . Statements and Retractions made by George Brooke, on his Way to the Scaffold	468	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 55 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		
PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XVII.— <i>EXTENT OF LORD GREY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE PLOT TO SURPRISE THE KING'S PERSON.—NOTICE OF GREY'S LIFE, CHARACTER, AND POLITICAL AIMS</i>		469
XVII.—THOMAS, LORD GREY OF WILTON, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.		
1603. Dec. <i>From Winchester</i> . Offers to relate, fully and circumstantially, his entire Knowledge of the Conspiracy, from the Date of his first Compli- city with Brooke, to that of his Quarrel with Sir Griffin Markham	482	
From the Original. <i>Cecil Papers</i> , vol. cii. § 40 (<i>Hatfield</i>).		

	PAGE
XVIII.—SIR GEORGE HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.	
1603. Dec. 17. <i>From the Tower.</i> Enclosure of a suppressed Confession by Lord Cobham of Remorse for the Falsehood of his Accusation of Raleigh, prior to the Message sent by Raleigh through the younger Harvey . . .	483
<i>From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. cii. § 77 (Hatfield).</i>	
XIX.—ENCLOSURE IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.	
1603. Oct. 24. Expression of Remorse for his Charge against Sir Walter Raleigh	485
XX.—SECRETARY LORD CECIL TO SIR GEORGE HARVEY.	
1603. Dec. 20. On the Return of a Trunk containing Papers belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh.—Letter of Thanks from Raleigh to the King . . .	486

VII.—RALEGH'S EXECUTION.

I.—QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING JAMES I., TO GEORGE VILLIERS, MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM.	
1618. Oct. ? Entreaty for his Influence with the King to prevent the Execution of Raleigh	487
<i>From a Transcript made by Archbishop Sancroft, from the original Letter, then in his possession. MS. Tanner, vol. ccxcix. fol. 87 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).</i>	
II.—CAREW RALEGH TO KING JAMES THE FIRST.	
1618. Oct. ? Entreaty for his Father's Pardon	488
<i>From an early Transcript in MS. Ashmole, dcdclxxxi. fol. 101 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).</i>	
III.—DR. ROBERT TOUNSON, DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, TO SIR JOHN ISHAM, BART.	
1618. Nov. 9. Narrative of the Manner and Circumstances of Raleigh's Death	489
<i>From the Original, as communicated to Thomas Hearne, in 1731, by its then possessor, Sir Justinian Isham, Bart.; and by Hearne printed in the Appendix to his Preface to <i>Walteri Hemingfordæ Historia</i> (vol. i. p. clxxx.).</i>	
IV.—RALEGH'S FIRST TESTAMENTARY NOTE	
	493
<i>From the Transcript made by Sir Thomas Wilson. Domestic Correspondence: James I., vol. ciii. § 37 (Rolls House).</i>	
V.—RALEGH'S SECOND TESTAMENTARY NOTE	
	494
<i>From a contemporary Transcript. MS. Cotton, Titus C vi. § 93 (British Museum).</i>	
VI.—AN INVENTORY OF SUCH THINGS AS WEARE FOUND ON THE BODY OF SIR WALTER RAWLEY, KNIGHT, THE 10TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1618	
	496
<i>From the Original. Domestic Correspondence: James I., vol. xcvi. § 79 (Rolls House).</i>	

	PAGE
<i>POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER CLVIII.</i>	
1618. Oct. 4. Adventurers' Shares in the Ship <i>Destiny</i> , employed in the last Guiana Expedition.—The lost <i>Treatise on the Art of War by Sea</i>	498
From a Transcript in the hand of Sir Thomas Wilson. <i>Domestic Correspondence</i> : James I., vol. ciii. No. 21, A.	
NOTE ON THE ABOVE POSTSCRIPT, BY SIR T. WILSON	499
INDEX	501

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME II.

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY SIR W. RALEGH TO THE EARL
OF LEICESTER, IN OCTOBER 1587. *To face Title-page.*

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY THOMAS, LORD GREY OF WILTON,
TO MR. PARKER, ONE OF HIS CONFIDENTIAL SERVANTS, FROM THE
TOWER, IN 1611 *To face page 479*

CORRIGENDA TO VOL. II.

- Page 271, line 2, *omit the word* 'Nottingham.'
- „ 329, line 10, *for* '1610,' *read* '1611.'
- „ 344, line 5, and 346, line 21, *for* 'Bisseaux,' *read* 'Buisseaux.'
- „ 380, at top ('LETTER CLX.'). The lost lines in this mutilated letter (partially burned at Ashburnham House) may be thus supplied from an early copy:—"For this proves superioritie and not inferioritie, which noe absolute monarch ever yeilded unto, or ever will. Thirdly, it shewes that the English beare greater respect to the Spaniards, and are more doubtfull of their forces, then either the French or Dutch, who daylie invade all parts of the Indies, without being questioned at their retourne. Yea, at my now being at Plymouth," &c.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LETTERS OF RALEGH.

OF the one hundred and sixty-six letters, written by Sir WALTER RALEGH, which in this volume are now first collected, one hundred and twenty-five are printed from the originals. Of the forty-one letters for which only transcripts, more or less ancient, could be found, nineteen have been taken from manuscript sources, and twenty-two from printed sources. Of the letters taken from originals, many are now printed for the first time; and until now, many even of the best-known letters have never, it is believed, been printed correctly.

Eighty-two of the original letters employed for the text of the present volume are preserved in the fine collection at Hatfield of Letters and State Papers of the Tudor and Stuart reigns, which belongs to the Marquess of SALISBURY, by whose most obliging and liberal permission they are here printed. Twenty-seven other originals are preserved among the national archives brought together of late years in the new Rolls House.

Sources of
the Letters
now
printed.

These are found partly in the series of *Domestic Correspondence*, and partly in that of *Irish Correspondence*. Many of these Rolls House letters have never heretofore been used—probably were never looked at—by any biographer of RALEGH. Eleven others of the original letters are scattered amongst the various groups of manuscripts, amassed by different collectors at different periods, which now, in their aggregate, form the ‘*Department of MSS.*’ in the British Museum.

Dispersion
of the
Cecil and
Burghley
Papers.

Perhaps, few collections of Papers which—in a special sense of the words—may be called ‘Family Papers,’ have had so curious a history as the CECIL PAPERS have had, if we take them integrally. Few collections illustrate so pointedly and pithily the diversitude of accidents—the chances of fire and flood—the perils amongst robbers, and the perils amongst the false brethren of collectorship—to which precious manuscripts are exposed. Lord BURGHLEY formed a considerable collection at Theobalds, and bequeathed it to his second son, ROBERT, afterwards Earl of SALISBURY. Lord SALISBURY removed the collection from Theobalds to Hatfield, and took considerable pains to provide for its perpetuation there. But, long before the collection descended to its present noble possessor, a portion of it had suffered grievously from damp and from neglect. It was only by the accident of an odour, which could not be explained, coming into occupied rooms (built over cellarage), that

the existence of a heap of papers, amounting to several thousands in number, was discovered. The finding of this mass of documents—to the place of deposit of which there was no reference, it seems, amongst the then known series—occurred within living memory. The discovery was sufficiently in time for the saving of a large proportion of the whole; but some papers had, of course, decayed beyond recovery.

By the present Marquess of SALISBURY measures were immediately taken for the careful arrangement, in its entirety, of a series of documents which is at once a noble memorial of family service to Britain, and a precious storehouse of the materials of British history.

Meanwhile, other portions of the vast CECIL collections had wandered far afield. Within but a few years of the lifetime of Lord BURGHLEY himself many of his papers had passed into the hands of Sir ROBERT COTTON. Some of these suffered mutilation in the fire at Ashburnham House, as this volume will testify. Others, after many adventures and many hairbreadth escapes from destruction, came in later days into the noble collection gathered by ROBERT HARLEY and EDWARD HARLEY, Earls of Oxford.

Another large series of CECIL PAPERS remained, until his death, in the hands of Sir MICHAEL HICKES, who had been Secretary successively to

LORD BURGHLEY and to Lord SALISBURY; and whose secretarial collections seem to have included impartially, original papers as well as copies: for which, indeed, he had too much precedent. Part of HICKES' papers passed successively into the hands of STRYPE, the historian, and of JAMES WEST, the well-known collector. This portion was eventually acquired by the first Marquess of LANSDOWNE, and, in due time, became part of the great national collection in the British Museum, as the *Cotton Manuscripts* and the *Harleian Manuscripts* had previously become. But some of the 'Caril' or 'Burghley Papers,' known to have been once in the hands of JOHN STRYPE, are not now to be found amongst the *Lansdowne Manuscripts*. They had strayed into out-of-way places. Many, in all probability, have been destroyed. A few found their way into the collection which was formerly one of the ornaments of Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, and are now, I believe, in Lord Ashburnham's library, in Sussex.

In like manner, during the bygone days of neglect at Hatfield, predatory hands were laid on some of the papers which had formed part of the old Theobalds collection. Some such have passed, by the ordinary channels of commerce, into private collections. A few have passed, occasionally, into the great national repository in Great Russell Street, and form part of different groups

of documents variously acquired. Thus it is that the search for 'CECIL PAPERS' carries the searcher's inquiries, not only to the collections of the Family itself, as well as to the vast archives at the Rolls House, and to the well-known, and more or less well-catalogued, collections of *Cotton MSS.*, *Harleian MSS.*, and *Lansdowne MSS.* at the British Museum, but also to a series less easily consulted, because only partially catalogued,—that which bears the designation '*Additional MSS.*' in the same repository. It has also chanced that two volumes of transcripts, made in the lifetime of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY (sixth of the Cecil Earls), have passed, by donation, into the same series; and of two or three of the papers contained amongst those transcripts the originals are not now, it seems, to be found at Hatfield. Hence it is that, in the RALEGH Letters hereinafter submitted to the reader from originals, Letters, all of which now belong to the British Museum, will be found described as taken from no less than five several groups of papers, gathered at various times and by different collectors; and a letter or two addressed by RALEGH to Sir ROBERT CECIL—and known to have been once kept at Hatfield—will be found to have been derived, as printed in these pages, from mere transcripts, instead of being drawn from the fountain-head. In several cases, parts of one and the same correspondence, on one special subject, have had to be sought for

at Hatfield, at the Rolls House, at the Museum, and at Oxford.

My own sense of deep obligation to the Marquess of SALISBURY, for the use he has so liberally permitted me to make of the Hatfield papers, will be shared by all readers of the following Letters who take an interest in the full elucidation of that plastic epoch of our history in which RALEGH's correspondents, as well as himself, played such great parts.

Other
Sources
of Raleigh
Letters.

Three other original letters have been printed from the University Registry at Cambridge. These relate to RALEGH's controversy with that University about the licensing of vintners in the town of Cambridge, under his Letters Patent of 1583, and during the Chancellorship of Lord BURGHLEY.

One brief, but very interesting, letter is derived from the original preserved among Bishop TANNER'S MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. That letter connects, by a passing but important incident, the name and enterprises of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE with those of RALEGH.

Another letter, addressed, in 1589, to the cousin and lifelong friend of RALEGH, Sir GEORGE CAREW, has been derived from that portion of the '*Carew Papers*' which forms part of the collection of manuscripts brought together at Lambeth by the open-handed liberality, and the provident

love of learning, of a long series of Archbishops of Canterbury.

In common with many other inquirers who have occasionally profited by the use of that collection, the writer has had cause to regret the recent policy of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in regard to it. The closing of the Lambeth Library will, it may be hoped, subsist only for a time. But it seems (to some of those whose inquiries were abruptly broken off), the more regrettable from the notoriety of the fact, that the present Archbishop of CANTERBURY was endeavouring to enlarge the facilities for study, instead of lessening them, and that he had to permit the closing of his Library, whilst he was still urging on the Commissioners the performance of their plain duty, as well to the public at large, as to the munificence of departed benefactors, by providing adequate means for the permanent extension of its public usefulness.

Of the forty-one RALEGH Letters which are now published from transcripts—preserved in manuscript or in print—ten have been derived from one or other of those manuscript collections which have been mentioned already as being the several constituents of the Department of MSS. at the British Museum. Six others have been taken from the Rolls House MSS. One has been copied from a Bodleian manuscript at Oxford. Nearly all

of these seventeen MSS. are authoritative. Either from the known character and position of the transcriber, or from the internal evidence of the letter itself, or from circumstantial evidence of a collateral sort, the copies which have been printed are, in every instance (it is believed), substantially authenticated. Transcription, indeed, always carries with it some amount or other of possible and probable inaccuracy, verbal or literal, of which it would be easy to find instances in copies—intended to be exact—made by a writer himself from his own letters. The collation of copies made at various times has been practicable in respect of several of the RALEGH Letters, the originals of which are either not known to exist, or are no longer accessible. The variations have been, in such cases, carefully noted. In every instance the source from which the letter has been printed is indicated. When a transcript has been followed, the date at which it was made has been stated, when known to the Editor.

Sources of
the Raleigh
Letters
already
printed.

As respects those of the Letters which are merely reprints, the earliest print has usually been followed. They amount, in all, to little more than one-eighth of the whole number of Letters; and at least twelve out of the twenty-two are as satisfactorily authenticated in the character of word-for-word, though not of precisely 'literal,' copies as are the best of the manuscript copies, taken from the Harleian Collection or from the national

archives. There is no room, I think, for doubt that the four letters about the 'Capture of the great Carrack,' which are reprinted from STRYPE'S *Annals*, or the three letters, on various subjects, which are reprinted from MURDIN'S *Burghley Papers* (the originals having been, as it seemed, misplaced for the moment at Hatfield), were, in substance, accurately copied by STRYPE or by MURDIN respectively from the original document as it came to his hands; although neither STRYPE nor MURDIN was careful to follow the exact method of spelling words employed by the sixteenth-century writer.

On this orthographic point, it may here be said that the one hundred and twenty-five letters which are now printed from the originals are printed, literally, as RALEGH wrote them. But this faithful reproduction does not extend to a servile repetition of mere elisions, or of stenographic symbols, some of which seem to have been peculiar to the writer himself, whilst others of them were common to him and to several of his contemporaries. Sometimes, for example, he abbreviates a word by writing the consonants, and connecting them with a wavy mark or line, which stands in lieu of vowels—a sort of shorthand which is amply sufficient when one has become familiar with a man's autograph, but the imitation of which in print would answer no useful purpose. For like reasons, other and less uncommon abbre-

Method followed in the transcription and printing of the Letters.

viations are in these volumes extended; and no attempt has been made to discriminate between short *i* and long *j*, or between *u* and *v*, as far as respects words which the writer himself was wont to spell sometimes with the one letter, and sometimes with the other. I have ventured to hope that the book will be read occasionally by other readers than those who have Elizabethan archæology at their fingers' ends, and to think that it is no part of an Editor's duty to print what, to the youngest of his readers, cannot but prove a puzzle, instead of printing what to every reader must needs be plain English.

The earliest of the partial collections of the *Letters of Raleigh* in print was that which accompanied the tract entitled *The Sceptic*, printed at London, in 1651. It contained only eight letters. Then followed that which forms part of the *Remains*, published in 1657, and therefore within the lifetime of the writer's surviving son, CAREW RALEGH, and within that of some of his own contemporaries. No important addition to these seems to have been made until Dr. THOMAS BIRCH published his edition of Sir WALTER RALEGH'S *Miscellaneous Works* in the year 1751. OLDYS, perhaps the most learned, certainly and incomparably the most painstaking, of RALEGH'S biographers, had, after long search, ferreted out twenty-eight letters, including as well those which

Birch's
edition of
Raleigh's
Letters.

were still in manuscript as those already in print. The number of the letters printed in the *Remains of Raleigh* is eleven; that of the letters printed by BIRCH is thirteen. But Dr. BIRCH, although he possessed many eminent qualities, and did excellent service in his day to historical literature, was a careless editor. He had a multitude of avocations, which he pushed on abreast, and one or other of them was getting continually thrust against the wall. Few of his contemporaries had equal familiarity with the original documents of English history. He was constantly engaged in the transcription of such. But probably it would be a difficult matter to show that any one among his innumerable transcripts possesses *exact* accuracy. His text of RALEGH'S Letters is less trustworthy than that of the *Remains*, published a century before. On the other hand, it is far more trustworthy than that published eighty years afterwards, from the University Press at Oxford. A collection of letters more abounding in errors, more chaotic in sequence, or more devoid of those editorial helps and appliances of which epistolary books stand more obviously in need than most others, it would not be easy to find. The amount of care expended in collecting the Letters was in entire keeping with that expended in editing them. The total number printed in the eighth volume of the *Works of Raleigh*, in 1829, is twenty-six. Half a dozen others had been previously printed in the

The
Oxford
edition of
the Letters
(1829).

first volume, as they occurred in the old *Life* by OLDYS. Not a word occurs in Volume VIII. to tell the reader that he will find other letters in Volume I. The series of twenty-six *begins with* a letter written in or near the year 1610—or about the sixth year of RALEGH'S imprisonment; and the series ends with one written in the year 1713—almost a century after RALEGH'S death. Intermediately, we have letters of 1617; then of 1584, and of 1603. And that letter of 1713 cannot be called a 'forgery.' It was never intended to deceive. It bears the plain mint-mark of the *Englishmen* and the *Tattlers*, in company with which it was printed; and the internal evidence that it must have been the composition of Sir RICHARD STEELE is every whit as palpable as is the internal evidence that it could not possibly have been the composition of Sir WALTER RALEGH. The productions of the University Press of Oxford would not have won their high and well-deserved fame had not such editing as this been a very rare exception in the course of the long series.

The
Letters of
Raleigh,
addressed
to the
Cecils ;

Of the Letters which occupy the greater part of the present volume, no less than ninety are addressed to one or other of the two famous CECILS who helped so largely to shape the policy and to influence the fortunes of England during nearly the whole of RALEGH'S lifetime. If to these we

add the eleven other letters superscribed "To the Lords of the Council"—an address which occasionally meant but little more, in fact, than an address "To Lord Treasurer BURGHLEY" or "To Mr. Secretary CECIL"—we find that almost two-thirds of RALEGH'S correspondence, so far as it is now known to be extant, is more or less a 'Cecil Correspondence,' and therefore relates, with but rare exceptions, either to affairs of State and of official duty, or else—in the later period especially—to personal and pecuniary interests, for the advancement or protection of which the influence of the Treasurer or Secretary was sought. These letters contain many valuable contributions towards the history of a period teeming with great events. They also contain many by-touches of self-portraiture, which are, perhaps, far truer representations of mind and character than the happiest impressions of photography, in modern days, are of outward form and feature. But probably the reader, like the Editor, would have gladly exchanged a few of the letters on public business—howsoever important—for one or two of those friendly epistles, addressed, perhaps, to SPENSER, or to BEN JONSON, in which RALEGH may now and then have taken up the thread of some remembered conversation, 'on Mulla's shore,' about pastoral poetry, or in which he may have fought over again some tongue-combat at '*The Mitre*,' or at '*The Mermaid*,' about the old historians of Greece

and their
subject-
matter.

or Rome, or about the laws of poetry, or the rising glories of the English stage.

If letters such as these are absent, the reader will find some compensation in the many letters of a strictly personal sort which have been preserved, and some of which are here first printed. Others of them have been so printed (in the pages of miscellaneous periodicals, or of 'Transactions' of learned Societies, known only to a very small circle of readers), as that they are still substantially new. They have had almost as little publicity as if the MSS. had never until now been disturbed. Much additional information will be found, it is hoped, about the mysterious plots of 1603, both in the later RALEGH Letters, and in the letters printed in the Appendix: and some of the new documents will throw fresh light upon old ones. The letters, too, which were addressed to Lady RALEGH from Winchester, and from the Tower, possess an undying interest for all Englishmen. One of them first gave RALEGH his place amongst the popular letter-writers of England. It has figured in many Collections of Letters and of '*Elegant Extracts*;' and is, perhaps, almost as widely known as any epistolary composition in our language. That letter, it will be seen, affords several curious instances of corruption of text, arising both from careless copying, and from the endeavours of ambitious editors to improve upon their author.

Among RALEGH's less frequent correspondents will be found Secretary Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM; the Earls of LEICESTER and of ESSEX; the Lord Admiral HOWARD of EFFINGHAM (afterwards Earl of NOTTINGHAM); ARTHUR, Lord GREY of WILTON, Lord Deputy of Ireland; the Lord Chancellor EGERTON (afterwards Baron ELLESMERE and Viscount BRACKLEY); the Lord High Treasurer BUCKHURST (afterwards Earl of DORSET); that fatal friend HENRY BROOKE, Lord COBHAM; and JAMES' royal Consort, ANNE of Denmark.

In all probability, RALEGH addressed many more letters than one to Queen ELIZABETH; but only one is known to have been preserved. It has been already printed, but not accurately. It is here given from the original, preserved in the Cecil Collection at Hatfield.

Considerable as is the number of the Letters now collected into this volume, there exist many indications that another considerable portion of RALEGH's Correspondence is still to seek. Many references to letters not now known to be extant occur amongst the State Papers preserved at the Rolls House. In the Council Register Books at the Privy Council Office I have met with numerous like references. Some such references, it will be seen, occur in the printed letters themselves. And, finally, it may be remarked that although OLDYS was acquainted with but twenty-

Other
Corre-
spondents
of Raleigh.

Lost
Letters of
Raleigh.

eight letters written by Sir WALTER, one,¹ at least, of those known to him is lacking in the present collection.

Part of the missing Correspondence has doubtless perished. Some of the Letters which in the following series are printed for the first time have escaped perils so many, and so varied in kind, that it is almost a marvel that they, also, have not perished. But another part, I trust, may yet be discovered. There is even some reason to think that in the Library at Hatfield itself, from which, by the marked kindness and liberality of its noble owner, I have been permitted to make so large an addition to the RALEGH Letters heretofore known, others will yet, on further search, be found. This, however, is at present only a hope. I have laboured diligently to discover, by every channel and effort which have been open to me, letters the existence of which—in some repository or other—I had found good reason to infer.

Sometimes, a scarcely anticipated success has rewarded the effort, when made under quite other than promising circumstances. But oftener, and even under conditions much more hopeful, it has been followed only by disappointment. And—as it has happened in many other like cases—several of the Letters which have not been recovered

¹ Namely, a *second* letter addressed to Sir Michael Hickea, the Secretary of Lord Burghley. I believe that I saw this letter,—some years ago,—but I have failed to recover it in time for the present volume.

possess, either from their known subject-matter or from the circumstances under which they are known to have been written, a special biographical interest; whilst many that have been found are, on that score, of slight value.

Probably, the publication of the letters contained in this volume may yet, in some instances, lead to the discovery of their missing companions. Should the book meet with a sufficient portion of public favour to warrant me in reprinting it, it may very fairly be hoped that the new edition will, to some extent or other, be an augmented one, especially as regards the *Letters of Raleigh*. But that no hope of this sort has induced, knowingly, any perfunctory carelessness in the preparation of the present edition, is a fact which those who honour the book with a perusal will, perhaps, be the less inclined to question when they are assured that—since it was begun—journeys have been undertaken in search of missing RALEGH Letters and papers which, in their aggregate, amount to more than two thousand miles. It so happens that the materials of RALEGH biography lie scattered—in a degree which I believe to be unusual—in all parts of England. And, as the readers of these volumes will perceive, there are materials not a few in Continental repositories.

Of the circumstances of one among these many biographizing journeys I venture to think that I may here make some mention, without incurring

the charge of irrelevant egotism. The search, in that instance, was both a troublesome and a fruitless one. But the statement which led me to make the journey has something of historical curiosity about it, and it is worthy of being again reprinted. It connects two of the most famous names in English history. Perhaps the putting on record of the now certain fact that what has often been alleged to exist does *not* exist,—at least in the place assigned,—may hereafter save unavailing labour to some future inquirer. Until February 1867, although more than half a dozen of the biographers of Sir WALTER RALEGH had repeated the assertion that JOHN HAMPDEN busied himself in collecting at Hampden House, in Bucks, no less a mass of RALEGH's writings than amounted (when fairly transcribed by an amanuensis whom he had established in the house, a year or two before his own death, expressly for that task) to 'three thousand four hundred' sheets, not one of them, I find, is known ever to have troubled himself with an inquiry at Hampden (where books and tracts collected by the great Parliamentarian remain to this day), as to their existence or their loss.

The story was first told by DAVID LLOYD in his book entitled *State Worthies*. He tells it so circumstantially that, although later writers on RALEGH have, as has been said, taken no pains to prove the statement, or to disprove it, they have

not failed to keep it alive by repeated echoes. Lloyd's words are these :—

“ Master HAMPDEN, a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3452 (*sic*) sheets of Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S MSS., as *the amanuensis himself told me*; who had [at Hampden House, in Buckinghamshire] his closet chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant, to deliver him the originals, and take his copies as fast as he could write them.”¹

By the obliging courtesy of Mr. GEORGE CAMERON HAMPDEN—in whom the lineal representation of Hampdens, Trevors, and Hobarts is now vested—the Editor was permitted to make a thorough search at Hampden House for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not any waif or stray of this alleged mass of RALEGH MSS. has survived. No such papers, I was told, were known to its owner; nor had his attention ever been called to LLOYD'S statement. I found there a fine library—chiefly modern, but including also some precious rarities of old time—and a considerable collection of MSS., consisting partly of diplomatic correspondence, and partly of family muniments of the usual kind; but after a two days' search not a single manuscript leaf connected with RALEGH, nor any record or trace which threw light on the assertion first printed in the *State Worthies*, exactly two centuries ago.

¹ David Lloyd, *State Worthies* [1668], p. 675.

Minutes
of Raleigh
Letters in
Dr. Wil-
liams'
Library.

Not long afterwards I had the satisfaction of meeting,—in a less likely quarter,—with a curious RALEGH volume, which seems to have been written towards the end of the seventeenth century. It adds but little to previous knowledge, since nearly the whole of it is already in print. But it enables me to add, in this place, fragments of three letters,—or of minutes of *intended* letters,—addressed by Sir WALTER RALEGH to King JAMES the First, at various periods during the imprisonments in the Tower. I incline to the belief that they are 'minutes' merely; or, in other words, letters drafted, but never written. They are, however, although mere fragments, intrinsically worthy of preservation. The main interest of the volume from which I quote them is that it also contains fragments—not, as I think, otherwise known—of RALEGH's lost treatise, *Of the Art of War by Sea*.

These letter-minutes appear to belong respectively to the years 1611, 1615, and 1616. The opening sentences of the second fragment were afterwards used in the formal dedication to King JAMES of the tract to which it refers. The fragment of 1611 runs thus:—

TO THE KING.

[From a transcript, contained in a manuscript collection of tracts by RALEGH, entitled '*Fragments of Sir Walter Raleigh's*,' made in the seventeenth century; formerly belonging to the Rev. JOHN JONES, Vicar of Alconbury, and now preserved in Dr. WILLIAMS' Library in London, fol. 237. This transcript is headed: 'AN

EPISTLE TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE.' The letter is evidently unfinished. It may be conjectured that its subject is in some way connected with the Discourse about the Marriage of Prince Henry. See Vol. I. chap. xxii.]

" *To the high and mighty JAMES, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.*

1611?

To the King.
[From the Tower.]

" MY MOST DREAD SOVERAIGNE AND LIEGE LORD,

" Amongst temporall blessings given from God and powred upon men this is not the least—for a man to beholde the frute of his owne bodie; *surculum ex radice*, an impe or graffe from the stocke;—the olive branches about the table;—the hope of his posterity;—the image of him selfe;—and the staffe of his old age. The consideration of the want whereof caused that good Patriarch out of the bitternes of his soule to crye and to make his complaint unto his God: '*I goe childles; and the steward of my howse is [this] ELIAZAR of Damascus: Behold, to me thou hast given no seed; wherefore, loe a servant of my howse shalbe my heire.*'

On the providential blessing of male issue; written, perhaps, with reference to the *Discourse on the Marriage of Prince Henry.*

Gen. xv.
2, 3.

" But to be furnished with masculyne yssue, and to have the firstborne of that sex to whome the birthright is due as to the sanctified of God, the preservation of his name, and the heire of his patrimony, is a double blessing to all men;—much more unto Kings, the Lord's annoynted: whereby their throne

2 Sam.
vii. 12.

1 Kings
xxi. 21.

is established; their subjects, in the midst of the day present, do behold that sunn which shall ryse upon them in the day succeeding, and have their harts setled to say unto their souveraigne, '*Wce and our seed will serve thee and thy seed for ever.*' For this was God's blessing unto the propheticall King: '*When thy dayes be fulfilled, thou shalt sleepe with thy fathers, and I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy body, and will establish his kingdome.*' And contrariwise was Ahab accursed, of whome God said: '*Interficiam de Ahab mingentem ad parietem,*' threatninge by that circumlocution to roote out all yssue male of Ahab that might succeed him.

"Hence it is that all potentates of the world have highly respected and advanced to great honor¹ in the sight of their subjects the person in whome their succession is established and their memory preserved—theire heire apparent of their crowne, and have given and conferred upon them high and eminent titles. Of the Romanes he was called *Cæsar et Princeps juventutis*, as the principall of all their hope in their posterity. And to like purpose by allmost all nations 'the Prince;' the French adding a peculiar name in respect of his patrimony, '*the Dolphin,*'—

¹ First written '*height,*' and corrected in the margin of MS.

given by UMBELICUS to PHILLIP VALOIS, King of France, upon condicion that the heire of France should ever after enjoy it, and carry that name and title. And the title of heire apparant to the Crowne of England” . . .

.
.

Then follows the fragment which appears to have been intended to accompany a MS. copy of *The Prerogative of Parliaments*:—

TO THE KING.

[From the same transcript, fol. 246, verso, without superscription or signature. The first two sentences of this letter Raleigh afterwards used (with modifications) in a long and formal dedication which he prefixed to the presentation copy of the book (*The Prerogative of Parliaments*?) to which the letter relates.]

“ THOSE that are supprest and hopeles are comonly sylent, wishing that the common ill might sort with their particuler misfortunes. It is otherwise with mee, who am not like the dogge that breaks his teeth in byting the stone that strake [him]. The grace I have found hath bene from your Majestie onely, and the life, such as it is, which I enjoy is of your guift.

“ In my former travell with my penn,—that of my sword to your Majestie’s infinite disadvantage refused,—though it hath bene disgraced, I cannot yet thereby be beaten from

1615?

To the King.

With a copy of the tract entitled *The Prerogative of Parliaments*.

my desier to serve your Majestie with the affection which hath nourishment from my dutie to God, and, from the goodnes of my King, cannot change.

“ And, though your Majestie in this,¹ as in the rest, fynde mee a foole, that I have bene falce you shall never fynde. God knowes it. I hope your Majestie thinks it.”

The third fragment, which relates to the Guiana expedition, is as follows :—

TO THE KING.

[From the same transcript, fol. 229.]

1616?
To King James.
[From the Tower.]
On the proposed Expedition to Guiana.

.
[*The beginning is wanting.*]
.
.

“ For, weere it not out of a singuler devotion to doe your Majestie service, I take it, under your Majestie’s gracious pardon, for a libertie *mal entendu* to be removed out of this stedy Tower into a rowling shipp, to change the dyett of soft bread and fresh meat for hard biskett and salt beife, to drinke unsavory water, instead of wyne and beare, and to disorder an aged, worne, and weake

¹ *I. e.* in the work entitled *The Prerogative of Parliaments*, the presentation copy of which this letter was to accompany.

bodie with watching, travell, and distempered heat of the Indies; besides a world of other harmes and hazards. For the rest, most renowned Sovereigne, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to conceive that I never had any hidden or any dishonest intention in this point.

“ There have bene, in all ages, some that have risen againe after a civill death; yea, we have of them [some] now liveing which take themselves to be honest men, and so beleive of them. Why they may not write while they lyve in nature, I know not. If by writing they may serve their cuntry and be profitable to others, *they* are dead, in charitie, that thinke the contrary, and [are] to be numbred amongst those *qui gloriantur in malitia*, of whome I have spoken before.”

.
[*The end is wanting.*]
.
.

Of the other letters to King JAMES,—which are printed in the body of the volume,—many will be found to be entirely new to the reader. Others are now printed from the originals, which heretofore have been known only by inaccurate copies. Among the letters of both kinds—those now first published, and those which are but reprints—are

The Correspondence with King James.

one or two which rank among the most characteristic fruits of their writer's mind. Several of them contain passages which it is painful to read; but they are among the most precious materials of biography.

Of two other letters, purporting to have been written by RALEGH, I entertain doubts of a different sort from those which apply to the fragments in the JONES MS. They were printed, more than two hundred years ago,¹ in the volume entitled "*A Collection of Letters made by Sir TOBIE MATHEWS.*" TOBIAS MATHEW was the well-known son of that Bishop of Durham who became RALEGH'S successor in the possession of Durham House, and therefore he was himself Sir WALTER'S contemporary. But his character in literature, as in life, is such as to give very small authority to his statements. He was made up of crotchets and affectations. He had a special fondness, I believe, for treating correspondence somewhat in the way in which it was treated by his contemporary JAMES HOWELL, or—still more conspicuously—by a famous poet of the next century. He gave, it would seem, to his letters fictitious addresses, fictitious dates, fictitious headings, and fictitious interpolations. It is possible, of course, that the two letters assigned by him to RALEGH,—and published by his editor, Dr.

¹ In November 1659, but with the imprint, 'Lond. 1660.'

JOHN DONNE, four years after MATHEW'S own death,—are genuine; but the authority is eminently unsatisfactory, and to the best of my knowledge neither of them derives confirmation from external sources. I therefore print them in this place, rather than in the body of the volume. I print them literally as they were printed in 1659, and with the fantastical headings which TOBIE MATHEW, or Dr. DONNE, was pleased to prefix to them. The first letter—if it be genuine—does not, it is obvious, relate (as has been suggested) to the sale of the house at Mitcham in Surrey, in order to raise money towards the expenses of the fatal expedition to Guiana. That house was purchased from Lady RALEGH by Sir THOMAS PLUMER (an ancestor of the PLUMERS of Hertfordshire), to whom assuredly the expressions "*the gentleman who is so greatly in favour,*" and who "*hath many faire fortunes before him,*" have no relevancy. If those phrases be not mere imitations of similar phrases in the well-known letter to Sir ROBERT CARR, they are, at least, reiterations of them, plainly pointed at the same Court favourite; neither is it possible that the phrase, "*we have nothing to look for but misery,*"—howsoever true potentially, and in the event,—could have been used by RALEGH, of himself and his family, at a date immediately prior to his outset for Guiana, when he was full of great schemes of enterprise, if not full of hopes.

If this letter be indeed genuine, and be faithfully printed, it obviously must relate to the negotiation with CARR about the Sherborne estate, and must belong to the year 1609, not to 1616. The subject-matter of the other letter refers it, just as evidently, to the year 1618, and to some late period of the year, almost immediately before Sir WALTER'S execution.

The undated letter of 1609 is thus headed in the collection of 1659 :—

“SIR W. RAWLEY TO A GREAT LORD WHOM HE
ENTREATS TO GIVE HIM JUST ASSISTANCE IN HIS
BUSINESSE.

1609?

1) “MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,¹

Letter
alleged (by
Tobias
Mathew or
by John
Donne) to
have been
written by
Sir W.
Raleigh to
some
nobleman
unnamed.

“ I HUMBLY beseech your Lordship to give me leave, and pardon to[o], if I need it, for the answering of those things which you were lately pleased to object against me ; and that you will, charitably, also consider of my demands, and of the reasons which embolden me to make them.

¹ This form of address, to other than the Sovereign, it may here be observed, does occur in the course of the correspondence hereinafter printed, but it is extremely unusual with Raleigh. I do not remember that it is once used by him in addressing the Lord Treasurer Burghley. It occurs, once—in 1604—in a letter to Lord Cecil, relative to the delivery of the Seal of the Duchy of Cornwall. If this letter of 1609 be genuine, the person most likely to be asked by the writer to “consider charitably of my demands, and of the reasons which embolden me to make them,” is evidently the Lord Treasurer Salisbury. But I see no trace of such a letter among the Hatfield MSS.

“ Those answers go here, in a paper which is enclosed apart, and my letter shall say but thus much : That the gentleman who is so greatly in favour hath many faire fortunes before him ; and we, nothing to look for but misery ; and that he is better able to give us above the worth of the land, than we in condition to abate any part thereof. And therefore we humbly beseech your Lordship that your compassion and care of honour may be the judge between his prosperous navigation and our shipwrack, and that your charity for us, and your desire of satisfaction for him, may equal the ballance between us.

“ I hope so heartily to find as just favour at your hands, as I will venture upon this to assure you that I will do all my uttermost to make my wife and my son forget their misery in themselves, and to be ever mindful of their duty to your Lordship, to whom I hope they will be, as I am sure myself have been, and am, a most faithfull humble servant, &c.”

The undated letter of 1618 is thus headed :—

“ SIR WALTER RAULEIGH TO KING JAMES ; WHICH SEEMES RATHER TO ACKNOWLEDGE FAVOURS, THAN TO DESIRE THEM.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ MY sad destiny hath been such, that I could never present Your Majesty but with

[1618.]

Letter alleged (by T. Mathew or by J. Donne) to have been written by Sir W. Raleigh to King James.

a prospect upon my complaints and miseries, in stead of doing You services which might have been acceptable to You. I have not spared my labour, my poor estate, and the howerly hazard of my life; but God hath otherwise disposed of all; and now end the dayes of my hope.

“I must neverthesse, in this little time in which I am to live, acknowledge and admire your goodnesse, and in all my thoughts and even with my last breath confesse that You have beheld my affliction with compassion. And I am yet in nothing so miserable, as in that I could never meet an occasion wherein to be torn in pieces for Your Majestie’s service; I, who am still Your,” &c.

I am bound to add that, for myself, I wholly decline to believe that RALEGH wrote thus to King JAMES *in October* 1618. RALEGH was sometimes a flatterer, and there had been a time when he had shown himself very capable of flattering (even fulsomely) that shame of our English throne; possible as it may be that some of his panegyric is but irony. I venture to think, nevertheless, that in the very last days of life he could scarcely write to the King who, at the express bidding of PHILIP the Third’s Cabinet, had already commanded him to be put presently to death, for a conspiracy,

fifteen years before, with Spain against England, such words as these : “ With my last breath I confesse that You have beheld my affliction with compassion,” and “ I am in nothing so miserable, as that I could never meet an occasion wherein to be torn in pieces for Your Majestie’s service,” until I shall see those sentences under his hand ; or, at all events, find better authority for them than that of Sir TOBIE MATHEW, or of King JAMES’ Dean of St. Paul’s.

Among the missing letters, the lack of which I especially regret, are to be mentioned a series—fourteen in number—that were addressed to RALEGH’s half-brothers, Sir HUMPHREY and Sir JOHN GILBERT, and to his nephew, the younger Sir JOHN GILBERT. These letters are known to have belonged to the eminent collector, Mr. BRANDE HOLLIS, towards the close of the last century ; and all of them, there is reason to think, were in the possession of the late Mr. MACVEY NAPIER—formerly Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*—early in the present century. They passed to him, it seems, through the hands of the Edinburgh bookseller, ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE (the ‘ Old Crafty ’ of Scott and Lockhart). Repeated inquiry has hitherto failed to elicit their fate. The following is a list of those letters, which I copy from a note addressed to CONSTABLE at the time when they were offered to him for purchase :—

Lost
Letters,
addressed
by Raleigh
to his
brothers
and
nephew.

- No. 1. "To my very loving brother Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, Knight. Dated 4 *April*, 1592.
2. "To his nephew [Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger]. 1597.
3. "To the same. 14th *July* [no date of year].
4. "To the same. Without date.
5. "To his brother. 1588.
6. "To Sir JOHN GILBERT, Knight. 1591.
7. "To the same. Addressed: — *For Her Majesties espyall affaires*. To Sir JOHN GILBERT, Knight, at Dartmouth. *Hast, post, hast; hast with speed*. Without date.
8. "To his nephew, Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger, Governor of the Fort at Plymouth. Without date.
9. "To the same. Without date.
10. "To the same. Without date.
- *11. "To Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, with a present from Queen ELIZABETH. Dated '*Richmond, March 18, 1582.*'
12. "To the same. Without date.
13. "To his nephew, Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger. Without date.
- *14. "To Sir JOHN GILBERT. Without date."

To this list its writer adds these words: "All the above were received by me from the late BRANDE HOLLIS, Esq., F.R.S., S.A." The list is unsigned, and undated. It is addressed: '*Mr. Constable.*' Should it now chance to fall under the eye of any reader who may be acquainted with the whereabouts of any of the letters mentioned in it, a communication of such knowledge would be most gratefully received by the Editor of this volume.

All these Gilbert letters must needs possess some biographical value. Three, out of the fourteen, have become known to me,—in the course of the preparation of my book,—two of them from transcripts made for Dr. THOMAS BIRCH, about a hundred years ago, when their originals were still at Plymouth, in the possession of the GILBERT family; and the third from a transcript made for Mr. NAPIER. They are here printed under the numbers VI., LII., and LXXXIII.

The fate of the remaining eleven letters is the more reasonably a subject of curiosity from the circumstance that another and most curious letter—falsely, as it seems, ascribed to RALEGH himself by his brother's descendants—accompanied those of the letters in the above list which were shown to Dr. BIRCH; and I have now before me his transcript. It would seem to be simply inconceivable that so strange an incident as is recorded in that letter should have occurred to Sir WALTER RALEGH, without mention of it by any of his news-writing contemporaries or by any of his many enemies. Among the proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber of the year 1601 there is, however, this one small point of coincidence: RALEGH's disgraced servant and bitter opponent, JOHN MEERE, in one of his pleadings about the Sherborne business, speaks of his master as having done a certain thing alleged "*since the Queen's pardon.*" No other allusion to 'a pardon'

is known to me. But, on the whole, the fair and obvious probability is that the letter now in question was written by one of the GILBERTS—in spite of its express but incredible endorsement: "*Letter of Sir Walter Raleigh, in the possession of Pomeroy Gilbert, Esq., Fort-Major of Plymouth, Descendent of Sir Humphrey.*" Be that as it may, it is intrinsically deserving of publication.

The Gilbert family is now represented by WALTER RALEGH GILBERT, Esq., of The Priory, near Bodmin. That gentleman has obligingly informed me that no papers are in his possession which throw light either on the letter now to be printed, or on that (also remarkable) addressed to Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger, which I have printed at page 193 of this volume.

Letter of a writer unknown, to a nobleman, or Privy Councillor, unnamed; formerly ascribed to Sir W. Raleigh.

"WHEREAS it pleased your Lordshipp for his sake who while he lived did especially love and honor your Lordship to be a mean to her most excellent Majestic for my pardon, who out of her abundant mercy and grace vouchsafyd the same, in whos service I shall be evermore reddey to yeild up and sacrifice that life which it pleased her Majestic to bestow upon mee at thys tyme : when I came to London to pled and take the benefitt of that her Majesties grace, I was notwithstanding so carefull and fearfull to give

offence, as after I hurd of the Lord BURROS¹ returne I forbore to go abrode or to follow any busness of myne own in London, or elsewhere; preparing as secreatly as I could to have pleaded the pardon and so to have returned ether to Irland, to have served her Majestie ther, or to have followed any other her Majesties service whersoever. Notwithstanding the Lord BURGH, contrary to the generall opinion which he seemeth to desire should be held of his valer and honorable dealing, lodged himselfe neare the place where I lay in the Strand, and abowt myd-night stole into the howse wher I was, in hope to have me in my chamber all alone, ether aslepe or utterly unprovided; when, because he found the dore of my chamber shutt and that he could not, without rumore, forc the same, he departed away; and the morning following stole to the howse again disguised, and comes to the chamber dore which, by sure securing² not above half an houre before, I caused to be kept lockt; and finding hymself a second time disappointed, he knockt at the chamber dore, and counter-fayting a voyce, sayd he was a frynd of myne and byd me open the dore. But by the

¹ Thomas Burgh, fifth Lord Burgh, or Borough, K.G., summoned to Parliament from 11th Jan. 1563 to 24th Oct. 1597.

² So in transcript; but the reading is questionable.

waving of a blayde I was sure¹
 and therefore I drew out my rapier, and so
 which, as soon as he perseved, and
 saw that I was provided, he dissimuled the
 [matter and] told mee he came but to chal-
 lenge mee, which, if I would answeare, he
 would give to have
 But my good unlikely, and hee
 in the dead of made a third
 . . . -ward in the morning, to
 have found mee unarmed and in my bed.
 For, otherwise, hee might have sent or
 written any challenge, more beseeming a man
 of his sort. How I was urged to the former
 quarrell, it is very well knowen; being first
 stricken by his brother—whom for love and
 goodwill I followed into the Indies—after-
 wards sought out and challenged, when as I
 was stelling away to have gone into the
 service of the Low Countres; and after I
 had wounded my Lorde's brother in the
 felde, it is well known that I never followed
 the quarrell with mallice; but, fynding hym
 to feynt, I gave over to assault hym and
 stayd with hym above half an houre, and
 set hym upright and [tried ?] to comfort hym
 in all I could untill, for very feare of cum-
 pany, I was forst to depart. And yet I so

¹ Here, as it seems, the original was mutilated. It appears to have been a rough draft of the letter sent.

much respected the gentleman as I rather preferred his recovery then myne owne safty. For I adventured to ryde into Holborne to send hyme a surgent, before I sought to save my self,—which course differeth much from this of that Lord, who, besedds the too former assalts, hath since lien in wayt for me in such sort and with such cumpany as I dare not pass towards Westminster to plead my pardon. And for acceptance of any challenge, my Lord knewe I may not. For as I am not yet freed of the former, so shall I bee by this pardon bounde by sureties to good behaviour ever after; and the acceptance of a challenge is a willfull breach therof. I am therefore most humblie to beseech your Lordship to continew your favor toward mee, that I may injoy so much libertye to insure the benefit of her Majesties great grace without the overpressing and outrageous¹ [? hindrance of the bro]ther or other relations of the Lord BRUGH'S. I have . . . uppon you being all supprest . . . I shall ever remayn

“Your Lordship's, to be
[commanded as your] servant,

¹ Here the original, whence this transcript was made, was again defective.

[POSTSCRIPT.]

. my therefore writ out this
 my own hand my Lord of
 Buckhurst.¹

Rare
 occurrence
 of dates in
 Raleigh's
 letters :
 and the
 occasional
 uncertain-
 ties there-
 arising.

That doubtful letters, and fragments of letters, such as these, should be without date is precisely what might be expected; but that scarcely a dozen of the one hundred and sixty-six well-authenticated RALEGH Letters hereinafter printed should contain an accurate or precise date is a fact that calls for some remark. The very few that bear the date of *year* are—I think almost uniformly—letters written, either wholly or in part, by an amanuensis. Sir WALTER'S own practice was to date his letters '*this Wednesday*' or '*this Friday*,' or, perhaps, '*this 6th of October*,' and the like, but with entire disregard of the year. I have done what I could to supply the true dates—either from endorsements or from the subject-matter of the letters themselves; but I am well aware that the reader's indulgent view of the difficulties which attend upon conjectural dating will, in the course of this volume, be much needed on behalf of its Editor. I have, at all events, the satisfaction of reflecting that, in not a few instances, letters already known, but wrongly dated

¹ This letter is endorsed: "For Dr. Birch. Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh in the possession of Pomeroy Gilbert, Esq., Fort-Major of Plymouth, descendent of Sir Humphrey."

in preceding books—sometimes by a period of six or seven years—have here been rectified. In printing so many new letters, I cannot hope to have altogether escaped the making of some new blunders. In one or two instances, I have subsequently discovered my error, and have corrected it either by footnote or by marginal note in the *Life*. For any undetected errors of this kind I solicit the candid consideration of readers. Those most accustomed to difficult researches amongst musty old papers will, perhaps, be most charitable on such a point.

Of Letters XLVI., CXXVI., CXXX., and CXXXII., it is needful to observe that they stand much in need of fuller explanation and of more illustrative remark than it has been in my power to give. I long entertained a hope that in the Episcopal Registry at Salisbury, or among the rich muniments of the Dean and Chapter there, I should be enabled, and permitted, to find some other portions of the correspondence relating to the Sherborne manors. My failure to do so has not arisen from lack of effort,—or of journeying,—on my own part. At many of the Diocesan, Collegiate, and Capitular registries and muniment-rooms throughout England, there is now a most liberal recognition of the fairness of making some distinction between facilities for searches intended to further a merely historical or literary purpose,

The Letters illustrative of the History of the Sherborne Manors, and of Raleigh's transactions with the Church of Sarum.

Fruitless
searches
for letters
at Salis-
bury and
at Sher-
borne.

and those appointed for searches of a more professional sort ; such, for instance, as are connected either with matters of personal profit or with points of legal contention. At Winchester—to take but one example out of very many which are known to me by personal experience—a most generous view of such matters obtains. But at Salisbury—as also at Exeter—the direct opposite of liberality is the rule, and the rule is faithfully adhered to.

I had also, in the course of my inquiries, found reason to think that certain other letters which are printed in this volume might have found very valuable and interesting illustration from documents which still, it is believed, exist at Sherborne Castle. But at Sherborne (as at Salisbury and at Exeter) my earnest efforts to obtain permission for access to them—of course under the reasonable restrictions which are usual and right in such researches by strangers—failed of their object. At Sherborne Castle, I fear, the renown of its Elizabethan owner is sometimes felt rather as an overhanging shadow, than as a matter of generous elation.

Generous
facilities
which have
been given
towards
the collec-
tion of
Kalegh
Letters.

It is far less agreeable to put on record failure and denial in legitimate inquiries for purposes of research, than gratefully to acknowledge the liberal furtherance of them. Of that, these volumes have received not a little. Some of my many obligations

are recorded in the Preface to the *Life of Raleigh*. But I cannot commit this collection of his Letters to the indulgence of the reader without once again registering in this place my grateful and special thanks,—first, to the Marquess of SALISBURY, for his generous permission to draw so largely on the papers at Hatfield; and, next, to the Master of the Rolls, Lord ROMILLY; to the Deputy Keeper of Records, Mr. DUFFUS HARDY; and to his most able and zealous officers in the General Record Office, for the very liberal facilities which the Editor of these Letters—in common with other students of Records better able to turn them to public profit—has long enjoyed. The circumstance that the ‘*Calendars*’ of the State Papers of Elizabeth’s reign, and the series of fac-similes entitled ‘*National Manuscripts*,’ have both been in active progress—at the Rolls House, and at Southampton—during much of the time in which my searches were carried on, inevitably made those searches occasionally obstructive to the due course of office business. And hence it is that many of the RALEGH Letters here printed are without precise references; the preparation of the new Calendars having required a re-numbering of the papers.¹ But what, to the searcher, might well have proved an unavoidable and, for the

¹ This circumstance will explain to the reader the occasional occurrence in this volume of the term ‘Unarranged’ or ‘Unnumbered Papers’ (as at pp. 21, 169, 174, 241, &c.), meaning papers which were in course of re-arrangement.

time, an insurmountable hindrance, has, by the kindness of the officers, been turned into an occasion of more than common help. To ALFRED KINGSTON, to WILLIAM NOEL SAINSBURY, and to WILLIAM BASEVI SAUNDERS, Esquires, this Collection of Letters, and its Editor, are thus under special obligation. I am also indebted to the kindness with which Mrs. EVERETT GREEN permitted me to make occasional use both of the MS. and of the printer's proofs of her excellent *Calendar of State Papers, for the years 1591 to 1596*, now in the press.

William My best thanks are also due to the Reverend HENRY STUBBS, ~~D. D.~~, late Librarian to the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, for many facilities afforded to me at Lambeth.

In submitting this collection of Letters to public criticism, I am very conscious of some among its many shortcomings. A task of this sort is necessarily one which has to be spread over several years. Before an Editor reaches the last stage of the long road on which he has been journeying, he is pretty sure to find some omissions which ought to have been supplied at earlier stages, and something to have been said or done, in one way,—soon after the outset,—which he would fain have said or done in quite another way, when looking back from the final resting-place on the incidents of his task.

On that head, all I will venture to add is this one remark: If any reader who may observe or suspect omissions or errors, and may have both opportunity and inclination to indicate them, will do so,—with whatsoever of blame he may deem fairly attachable to the fault,—he will confer on the Editor a favour which will be gratefully received, and sedulously turned to the right account, whenever opportunity may offer.

NOTE TO INTRODUCTION.

By the accident of a miscarriage of proofs in the Post Office, the three letters which have been already mentioned as addressed by RALEGH to the Senate of the University of Cambridge about Wine Licences were worked off, prior to correction of the press. These letters are here reprinted in the form in which they should have appeared at pp. 24, 27, and 28 of this Volume.

LETTER IX.

1584.

TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE
SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 340.]

I COMEND me to you, beinge lothe to greyve or discontent you, whome I love and am willinge any waies I

LETTER

IX.

1584
July 9.To the
Senate
of the
University
of Cam-
bridge.
From the
Court.On the
licensing of
Vintners
in Cam-
bridge.

maye to pleasure. I have thoughte good to informe you of a late hard part and riotouse demeanor done by some of your Universitie, which I can as yet but take in contempe of her Majesties graunt to me, not dealinge further therby then lawfullie (as I am informed) I maye doe. Yf otherwise, the Conference offered by my Deputees to one BAXTER and others, your late dealers in that cause, for the spedie and quyett dissidinge the matter by your learned Councill and myne, shold have bene accepted. The abuse done was sutche, as yf I shall not understand of some reformation or correction to be done to the Malefactors, wherby this bearer JOHN KEYMER, her Majesties Subjecte lawfullie lycenced by me to sell Wynes in your Town, doe quyetlye enjoye the same untill by lawe (that governeth us all) yt be otherwyse determyned, I will devyse some other course for reformation herein. The barers haste awaye (to comfort his poore wife, who by violence offered was in case by sondrye soundes,¹ and passions, likelie to have died) was sutche, as tyme served me not to move my verye good Lord the Lord Treasurer, for his Honor's letter in reformation hereof, which I dowted not to have had, but I do rest assured that yourselves will take suche directe and lawfull course herein, as neyther my selfe, nor yow, nor anye other that will comaund us, shall have occasion further herein to be trobled, which I hartelie wyshe: not desiringe so fullie and lawfullie to extend her Majesties graunt in your towne, as maye further greyve your Vynteners, the onlie styrrers herein, respectinge more their gayne then quyett government. I crave your spedie answeere in wrightinge by this barer, for that the unlawfull and riotous parties must not rest

¹ *scandalis.*

unpunished. And so I bidd you all hartelic farwell.
From my lodging at the Cort, this ixth of Julie, 1584.

Your very assured loving Frinde,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

*To the Worshipfull my loving Friends, Mr. Doctor HOWLAND, Vice
Chauncelor of the Universitie of Cambridg, and others, the Maisters
of the same.*

LETTER XI.

1585.

TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE
SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. University Registry (Cambridge). [Transcript
in MS. Baker, xxix. 341.]

MR. VYCE CHAUNCELOR,

BEINGE (by informacion) perswaded, that your selfe, with the grave and well disposed of your Universitie, were so greved with the unseamelye owtrages latelie comytted by the yonge and unbridled hedds of the same, in contempte of the Quenes Majesties prerogatyve and graunt unto me, and to my discredytt, as suffycyent order by yow had ben taken for this bearer's quyett, which caused me to reste from requyringe reformation therin at my verye good Lord Treasurer's handes, who (by me) as yet understandeth not of those ryotts; And I did forbare, contrarye to the advyse of my learned Councell, in procedinge to enquer by lawe of the same ryotts, of good wyll I beare to your Universitie; And ment so to deale with yow for the other foure Tavernes, as sholde have suffycyentlie contented

LETTER
XI.

1584-1585.
Feb. 10.

To the
Senate
of the
University
of Cam-
bridge.
From
Somerset
House.

On the
licensing of
Vintners
in Cam-
bridge.

yow. But my to¹ favorable dealinge with yow hathe geven suche encorage, as this daie, I am informed, yow have warned this barer to appeare before yow, whose wills therin I have willed him to performe. And I am further informed, yow mynd to disturbe hym ageyne from usinge his honeste and lawfull trade of Wynesellinge, authorised therunto by the Quenes Majesties graunt, under the great Seale of England. And althoughe I know yow not, yet your place sholde tell me, that your prosedinges wilbe with hym juste and lawfull, which onlye I desyer of yow. So yow shall pleasure yourselves, and contynewe my redynes to doe yow any good I maye. I hope, uppon your answere, I shall fynd the Informacions to growe rather uppon jelosey, then juste matter. So I leave you to God. From the Cort at Somersett Howse, this 10th of February, 1584.²

Your very willing Frind,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

To my loving frind Mr. Vycechancelor, and the reste of the Maysters of the Universitie of Cambridge.

LETTER XII.

TO THE SAME.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 342.]

LETTER
XII.
—
1584-1585.
Feb. 20.

I CANNOT a litle marvaile att your peremtory and proud manner of delinge. I was content to use all manner of curtesy towards yow (in respect of my Lord Tresorer, my Honorable good Lorde), but I perceve, that my

¹ *too.*

² Legal style.

reasonable or rather to¹ submis deling hath bread in yow a proceding unsufferable. Yow have cummitted a poore man to the prison having don nothing but warranted by the great Seal of England ; your Seales supposing a priviledge by Charter. I doe not know that any man, or any men, or Sotiety, would take so mich uppon them, before triall made. But, as I reverence the place of whence² yow ar the governors, so I will not willingly take any wrong or disgrace from yow. And I am asured my Lord Tresorer, who may command mee mich, wilbe indifferent in this case. For the matter so much concerneth the validety of my patent elswer, as well as in your Uneversity, as I will try the uttermost of my right, as well for this one, which I was content to be satisfied withall, as for all the other foure. And so, having thought yow would have vouchsafed an awnswere of my last letters, I end.

Court, this xx^t of Febriary, 1584.³

Your Frind as yow shall geve cause,

W. RALEGH.

¹ *too*.

² So in MS.

³ Legal style.

To the
Senate
of the
University
of Cam-
bridge.
From the
Court.

On the
same
subject.

1

*This man is fit to use in all assays,
Whether for arms and warlike amenance,
Or else for wise and civil governance.
For he is practised well in policy,
And thereto doth his courting most apply:
To learn the interdeal of Princes strange;
To mark the intent of Councils, and the change
Of States; and eke of private men sometime,
Supplanted by fine falsehood and fair guile.
Of all the which he gathereth what is fit
To enrich the storehouse of his powerful wit;
Which, through wise speaking and grave conference,
He daily ekes, and brings to excellence.*

SPENSER (Mother Hubbard's Tale).

LETTERS OF
SIR WALTER RALEGH.

1581.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS I. TO V.—*RALEGH'S
MILITARY SERVICE IN IRELAND.*

[T has been mentioned in the *Life* [Chap. ii. Vol. I. p. 45] that the documents hitherto discovered—in the Rolls House and elsewhere—do not afford the means of dating, with certainty, the commencement of Raleigh's service in Ireland. Letter I., when conjoined with some accounts relating to military pay,—preserved, like it, in the Irish series of State Papers now collected at the Rolls House; and entitled '*Two Reckonings of Captain Walter Rawley*,'—ascertains the commencement of the particular service therein referred to. But neither the letter nor the pay-account gives conclusive testimony that the campaign of 1580 was the *first* Irish campaign in which the writer and accountant served. It is quite probable that it was so; but a probability only.

The '*Reckonings*' relate to two distinct periods of service in the field. The first of them begins with the 13th July, 1580, and ends on the 30th of the following September. The second begins with the 1st of April, 1582, and ends, in like manner, with the 30th of the following September. But, for reasons which have been adduced in the *Life* [Chap. ii. as above], the account of 1582 does not, of itself, afford evidence

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
OF 1581.

Ireland:
Elizabeth,
vol. xcix.
§ 84 (Rolls
House).

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
OF 1581.

that Raleigh was actually present with the army in Ireland during any part of that year.

Letter III. is especially remarkable for the contrast it draws between the methods severally adopted for the suppression of Irish insurrections by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and by the Earl of Ormond. The writer had an intimate knowledge of both commanders, and it is obvious, on the face of the documents, that his comparison of their exploits is coloured by personal feeling. The severe and sweeping censure of Ormond bears the aspect of some animosity to the man, hardly less conspicuously than the praises of Gilbert bear that of partial affection to the near relative and the early friend.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Irish service, referred to in Raleigh's letter, was performed in 1569. The spirit of the performance was described by Sir Humphrey himself, in a letter to Sir Henry Sydney, and in words as brief as they are expressive:—
“My manner of dealing was to show them all that they had more need of Her Majesty, than she of their service; neither yet that we were afraid of any number of them; our quarrel being so good. I slew all those from time to time that did belong to, feed, accompany, or maintain, any outlaws or traitors; and after my first summoning of a castle or fort, if they would not presently yield it, I would not afterwards take it of their gift, but won it perforce,—how many lives soever it cost; putting man, woman, and child of them to the sword.” It would have been strange, indeed, if Ormond, himself an Irishman, had exercised his command in Munster with like severity. But it is very notable that Sir Henry Sydney's immediate praise of Gilbert's acts and policy, as expressed in the despatches of the day, is quite as enthusiastic as Raleigh's was, in the retrospect, eleven years afterwards. For Sir Humphrey Gilbert, wrote Sir Henry Sydney to Burghley, “I cannot say enough. The highways are now made free, where no man might travel unspoiled. . . . Yet this is not the most, nor the best he hath done; for *the estimation that he hath won to the name*

Sydney to
Burghley,
4 Jan.
1570.

of Englishman there, before almost not known, exceedeth all the rest." That both Henry Sydney and Humphrey Gilbert possessed many noble qualities, and belong to the roll of the true Worthies of England, is among the uncontested facts of our history ; but it needs to be brought to mind in dealing with documents such as those now under view.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
OF 1581.

The paper submitted by Raleigh to the Queen,—to which Lord Deputy Grey refers in his marginal note to Letter IV. as "that platt which by Mr. Fent I have advertizement of, for the fynding of a certayne garrison gratis to Her Majestie,"—is not now to be found in the Irish Correspondence. But there is, in that series, a remarkable paper of later date (25 October, 1582), written partly in the hand of Lord Burghley, and partly in Raleigh's hand, and thus entitled (by Burghley):—*The Opinion of Mr. Rawley, upon motions made to hym for the meanes of subduyng the Rebellion in Monster.* This document is obviously the minutes of a conference between the Lord Treasurer and the soldier from Ireland ; Burghley holding the pen, and then handing his record to Raleigh, for revisal, before submitting it to the Queen. The point on which Raleigh lays the main stress of his argument is the necessity of winning over some of the many minor Irish chieftains, who were known to have followed the Earl of Desmond into rebellion less from love than from fear. Some of these, he tells the Queen and her councillors, were men really well-affected to her rule, and men who had formerly served under English commanders ; but who were now mainly influenced by two powerful impressions : they resented certain acts of violence committed by the English soldiery ; and they believed that ultimately the Queen would both pardon the Earl of Desmond and restore him to his possessions and dignities. In that case, the Earl's enmity would be more formidable to them than the enmity of the English.

"Mr. Raleigh thinketh," writes Lord Burghley, "that the Queens Majesties forces alone, without an excessive charge by

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
OF 1581.

an army that may prepare to lay garrisons in every country, will not subdue the rebellion ;”—for the enemy “shall be so relieved in every country where the English soldier cannot follow him, as, by fleeing from country to country, he will hold up his heart a long time. Therefore he thinketh it needful to have the help and concurrency of divers lords of particular countries.” And then Raleigh went on to show by what means many such lords might easily be won over. It is probable that these counsels were substantially the same with those for which Raleigh had obtained the Queen’s ear some months earlier, to the great displeasure of the Lord Deputy, who, in the preceding January, had thus expressed his dissatisfaction to Lord Burghley : “Having lately received advertisement of a plott delivered by Captain Rawley unto Her Majestye for the lessening of her charges here in the province of Mounster, and the disposing of the garrisons according to the same ; the matter at the first indeed offering a very plausible shewe of thrifte and commoditie might easily occasion Her Majestie to thinck that I have not so carefully as behoved looked into the state of that cause, and the search of Her Majesties proffitt. Wherefore, having with some of the best advised of the Councill here, entered into consideration thereof, and perceiving many inconveniences, and some impossibilities, in the accompt thereof, we have . . . layd downe our judgments and opinions thereof ; which, when it shall have come under your Lordship’s deeper consultation, I doubt not but you will soone discern a difference between the judgments of those which with grownded experience and approved reason looke into the condicion of things, and those which upon no grownd but seeming fancies, and affecting credit with proffitt, frame ‘Plotts’ upon impossibilitities, for others to execute.”

Ireland :
Elizabeth,
vol.
lxxxviii.
§ 12.

To Walsingham, Lord Grey wrote, nearly at the same time, a letter of most passionate complaint concerning alleged misrepresentations made at Court of his government and policy. In this letter he speaks of his traducer under the cypher ‘324,’ which in the *Calendar* of the Irish Papers is interpreted

as designating Lord Burghley himself. Some of the allusions, however, appear to point to Raleigh, rather than to the Lord Treasurer. But Burghley may have been won over to the adoption and endorsement of Raleigh's views. At the end of March, Walsingham notified to the Deputy the Queen's pleasure that Captain Raleigh should succeed to the command of 'Appesley's band.' [See Vol. I. p. 46.] Grey replies: "As for Captain Rawley's assignment to the charge of Apsleie's band, which in your letter of the 2nd of April you write to be signified unto me by a letter from Her Majestie, I have no letter which specifieth any such thing to me; and, for myne own part, I must bee playne: I nether like his carriage nor his company; and therefore, other then by direccion and commandment, and what his right can require, he is not to expect at my hands." That the Council Book of this period gives no sanction to the statement (hitherto, so uniformly made by Raleigh's biographers) that the disputes between the Lord Deputy and the refractory captain of cavalry came to a hearing at the Council table, before the Queen herself, I have shown already. But, be that as it may, the dates which have now been established prove conclusively that no such hearing can possibly have been the occasion on which Raleigh first attracted the Queen's favourable notice.

To the results and the incidents, however, of this great rebellion in Ireland it is plain that Sir Walter Raleigh owed, alike, the beginnings of his military fame; his first initiation into the mysteries of statecraft; and the opening (whatever its precise character) which enabled the accomplished soldier and the fast-maturing statesman to show that he possessed also the glittering qualities of the thriving courtier. Irish service brought him, before he was thirty, into the Queen's closet, as well as into the Lord Treasurer's cabinet. Presently, it was to make him a great and an enterprising landowner. Already, it had laid the foundation of a friendship which nursed into vigorous growth those seeds of poetry which Nature had sown.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
OF 1581.

Ireland:
Elizabeth,
vol. xcii.
§ 10 (Rolls
House).

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
OF 1581.

That one friendship—and its consequences—would have sufficed to hand down Raleigh's name, with Spenser's, had he explored no Guiana; led no fleet at Cadiz; written no *History of the World*; laid the foundation of no colonies in America.

* Vol. I.
p. 37.

Ireland:
Elizabeth,
vol. lxvii.
§ 40 (Rolls
House).

The rebellion began in the autumn of 1579;—at a time when Raleigh's mind was still strongly bent on plans of maritime discovery, notwithstanding the check which had just been given by the Lords of the Council to his purposed American voyage.* That interruption occurred in June. On the 19th of July, the Earl of Desmond wrote to the Lords Justices that he was "ready to venture his life in Her Majesty's quarrel." On the 9th of August, Edward Whyte wrote to Walsingham (from Limerick) that the Geraldines were in arms, and that the "fire was like to spread into every corner of the realm." It did not burn quite so fiercely as that. But it spread far; and the devastation it made was such as, happily, it is hard for the mind to realize now-a-days. Raleigh touches (in Letter III.) on one of the main difficulties which protracted its extinction. "Geraldines," he says, "will die a thousand deaths; enter into a million mischiefs; seek succour of all nations, rather than be subdued by a Butler." And the feud between Desmonds and Ormonds was but one feud of a hundred. But if they could not be put down, it was, at length, found possible to keep them, for a while, in check.

*Privy
Council to
the Earl of
Ormond.*—
Ireland:
Elizabeth,
vol. civ.
§ 88.

It was not until the autumn of 1583 was far advanced that the Queen could congratulate herself on the deliverance of Munster from rebellion. The report which was then read to her at Oatlands had been drawn up by one of Raleigh's comrades—Edward Barkley—in the 1581 campaign of Cork described in Letter IV.; and it was the Earl of Ormond—in that letter so sharply censured—who had the satisfaction of receiving from the Privy Council in England the royal thanks.

I.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELEY.

From the Original. *Irish Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 73 (Rolls House). In the hand of an amanuensis, except as to two words which are interlineated in autograph. Signed.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR,

TO UNDERSTAND that uppon the receaving of my footeband of one hondrethe men, when I departed from London towards this land, there was then delivered into my hands (besides one hundreth powndes in imprest which is defalked uppon my enterteynment heere,) so muche mony as amownted to six dayes wages for my self, my levetennent, officers, and soldiers, at accustomed rates, viz. iiij^d *per diem* for my self, ij^d *per diem* for my levetennente, xiiij^d a peece for iiij officers, and viij^d a peece for every soldier; after th' expiration of which six dayes (by order from Your Honor and the rest of my lords of Her Maiesties Pryvy Counsell,) wee entered into the Isle of Wighte where wee contynued xv dayes, and ther beinge imbarked in Her Maiesties shippes, there was xvii dayes more before wee arryved heere, duringe all which tyme of xxxij dayes, in the whole, wee received only vittells after the rate of vi^d sterlinge *per diem* for eache one, so that duringe those xxxij dayes there growethe due to every of my company ij^d sterlinge *per diem* as a remaynder of their wages at viij^d sterling *per diem*; and also to my selfe, my levetennente and officers, our whole enterteynment for the lyke tyme at

LETTER I.

1580-1581.
Feb. 22.

To Lord
Burgheley.
From
Cork.

Detention
at the Isle
of Wight.—
Arrival in
Ireland.—
Pay and
Rations of
his Com-
pany.

LETTER L the rates abovesaid. So yt is, my good and honorable
 1580-1581. Lorde, that at the importunate suyte and exclamacion
 Feb. 22. of my company I have bin enforced to paye and satisfye
 Service in every of them of that remaynder, and seekinge to have
 Ireland. the same to be allowed mee agayne heere, I am therfore
 referred to Your Honor's order and the residue of my
 Lords of Her Maiesties Pryvy Councill in England ;
 being annswered by Her Highnes' offycers heere that
 wee are neyther to be entered into paye, nor no other
 manner of waye to be allowed heere, but from the daye
 of our arryvall in this land. In consideration whereof
 I am a moste humble sutor to Your Honor and the
 residue of my said Lords for allowance of that mony, as
 hath bin heretofore, by Your Lordship's good meanes,
 in the like case allowed to Sir WILLIAM MORGAN, and
 that the same may be payd to the gentleman which
 shall deliver this letter to Your Honor, whom I have
 desired to attend Your Lordship for that purpose, and
 who shall present unto You as well a perfect accompte
 thereof, as also a suffycient certyficate or testemony of
 the tyme of our contynuaunce in the Wighte, and of the
 daye of our arryvall heere. I moste humblie desire
 Your honor to farther this my request as spedely as you
 conveniently maye, because I have appointed the mony
 to be employed in England abowte the providinge of
 sutche wants as bothe my selfe and company doe
 greatly stand in neede of. Thus I comyt Your Lord-
 ship to God ; my poore selfe remayninge alwayes a
 Your Honor's service and comaundment. Corke, this
 22 of February, 1580 [*legal style*].

Your Lordship's most humble to comaunde,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable and my very good Lord, the Lord BURGHLEY,
 Lord Highe Thresourer of England.*

II.

TO SECRETARY SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

From the Original. *Irish Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 74
(Rolls House). Holograph.

I RECEVED of late a letter from Your Honor wherein I finde Your Honor's disposicion and oppinion more favorable then I can any way deserve. Notwithstandinge I hope Your Honor shall finde that my forwardnes to advance Her Maiesties service shall not be less accordinge to my smale strenght. Whereas of late a cumpany of yonge cumpanions linket together in rebellion who because they can no longer covertly assiste the proclaymed traytors do at lenght manifeste their good mindes to Her Hightnes and the Inglyshe nacion,—as DAVY BARREY, sonn and heir of Lorde BARREY, now in the castle of Develin; MORRICE ROCHE, eldest sonn to the Lorde ROCHE; FINNIN MACARTEY, PATRICK CONNDON, and divers others,—my Lorde Generall is now cum hither who, wee hope, ether by force or polley will sufficiently hampre them that ar farr of greater strenght then the Earle of DESMOND and JOHNE.¹ In my returne from Develin I made a hard escape from the Seneshall² in BARRE'S countre (wher he is allways fostered) with xiiij horsmen and threescore footmen.

I was three horsmen, and soun set on horsbake to³ Irishe footmen. I coveted to recover a litle old castle, and

¹ Sir John Fitzgerald, usually called 'John of Desmond.' He was brother of Gerald, 16th Earl of Desmond.

² John Fitzedmund Fitzgerald, 'Seneschal of Imokilly.' ³ *two*.

LETTER II.

1580-1581.
Feb. 23.

To Sir F.
Walsing-
ham.
From
Cork.

Proceed-
ings of
some
covert
fosterers
of the Re-
bellion.—
His escape
from an
ambush in
Barry's
country.—
Character
of the
soldiery in
Munster.

LETTER II.

1580-1581.
Feb. 23.State of
the Pro-
vince of
Munster.

in that resun I left three men and three horses. The manner of myne own behavior I leve to the report of others, but the escape was strange to all men. The castle was a longe mile of,¹ from the place wher he first sett on us. Ther is great need of a supply in Munstre, for the bandes ar all miche decayed. The bands of TANNER and BARNISHE were so ordered in the cashiringe that no man was the better. For the officers had the furni- ture and the soldiers ran away. Beside, the men ar suche poore and misserable cretures as ther captaynes dare not lead them to serve. If Your Honors beheld them when they arive here, You would think them far unfitt to fight for Her Maiesties crown ; and like Your Honor ther is no fitt place to lande them that ther captaynes may receive them furnished but Corke, from whence they may most conveniently be delivered over. Thus, beseching You to continew Youre favorable op- pinion of mee, I humblie take my leve, restinge allways most redy to do you all honor and service. From Corke, xxiiij of February, 1581² [?]

Your honor's most humble to cummande,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed :

*To the honorable Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, Knighte, Principal
Secretary to Her Highnes, gave thes.*

Endorsed : "23 February, 1580. From Mr. Walter Rawley."

¹ *off.*

² The last figure in this date is scarcely legible. The endorsement, it will be observed, gives, according to the legal style, '1580.'

III.

TO SECRETARY SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

From the Original. *Irish Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 82
(Rolls House). Holograph.

THE day after the writinge of my letter to your Honor by Levetenant BIGGES, news came that DAVY BARREY had broken and burnt all his castles and entred publikly into the action of rebellion. It plesed my Lorde Deputy,¹ att my beinge at Develin (forseinge wherunto this Trator was bent) to bestow on mee the kepinge of on of his castles called Barre Court and the Iland adjoyninge therunto; which hows he gave mee in charge to keap to her Majesties use, being a great strenght to the countre and a safty for all passingers betwen Corke and Youghall. Notwithstandinge, becaus my Lord Generall² was presently to cum up and BARREY ready to go out (having before undreground broken the foundations of the rest of his castles) I made stay to take this Barrey Court, as well for that my Lord Generall should not alledge that I crost hyme in any service or did anythinge with in his goverment without his privitey, as also because it should not be sayd that the takinge therof was the hasteninge of BARRE'S rebellion. But when my Lord came and BARREY had burnt all the rest, the Lord Generall, ether meninge to kepe it for hyme selfe—as I think all is to litle for hyme—or els unwilling any Englishman should have any thing, stayd

¹ Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton.

² Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond; Governor of Munster and General of the Forces.

LETTER
III.

1580-1581.
Feb. 25.

To Sir F.
Walsing-
ham.
From
Cork.

Causes of
the delay
in the
seizure of
Barry's
Court.—
Misman-
agement of
the War in
Munster;
and con-
trast
offered
thereby to
the govern-
ment of
Sir H.
Gilbert.

LETTER
III.

1580-1581.
Feb. 25.

Com-
plaints of
the con-
duct of the
War in
Munster.

the taking therof so longe, mening to put a gard of his own in it, as it is, withe the rest, defaced and spoiled. I pray God Her Majesty do not finde, that—what with the defence of his own countre assaltd on all sides, what with the beringe and forberinge of his kindred, as all thes traytors of this new rebellion ar his own cussen-germayns, what by reason of the incomperable hatred between hyme and the GARAUTINES,¹ who will rather dy a thowsand deathes, entre into a million of mischeifes and seek soccor of all nacions, rather than they will ever be subdued by a BUTLER—that afre Her Majesty hathe spent a hundred thowsand pound more she shall at last be driven by to² dere experience to send an Inglishe Presedent to follow thes mallicious traytors with fier and sword, nether respectinge the aliance nor the nacion. Would God your Honor and Her Majesty, as well as my poore selfe, undrestoode how pitifully the service here goethe forward! Considering that this man, havinge now byn Lord Generall of Munstre now about too yeares, theire ar at this instant a thowsand traytors more then ther were the first day. Would God the service of Sir HUMFRY GILBERT might be rightly lokt into; who, with the third part of the garreson now in Irland, ended a rebellion not miche inferior to this, in to³ monethes! Or would God his own behavior were suche in peace as it did not make his good service forgotten and hold hyme from the preferment he is worthy of! I take God to wittenes I speake it not for affection but to discharge my duty to Her Majesty; for I never hard nor rede of any man more fered then he is amonge the Irishe nacion. And I do assuredly know that the best about the Earle of DESMOND, ye! and all the unbridled traytors of thes partes, would cum in

¹ Geraldines.

² *too*.

³ *two*.

hyre, and yeld them selves to the Queen's mercy, were it but known that he were cum amonge them. The end shall prove this to be trew.

And for myne own part God is my judge it greveth mee to receive her Majesty's pay (although God knowes it be but a poore entreteynment) to see her so miche abused; and I will rather begg then live here to indure it. I would most willingly geve over my charge, and did offre it to the Lord Generall, God is my judge, if I could, and serve her Majesty privatly with a dussen or ten horse duringe the wares. I beseiche your Honor to take my bold writing in good part, protesting befor Hyme that knowethe the thoughtes of all hartes, that I writ nothing but moved therunto for the love I bere to her Highnes and for the furtherance of her service. And further I humblie crave at your Honors handes that you will reserve my letters to yourselfe, and if your Honor will promise mee so miche and give mee leve, I will from tyme to tyme advertise your Honor trewly of this estat. Myself being on¹ that your Honor shall allways finde most ready to ventur my life to do yow all honor and service during my life. I beseich your Honor that I may by your means enjoy the keping of this Barrey Court and the Iland; or that it will please your Honor but to writ to my Lorde Deputy that he will confirm it unto mee, whom I find most willing to do mee any good, being my honorable, good Lorde. This² humblie I take my leve, reposing myselfe and my estat uppon your Honors favor.

From Cork, the 25th of February.

Your Honor's most humble ever to command,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed :

*To the honorabl. Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, Knight, the Principall
Secritory to Her Highnes.*

LETTER
III.

1580-1581.
Feb. 25.

¹ one.

Requests
the charge
of Barry's
Court.

² Thus.

IV.

TO ARTHUR, LORD GREY OF WILTON, LORD
DEPUTY OF IRELAND.

From an official and annotated Copy, sent by the Lord Deputy to Sir Francis Walsingham. *Irish Correspondence: Elizabeth*, vol. lxxxiii. § 16 [1] (Rolls House).

LETTER
IV.

1581.
May 1.

To Arthur,
Lord Grey,
Deputy of
Ireland.
From
Cork.

State of
the Army
in Munster.
—Intrigues
of the
rebels.—
Fortifica-
tion of
Barry's
Court and
the Island.

Further
complaints
of the
manage-
ment of
the War.

FERING that it shoulde seme strainge unto your Lordshipe the litle service don in thes partes, I presume to wyte unto your honor in myne owne excuse, lest your Lordshipe should growe in ill opinion of us that ar and have byne in the presenc of the General to be directed. The bandes of Sir GEORG BOWSER, EDWARD BARKLEY, Captayne DOWDALL, and of my self, have bine ever since the seconde weeke of Lent remayning in Corke; and both the great wood of Conoloathe, Harlo, Clenlis, and all the countye of Lymbricke, and the counties betwene the Dingle and Kilkeny, left without any companies ether to defend itself or anyo the enemy. Since which tyme wee have made to jurneys: the one towards Kilkeny to give convoye to my Lorde and attend his returne, and the other into Conolothe, by which jurnes (the one being in horrible wether, and the other utterly botles, being don without draught or espiall, and beside inforst to walke such unreasonable marches as, wher wee dispatched a churell of the traytors, wee lamed, lost, or left behynde unserviceable, a soldier or two of our owne) the poore bands have curste the change they made in levyng to follow your Honor, as they have tould the Lord Generall many tymes. And this fyrst of May wee ar going another posting convoy towards Kilkeny. But to culler the matter, wee shall march some two dayes out of our way to seeke wee know not whome.

The store of Corke, except it be a smale quantitie of wheat and butter, is all spent within the walles, and nowe it wilbe aleged that wee cannot serve for want of vittles, or else because the bandes ar not supplied; although wee were nevere less than fore hundred stronge, and yet both of Sir GEORGE BOWCER'S and Captain BARKLE'S [companies]¹ left at Kilmalloch and Asketon. Wee have spent thes two monethes of the spring in parles with BARREY ROWE, the Countes of DESMOND, and FINNIN MACARTEY; and wee think it willbe two moneth more er he² be resolved whether thes oughtt to be followed or no, and yet theris no day passeth without some trayterous villanies by the BARRES committed. The Countes of DESMONDE is returned, and brought so many followers with her hither to carrye provision with her as the Earle, for his parte, shall be the better able to keepe the feild all this sommer; and at her going away none of her trayne ether sercht or lokt over. BARREY ROWE is protected. The Lady BARREY having gathered her goodes into Corke; and fering that by the atteyndure of her husband those wilbe found for the Queene, her yonge sonne—viz. BARRIE ROE, that five dayes before fell on the garrisons of Youghall—is brought in to serve that turne to carye the goodes into O SYLLEVANSES cuntry, or els wher, for the more saftie; and besides this man shall keep some store of cattell and such impotent people as cannot follow DAVEY BARREY in the feild with many other profits ether for the Queen or for the knaves. I thinke your Honor hard of the losse of the warde of Asketon.* O KENIS and his sonn wer both slayne by JHON of DESMOND,—gentelmen of MAC DONOTH'S cuntry and very good subiects. Barre's Cowrte and the Iland—which your Honor willed

LETTER
IV.
—
1581.
May 1.

* "xi of them were distressed that fondly adventured owte to far for sum cowes."—*Marginal note on this passage by the Lord Deputy.*

¹ This or some equivalent word is here plainly wanting. ² Ormond.

LETTER
IV.
1581.
May 1.

* "This is the beeginnyng of that platt which, by Mr. Fent, I have advertizement of, for the fynding of a certayne garrison gratis to Her Majestie."
—Marginal note on this passage by the Lord Deputy.

me to keepe—the on¹ hath sinc bin many tymes defaced, and the other spoylde and pred.² From this iland the traytors can never wante nether wine nor salte, or iron, or any other necessary provision, or if neede bee advertisement from Spayne or elswher; being common for any man to lande on. Notwithstanding, it is left naked and the castle broken that stood in the entranc therof for defenc. I have, by great perswacion of the Commissioners, gott leve to edifie the same, and leve a ward therin; and if it shall please your Honor to thinke mee woorthie the keeping and custodie therof I will at myne owne coast buyld it up agayne and defend it for her Maiestie. I would the rather bee an humble and earnest suter to your Honor for it in that I heire the Lord Generall purposeth, when I have taken the toyle in making it defencible and bin at the charg, to turne me over for my charges to the Queene and dispose of the iland to some other. I hope your Honor will stand my good lord therin. If it please your Honor to give commission ther may bee an other hundreth soldier layd uppon the cuntre heire aboute.* I hope it willbe a most honorable matter for your Lordshipe, most acceptable to her Maiestie, and profitable for the cuntre; and the ryght meane to banish all idle and frutles galliglas and kerne, the ministers of all miseryes. Thus, most humblie beseeching your Honor not to condemne any of us that are willing to deserve your Lordshipps good favor, I humblie take my leve. From Corke, the fyrst of May.

³ Copie of . . . [Captain Rauley's] letter (*the name being in cypher*).

Endorsed:

"1 May, 1581. Copie of a letter to the Lord Deputy, from Corke."

¹ *one.*

² *preyed!*

³ This title occupies the usual place of the subscription and signature.

V.

TO ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

From the Original. MS. Harl. 6993, f. 5 (British Museum).

I MAY not forgett continually to put your Honor in mind of my affection unto your Lordshipe, havinge to the worlde bothe professed and protested the same. Your Honor, havinge no use of such poore followers, hath utterly forgotten mee. Notwithstandinge, if your Lordshipe shall please to thinke mee your's, as I am, I wilbe found as redy, and dare do as miche in your service, as any man you may cummande; and do, nether, so miche dispaire of my self but that I may be somway able to performe as miche.

I have spent some time here under the Deputy, in suche poore place and charge, as, were it not for that I knew him to be on ¹ of yours, I would disdayn it as miche as to keap sheepe. I will not troble your Honor with the bussiness of this loste lande; for that Sir WARRAM SENTLEGER ² can best of any man deliver unto your

¹ *one*.

² Sir Warham St. Leger, an eminent soldier, passed a considerable portion of his life in the Irish wars, and in them he ended it, almost nineteen years after the date of this letter. The Commissioners of Munster, when narrating to the Lords Justices of Ireland certain events which occurred in their province during Tyrone's rebellion in 1599-1600, thus describe Sir Warham's martial death: After reciting Tyrone's march "out of Barry's country" into that part of Munster of which Sir Warham had the immediate charge, they say that he and Sir Henry Power rode forth "to se if they might meete some of the cumpanies straglinge from the rest," and at length "discreed a cornett of horse, and drew towards them. And knowing the same to be Macgowire, they made a charge upon him and his horsmen. Sir Warham encountered Macgowire, and with his pistole shott towne bullets into his brest. He with his stafe strake Sir

LETTER V.

1581.
Aug. 25.

To the
Earl of
Leicester.
From
Lismore.

Profes-
sions of
attach-
ment.—
Dissatis-
faction
with the
Irish ser-
vice.—
Recom-
mends to
the Earl
John Fitz-
Edmund
of Cloyne.

LETTER
V.
1581.
Aug. 25.

Lordshipe the good, the badd, the mischeifs, the meanes to amend, and all in all of this common welthe, or rather common woo. He hopethe to finde your Honor his assured good Lorde, and your Honor may most assuredly cummande him. He is lovingly inclyned toward your Honor. And your Lordshipe shall win by your favor towards hyme a wise, faythfull, and valient gentleman, whos worde and deede your Honor shall ever find to be on¹.

Thus, having no other matter, but only to desire the continuance of your Honor's favor, I humblie take my leve. From the Camp of Leismore, in Irland, August 25² [1581].

Your Honor's faithful and obedient,

W. RAULEY.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I am bold, being bound by very conscience, to cummend unto your Honor's consideration the pitiful estate of JOHN FITTS-EDMONDS, of Cloyne,³ a gentleman, and the only man untucht and proved tru to the Queen, bothe in this and the last Rebellion. Sir Warram can declare his service, what he is, and what he deservethe.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable and my very good Lorde the Erle of LEYCESTER,
of Her Majesties most honorable Pryvey Counsell.*

Endorsed : "26^o August, 1581. *W. Rawley.*"

Warhame into the braine, of which blowe within four daies he died ; and Macgowire was not far gon but he fell from his horse dead."—*Letter to Lords Justices, &c.* in MS. Tenison, dcxv., fol. 10. (Lambeth Palace.)

¹ *one.*

² Raleigh had first written '26,' and then alters to '25.'

³ John Fitzedmund Fitzgerald, a loyal Geraldine, whose name will recur ; and who is to be distinguished from his Geraldine namesake, the insurgent Seneschal of Imokilly.

1583.

VI.

TO SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

From a transcript made, for Dr. THOMAS BIRCH, from the original letter, then in the possession of Major POMEROY GILBERT, of Plymouth. MS. Addit. 4231, f. 85 (British Museum).

BROTHER,

I HAVE sent you a token from her Majesty, an ancor guided by a lady, as you see; and farther, her Highness willed me to sende you worde that she wished you as great good-hap and safty to your ship, as if her sealf were ther in parson; desiring you to have care of your sealf, as of that which she tendereth; and therefore, for her sake, you must provide for hit accordingly.

Farther, she commandeth that you leve your picture with me. For the rest, I leve till our meeting, or to the report of this berer, who would needs be the messengre of this good newse. So I committ you to the will and protection of God, who send us such life or death, as he shall please, or hath appointed.

Richmonde, this Friday morning [March 17, 1582-3].

Your treu brother,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To my brother, Sir HUMFRY GILBERT, Knight.

Endorsed : "*Reseved the 18th of Marche, 1582 [legal style].*"

LETTER
VI.

1582-1583.
March 17.

To Sir H.
Gilbert.
From
Richmond.
With a
token from
the Queen,
and good
wishes for
Sir Hum-
phrey's
Voyage.

VII.

TO THOMAS EGERTON, SOLICITOR-GENERAL;
(Afterwards Viscount Brackley and Lord High Chancellor.)

As printed from the Original, in the Collection of the EARL of ELLES-
 MERE, by Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER; *Egerton Papers*, p. 94 (*Camden*
Society's Series).

LETTER
 VII.

1583.
 April 10.

To the
 Solicitor-
 General
 Egerton.
 From the
 Court.

The
 Queen's
 grant of
 the leases
 of Stolney
 and New-
 land, and
 Raleigh's
 assign-
 ment of
 them.

MR. SOLYCYTER,

YT hathe pleased her Maiestie to bestowe the leases
 of Stolney and Newlande, lately graunted unto her from
 Al-Solne Colledge in Oxon, upon me, or any other that
 I shall agree withall. And for that of late I have bar-
 gande with WILLIAM TOUSE and CLEMENTE STUPNEY
 for the lease of Stolney, I ame to request you that the
 assignement maye passe by your good helpe from her
 Maiestie to them, they payenge all fees and chardges
 thereto belonging. And soe, with hartie thanks for
 many other courtesyes, I byd you farewell. From the
 Courte, the xth of Aprille, 1583.

Your very lovinge friende to command,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed :

*To my Worshipfull frende, Mr. EGERTON, Esquire, Solycyter
 to her Highnes.*

VIII.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers*! (Rolls House.)

THE evening after receipt of Your Lordship's letter, I spake with Her Majestie; and ministering some occasion touchinge the Earle of OXFORD, I told Her Majestie how grievously Your Lordship received Her late discomfortable aunswere. Her Majestie, as Your Lordship had written,—I know not by whom lately and strangely perswaded,—purposed to have new repartition betweene the Lords HOWARD, ARUNDEL, and others, and the Earle; and saide it was a matter not slightly to be passed over. I aunswere that, being assured Her Majestie would never permit anything to be prosecuted to the Earle's danger—if any such possibilitie weare—and therefore it weare to small purpose, after so long absence and so many disgraces, to call his honor and name agayne into question, wherby he might appeare to be less fitt either for her favor or presence. In conclusion, Her Majestie confessed that she meant it only therbye to give the Earle warninge, and that (as it seemed to me) being acquainted with his offences her grace might seem the more, in remitting the revenge or punishment of the same.

¹ This letter was transcribed from the Original; but the reference number, if any, was accidentally omitted. It is one of those which Strype has printed in his *Annals* (iv. 590); but with so many inaccuracies, that it would seem doubtful if he had seen the original.

LETTER
VIII.
—
1583.
May 12.

To Lord
Burghley.
From the
Court at
Greenwich.

Interces-
sion with
the Queen
on behalf
of Lord
Oxford.

LETTER
VIII.
1583.
May 12.

I delivered Her Your Lordship's letter.

What I said further, how honorable and profittabell it weare for Her Majestie to have regard to Your Lordship's healthe and quiett, I leve to the witsesse of God, and good reporte of Her Highnesse. And the more to witsesse how desirous I am of Your Lordship's favor and good opinion, I am contente, for your sake, to laye the sarpente before the fire, as miche as in me lieth, that having recovered strengthe myself may be moste in danger of his poyson and stinge.¹ For answeare, Her Majestie would give me none other, but that she woulde satisfye Your Lordshipp, of whom she ever had, and would ever have, special regard. Thus beinge unfeignedly willinge to deserve Your Lordship's good favor, I humblie take my leve. From Grenewiche this present Friday, May 12, 1583.

Your Lordship's most willinge to be cummanded,

W. RAULEY.

¹ The allusion here would seem to point to the ill-will which is known to have been borne towards Raleigh by the Earl of Oxford, from the time of Raleigh's first appearance at Court. Many instances of Oxford's contemptuous treatment of the new aspirant for royal favour are mentioned by the gossips of the day. When Raleigh (after his imprisonment and temporary exile from Court) went first to Guiana, Lord Oxford was selected as the administrator, in Sir Walter's absence, of much of the business of the Stannaries.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS IX. XI. XII. AND XVIII.—
*RALEGH'S GRANT FOR THE LICENSING OF VINTNERS
 THROUGHOUT ENGLAND.*

THE Letters Patent by which Sir Walter Raleigh first obtained the "Farm of Wines" bear date the 4th of May, in the 25th of Elizabeth,—1583. The licensing system appears to have grown—indirectly—out of the Act of 7th Edward VI. c. 5, entitled *An Act to avoyde the greate price and excesse of Wynes*. Under the powers of Raleigh's Patent, every vintner licensed to retail wines was bound to pay one pound annually, for his licence, to the patentee during life.

The controversy between Raleigh and his deputy-licenser, Richard Browne (noticed in chap. iv. of the preceding volume, pp. 65, 66), led ultimately to the revocation of the Patent of 1583, and the grant of a new one, bearing date 9th of August, in the 30th of Elizabeth,—1588. This grant is for a term of thirty-one years, and extends to "all places within this kingdom." It also gave to Raleigh a moiety of all penalties accruing to the Crown under the provisions of the Statute of Edward for regulating the prices of wines sold by retail. That Statute, however, contains an express proviso for the privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. And the contention of Cambridge in 1584 had been entirely successful.

When, for a time, the function of licensing was, in the next reign, transferred—as far as respects corporate towns—to the local authorities, the vintners were made to pay licence duties after a much higher scale than that which had obtained under

PREFATORY
 NOTE TO
 LETTERS
 OF
 1584-1585.

Patent
 Roll,
 25 Eliz.
 pt. ix.

Ibid.
 30 Eliz.
 pt. vi.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
OF
1584-1585.

*Domestic
Corresp.*
James I.
vol. viii.
§ 90 (Rolls
House).

Ibid.
vol. xc.
§ 104
(January
1627-28).

Raleigh. "Some mayors in corporations," it is said in a State Paper of 1604, "have already required—some, three pounds; some, five pounds; some, six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, yearly, to be paid them for a licence." "The present vintners," it is then added, "are all bound to Sir Walter Raleigh to pay him yearly, during their lives, twenty shillings; and, [as] it hath pleased his Highness to restore to Sir Walter Raleigh all his goods, . . . the bonds be his as before; which the Parliament hath never considered, but left the Vintners subject to all dangers both of one and the other." Eventually, the licensing power was kept in the King's hands; and I find it stated, in 1628, "This last year, the wine licences yielded to the King 4.320*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*" They had yielded Raleigh, adds the writer, but 1,000*l.* a year. The contrast affords an instructive note on the famous Parliamentary debate concerning Monopolies, of November 1601. It is more than probable that in 1628 the appropriation of this revenue had as little to do with the relief of public burdens as it had had in 1601.

IX.

TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE
SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. *University Registry (Cambridge)*. [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 340.]

LETTER
IX.
—
1584.
July 9.

To the
Senate
of the
University
of Cam-
bridge.

I COMEND me to you, being lothe to greve or discontent you, whom I love and am willinge any waies I may to pleasure. I have thought good to informe you of a late hard part and riotouse demeanor done by some of your Universitye, which I can as yet but take in contempte of her Majesties Graunt to me, not dealinge further therby, than lawfullie (as I am informed) I maye doe.

Yf otherwise, the Conference offered by my Deputees to one BAXTER and others, your late dealers in that cause, for the spedie and quyett dissidinge the matter by your learned Councill and myne, should have been accepted. The abuse done was sutche, as yf I shall not understand of some reformation or correction to be done to the Malefactors, wherby this bearer JOHN KEYMER, her Majesties Subjecte lawfullie lycenced by me to sell Wynes in your Town, doe quyetlye enjoye the same untill by lawe (that governeth us all) yt be otherwyse determyned, I will devyse some other course for Reformation herin. The barers haste awaye (to comfort his poor wife, who by violence offered was in case by sondrie soundes¹ and passions likelie to have dyed) was sutche as tyme served me not to move my very good Lord the Lord Treasurer, for his Honor's letter in reformation hereof, which I dowted not to have had, but I doe rest assured that yourselves will take such directe and lawfull course herein, as neyther myself, nor yow, nor any other that will comaund us, shall have occasion further herein to be troubled, which I hartelie wishe: not desiringe so fullie and lawfullie to extend her Majesties Graunt in your Towne, as maye further greyve your Vynteners, the onlie styrrers herein, respecting more their gayne then quyett government. I crave your spedie answeere in wrightinge—by this barer, but that the unlawfull and ryotous parties must not rest unpunished. And so I bidd you all hartelie farewell. From my lodging at the Cort, this ninth of July, 1584.

Your very assured loving Frind,
W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

To the Worshipfull Mr. Doctor HOWLAND, Vice Chancellor, and the rest of the Masters of the University of Cambridge.

LETTER
IX.
1584.
July 9.

From the Court.

On the licensing of Vintners in Cambridge.

¹ swoons.

X.

TO MR. RICHARD DUKE, OF OTTERTON, IN
DEVONSHIRE.

As transcribed from the Original by JOHN AUBREY. MS. Aubrey iv. p. 47 (Bodleian Library, Oxford). The original letter was, for a time, kept at Hayes, and was shown to visitors. Its present abode is not known.

LETTER
X.1584.
July 26.To Richard
Duke.
From the
Court.Proposal
for the
purchase
of Hayes
Manor
House and
Farm.

MR. DUKE,

I WROTE to Mr. PRIDEAUX to move yow touchinge the purchase of a farme¹ sometime in my Fathers possession. I will most willingly give whatsoever in your conscience you shall deeme it worth; and if at any time you shall have occasion to use me, yow shall fynd me a thankefull frind to yow and yours.

I am resolved, if I cannot entreat yow, to build at Colliton. But for the naturall disposition I have to that place,² being borne in that house, I had rather seate my sealf there then any where els. So I take my leve, readie to countervaile all your courtesies to the uttermost of my power. From the Court, the xxvi of July, 1584.

Your very willing frind in all I shalbe able,

W. RALEGH.

¹ Hayes Barton, in the parish of East Budleigh, Devonshire. See Vol. I. chap. i.

² Namely, Hayes.

1585.

XI.

TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE
SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in
MS. Baker, xxix. 341.]

MR. VICE CHANCELOR,

BEING (by informacion) perswaded, that your self, with the grave and well disposed of your University, were so greved with the unseamelye owtrages lately commytted by the young and unbridled hedds of the same, in contempte of the Quenes Majesties prerogatyve and graunt unto me, and to my discredytt, as sufficyent order by yow had been taken for this Bearer's quyett, which caused me to reste from requyringe reformation therein at my very good Lord Treasurer's handes, who by me as yet understandeth not of these ryotts; and I did forbare, contrarye to the advyse of my learned Councill, in procedinge to enquier by lawe of the same ryotts, of good wyll I beare to your Universitye; and meant so to deale with yow for the other foure Tavernes, as sholde sufficyentlie have contented yow. But my to¹ favorable dealinge with yow hath geven such encorage, as this day I am enformed you have warned this bearer to appeare before yow, whose wills therein I have willed him to performe. And I am further enformed, yow mynde to disturbe hym agayne from using his honest

LETTER
XI.

1584-1585.
Feb. 10.

To the
Senate
of the
University
of Cam-
bridge.
From
Somerset
House.

On the
licensing of
Vintners
in Cam-
bridge.

¹ *to*.

LETTER
XI.
1584-1585.
Feb. 10.

and lawfull trade of Wynesellinge, authorysed thereunto by the Quenes Majesties Graunt, under the Great Seale of England. And althoughe I know yow not, yet your place shold tell me, that your prosedings will be with hym juste and lawfull, which onlye I desyr of yow. So yow shall pleasure yourselves, and contynewe my redynes to doe yow any good I maye. I hope, uppon your answeare, I shall fynde these informacions to growe rather uppon jelosey then juste matter. So I leave you to God. From the Cort at Somerset Howse, this 10th of Feb. 1584 [*legal style*].

Your very willing Frind,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

To my loving friend Mr. Vice Chancelor, and the rest of the Masters of the University of Cambridge.

XII.

TO THE SAME.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge)**. [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 342.]

LETTER
XII.
1584-1585.
Feb. 20.

To the
Senate
of the
University
of Cam-
bridge.

I CANNOT a little marvaile at your percmatory and proud manner of delinge. I was content to use all manner of curtesy towards yow (in respect of my Lord Treasurer, my honorable good Lorde), but I parcave, that my reasonable or rather to¹ submis deling hath bread in yow a proceeding unsufferable. Yow have committed a poore man to prison having don nothing but warranted by the

¹ *eo*.

Great Seale of Ingland ; your sealvs supposing a privilege by Charter. I doe not know that any man or Society would take so much uppon them, before tryall made. But, as I reverence the place of whence¹ you are Governors, so I will not willingly take any wrong or disgrace from yow. And I am assured My Lord Treasurer, who maye command me, will be indifferent in this case. For the matter so much concerneth the validity of my Patent elsewhere, as well as in your University, as I will try the uttermost of my right, as well for this one, which I was content to be satisfied withall, as for all the other foure. And so, having thought you would have vouchsafed an answere of my last letters, I end.

From the Cort, this 20th of Feb. 1584 [*legal style*].

Your Frind as yow shall geve cause,

W. RALEGH.

XIII.

SIR WALTER RALEGH AND SIR THOS. HENEAGE
TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. clxxviii.
§ 78 (Rolls House). In the hand of an Amanuensis. Signed.

* * * The extent to which, at this and at other periods (both earlier and later), the practice of carrying English captives into African slavery had grown, has been very inadequately illustrated by our historians. The State Papers abound with documents relating to it ; and many of these, like the letter now printed, serve to indicate at once the mercantile character

¹ for '*whick*'.

LETTER
XII.

1584-1585.
Feb. 20.

On the
same
subject.

assumed by the negotiations for ransoming the captives, and some of the many abuses to which such private attempts at their redemption opened the way.

LETTER
XIII

1585.
May 7.

To the
Lords
of the
Council.

Report of
an inquiry
respecting
the ransom
of certain
captives in
Barbary.

IT MAIE PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIPS,

ACCORDINGE to Your Lordships' pleasures dyrected unto us from the honorable lords and others of Hir Majesties most honorable Pryvie Councell, upon a complainte exhibited by this bearer, MORGAN POWELL, we called before us the parties to whome the cause doth apperteyne; and upon twyce hearinge therof and what was produced by the learned councell of both sides, and also themselves, we conceyve the matter to stande even as it is sett down in a paper hereinclosed. And we fynde the hardenes of the case to consist in this:—That the *iiijth v. l.* [85*l.*] sent by this complainant unto JOHN OWEN, accordinge to the direction of the Lord Maior, to be paid to WILLIAM SYMCOTS, for the captyves' ransom, was, by the procurement of the said Lord Maior, attached in the name of JHONES in the hands of the saide OWEN, as the goods of one JOHN SYMCOTTS deceased, for that the saide JHONES, as it appearith, was then indebted to the Lord Maior; by which devise the said *iiijth v. l.*, so sent by this complainant for the captyves' ransom, is comm to the hands of the said Lord Maior for the answeringe of the said JHONES his debt, wherby, as we take it, this complainant is much wronged. In trothe it hath directlie been approved before us that the captyve was redeemed by WILLIAM SYMCOTTS' goods, and that the byls of exchange thereupon made by the captyve in Barbary were to the use of the said WILLIAM SYMCOTTS. And therefore it seemith strange unto us and ageinst all equitie that this complainant's money shold to any other purpose be deteyned.

We also fynde that the said WILLIAM SIMCOTS hath recovered ageinst the said captve, in Hir Majesties Court of Common [Pleas¹] at Westminster, his whole somme of *iiij^{xxv}li.*, for the ransom, and *xli.* for damages besides. So that both the captve and this complainant are lykely to be twice charged for the satisfaccion of one debt, unless Your Lordships take order to the contrary. We had ordered and ended the matter to the satisfaction of all parties, and to the hinderance only of WILLIAM SYMCOTS (but with his consent), save that the Lord Maior refused it, and referred himself and the cawse to Your Lordships consideracion, to whom we humblie commende us.

Your Lordships' humble at comaundment,

T. HENEAGE. W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable and oure verie good Lords, the Lords of Her Majesties moste honorable Pryvie Counsell.

Endorsed :

May, 1585, d. 7. From Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir Walter Raleigh. What they have donn in the matter between Morgan Powell and Jones, about the mony paid for redelinge of a Captive in Barbary.

[INCLOSURE.]

THOMAS POWELL AND PETER WILLIAMS TAKEN CAPTYVES IN BARBARIE, 1581.

John Owen of London, lynnendraper, with one George Williams, servant to Alderman Pullison, nowe Lord Maior, entred in bond to John Symcotts in *ccli.* [200*l.*], with condicion to paie all such somes of money as sholde be disbursed in Barbary for the ransom and redempcion of the said captives by the said John Symcotts, or any other by his order, according to bills of exchange or other remembrances to be presented to the said John Owen and George Williams for the same.

It appearith by the condition of the sayde bonds.

¹ This word has been torn away, probably by the seal.

LETTER
XIII.
1585.
May 7.

LETTER
XIII.
1585.
May 7.

Thomas Powell onelie was redeemed by this meanes following :—

John Symcotts, to whome the bonde was made, not having eny goods in those parts of Barbary, required one Edwarde Collyns, factor to William Symcotts (whoe then had th' adventure of *iiij^l.i.* [400*l.*]), to disburse of the said William Symcotts' goods *iiij^{xxv}l.* [85*l.*] for the ransom of Thomas Powell, captvye; and to putt it to William Symcotts' accompt, and to take bylls of exchange and other assurances of the said captvye to th' use of the said William Symcotts for the said some of *iiij^{xxv}l.*, all whiche the said Edwarde did accordinglie, as appearith by twoe bylls of exchange and one byll of debte made by the said captvye in Barbarie.

In the retourne from Barbarie, John Symcotts died. The said captvye aryvinge at London, in September 1583, mett with the said William Symcotts, where he tould him he was redeemed with *iiij^{xxv}l.* of his goods, by Edward Collyns, his factor, and had gyven bills of exchange and also a bill of debt to the use of the saide William Symcotts, for

payment therof. Wherupon the said William Symcots and the captvye went to seeke John Owen and George Williams, who were not then in the cittie. And, having some speche with Alderman Pullison, nowe Lord Maior, for that the said George Williams was and yet is his man, the said captvye tould the said Alderman that he was redeemed by the goods of the said William Simcots. And then the said Alderman promised the

said William Symcotts to write to one Morgan Powell, brother to the said captvye, to send up the monie, whoe thereupon sent it to London the vith of November, to be paid to William Symcotts, with three letters: one to the Alderman, the other to

John Owen to see the payment, and the thirde to William Simcots, which was never delyvered to him.

When this money was sent up to London, one Nicholas Jones attached the same, as belonginge unto John Symcotts deceased, alleaging that because the captvye was redeemed by John Symcotts' appointment (thoughe out of his brother William Symcotts goods) and bonds made unto John before his departinge England, by the sureties aforesaid, that therefore this monie was dewe unto John deceased; and John beinge indebted to Jones, Jones attached the same money, and Jones beinge indebted to the Lord Maior payde it to him.

And now the said William Symcotts (by whose goods the captvye was redeemed) brought his action in Hir Majesties Court

of Common Pleees at Westminster upon the captvyes bill, and hath recovered the saide *iiij^{xxv}l.* besides *x*l.** for his costs and damaiges, and hath judgment therupon.

T. HENEAGE,

W. RALEGH.

1586.

XIV.

TO ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

From the Original. MS. Harl. 6994, fol. 2 (British Museum).
Holograph.

MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

YOU wrate unto me in your laste letters for pioners to be sent over ; wher uppon I moved her Majesty, and found her very willing, in so mich as order was geven for a cummission ; but since, the matter is stayd. I know not for what cause.

Also, according as your Lordshipe desired, I spake for one JUKES for the office of the back-house, and the matter well liked. In ought else your Lordshipe shall finde me most asured to my pouere to performe all offices of love, honor, and service towards you. But I have byn of late very pestilent reported in this place¹ to be rather a drawer bake, then a fartherer of the action wher you govern. Your Lordshipe doth well understand my affection towards Spayn, and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune, hating the tirrorannus sprosperety² of that estate, and it were now strang and monnsterous that I should becum an enemy to my countrey and conscience. But all that I have desired att your Lordship's hands is, that you will evermore deal directly with mee in all matters of suspect dublenes, and so ever esteeme mee as you shall finde my deserving, good or bad. In the mean

LETTER
XIV.
1586.
March 29.

To the
Earl of
Leicester.
From the
Court.

The send-
ing of
Pioneers to
the Nether-
lands.

¹ *I.e.* in the Netherlands.

² So in MS.

LETTER
XIV.
—
1586.
March 29.

tyme, I humblie beseich you, lett no poeticall scribe work your Lordshipe by any device to doubt that I am a hollo or could sarvant to the action, or a mean well-willer and follower of your own. And yeven so, I humblie take my leve, wishing you all honor and prosperety. From the Court, the xxix of March, 1586.

Your Lordships, to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—The Queen is on very good tearms with you, and, thank be to God, well pacified; and you are agayne her 'Sweet Robyn.'

Addressed :

*To the right honorable my singular good Lord, the Earle of LESTER,
Governour of the Low Countres for her Majesty.*

Endorsed :

29 March, 1586. Sir W. Rawleigh.

XV.

TO SIR JOHN GILBERT.

From the Original. MS. Sloane, 1519, fol. 137 (**British Museum**).
Without address or endorsement. Holograph.

LETTER
XV.
—
1586.
May 29.

To Sir
John Gil-
bert.
From the
Court.

GOOD BROTHER,

LETT the bread which was left of my cussen¹ CLYDLE'S proportion be in wredines, for my barks are cumming about² for hit, and the sider which I wrat to you for. My Lord Admirall's judg calleth out for accompt, and says I shall forfet my office if any shipp

¹ This word is scarcely legible.

² *I.e.* to Plymouth.

will go to Newfoundland in consort to¹ Spanierds. Wee will sett out sume from hence and go together. I pray inquire of the howers.² From the Court, the 29 of May [1586].

Your most assured loving brother,
W. RALEGH.

1587.

XVI.

TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

From the Original. MS. Tanner, lxxix. fol. 117, formerly marked 175 (Bodleian Library, Oxford). Holograph. Without address, the fly-leaf having been destroyed. [See fac-simile.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

WITH mich ado I procured [?]³ her Majesties leve for Sir FRANCIS [DRAKE] to visatt your Excelency, which I would most willingly have doun my sealf, wear it possible. But wher soever I remayn, none shal be more redy to serve yowr Excelency then my sealf. Sir FRANCIS is in good hope to return for the Indies. If it may be brought to pass, I doubt not but all shalbe recoveryde [?]³ I hope your Excelency will assist what you may. Hyme sealf can deliver best the estate of all things here. And so, with my humble dewty, I kiss your hands. From Winsor, this 8 of October [1587].

Your Excelences to serve you,

W. RALEGH.

¹ Here a small portion of the letter has been torn away, probably by the seal.

² This word also is doubtful.

³ These words are doubtful, being scarcely legible.

LETTER
XV.

1586.
May 29.

On the
Victualling
of Ships at
Plymouth.

LETTER
XVI.

1587.
Oct. 8.

To the
Earl of
Leicester.
From
Winsor.

Announce-
ment of
the Visit
of Sir
Francis
Drake to
the Nether-
lands.

XVII.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth, vol. ccvi. § 40*
(Rolls House). Holograph.

LETTER
XVII.
—
1587.
Dec. 20.

To Lord
Burgheley.
From
Exeter.

Defence of
the
Country;
Proposals
for the
Levies in
Devon and
Cornwall.

MY SINGULAR GOOD LORDE,

ACCORDINGE to your Lordship's and the rest of my Lords' directions, I have attended the Earle of BATH and conferred with the deutes of Devon and the city of Exon for the drawinge together of 2,000 foote and 200 horse; and I finde great differences in oppinion amonge them. Some are of oppinion that this burden wilbe grevous unto the countrey, standinge att this tyme voyde of all traficque: the subside not beinge yet gathered, and the past musters havinge byn very chargable. Sir JOHN GILBERT, Sir RICHARD GRANVILLE, and the Earle hym sealf, beinge more zelous both in religion and Her Majesties service—who have allways founde a reddy disposition in their devisions, and willingnes to beare whatsoever shalbe thought meet for Her Majesties service by their people—ar of oppinion that the matter and service wilbe very fesible. It is most asured that the carefull usage of the action by the deutes in their severall devisions will easely induce the inferior sort to whatsoever shalbe thought necessary for Her Majesties safty and their own defence. But sune other of the commission of Devon (in my conscience before the Lorde) beinge bothe infected in religion and vehemently malcontent,—who, by how mich the more they ar tem-

perat, by so mich the more dangerous,—are secreatly great hinderence of all actions tendinge to the good of Her Majesty or saufty of the present State. Thes men make doubt that your Honor's instructions alone ar not sufficient and saufe warrant for their discharge; and that, if any refuse to contribute, they see not by what they should be inforsed; with a thowsand dillitory cavelacions.

For myne own oppinion, under your Lordship's correction, if it might, notwithstandinge, stande withe Her Majesties likinge to beare them half of the charge, being great, it would be very consonant to all good pollecy; and the countrey, as I judge, will willingly defrey the rest, which onles ther wear ministers of other dispositions will not be so saufty and easely brought to effect.

I have sent your Lordshipe an Estimate of the whole, with which I humblie pray your Lordship to acquaynt Her Majesty, and not otherwise to impart my letter, because I am bold to write my simple oppinion playnly unto your Lordshipe; the same beinge, as the Lord doth judge, without respect or parcialty,—havige vowed my travaile and life to Her Majesties service only, and for ever.

I have writen to the deputes of Cornwale, and am reddy to reaire thither with all dillegence to performe the rest of Her Majesties cummande geven mee in charge by your Lordships.

And yeven so, humblie cummending my service unto your Lordship's favourable construction, I take my leve. From Exon, this xx of December, 1587.

Your Lordship's to do you all honor and service,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER
XVII.
—
1587.
Dec. 20.

*Inclosure ;
being an
Estimate of
Forces for
defence of
the Western
counties.*

LETTER
XVII.
1587.
Dec. 20.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—The cittisens of Exter, as yet, refuse to beare such part as was thought meet by the leventenants of Devon and the rest.¹

Addressed :

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord Highe
Treasurer of Ingland.*

Endorsed, by Lord Burghley :

*21 December, 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh. Levy of 2,000 foot, 200 hors,
in Devon and Cornwall.*

[INCLOSURE.]

THE CHARDG OF TRAYNING OF 2,000 FOOT AND 200 HORS IN
DEVON AND CORNWALL, FOR 16 DAYES.²

¹ The differences and controversies referred to in this letter grew, partly, out of separate jurisdictions ; and partly, out of special burdens, the incidence of which lay almost wholly upon the mercantile community of the coast towns. Hence, on the one hand, arose several disputes between Raleigh, as Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall and Lord Warden of the Stannaries (extending, it is to be remembered, into Devon as well as Cornwall), and the Earl of Bath, as Lord Lieutenant of Devon ; and, on the other, the claims of the citizens of Exeter to be exempted, on the ground of their great charges in the defence of their trade against the Barbary and other pirates, from the proportion they must otherwise have borne of the burden of the general levies. The relative dangers of the two counties in respect of invasion ; their relative means of defence ; and the special circumstances which affected the Stannary population ; are all treated of, by Raleigh, at great length and with conspicuous ability, in a subsequent letter (one of the many remarkable letters which are now printed for the first time), addressed to the Lords of the Council. That letter brings before the reader's mind, with like vividness, the physical configuration of the Western counties ; their industrial character ; and their relative shares in the wealth of nature.

² This title is from Lord Burghley's endorsement. The inclosure is entirely in the hand of an amanuensis.

11. In the number of 2,000 footmen and 200 horse in the counties of Devon [and Cornwall, the cities of Exon, and the Stannaries, are to be selected:—

(1) Devon	The body of the Shire with the Stannaries to furnish 124 horsemen	1200 footmen	Of which number the Stannaries furnish 200 footmen.	So is the number of the whole Army:—
(2) Cornwall	The body of the Shire with the Stannaries to furnish 66 horsemen	600 footmen	Of which the Stannaries furnish 200 footmen.	2,000 footmen.
The counts and cities of Exon	To furnish 200 footmen	200 footmen		200 horse.
The general officers of this Army.	The general of the Army The lieutenant general. The Marshall Four Coronels Two thirovers	Servings without paie.	£. s. d.	
General Officers with paie	The sergeant major, by daie The provost marshall The clerk of the check A capitaine A lieutenente An ensigne A sergeant A Clarke of the bande A drum A hundredth men at 6d. per person The Coronel of the Horse The master of the Campe.	Without paie.	£. s. d.	
The paie for the Companies Officers and Soldiers by the daie	4 capitaines 4 lieutenentes 4 guidons 4 clarks 4 trumpetts 200 horse	For each by the daie	£. s. d.	
The horsemen being divided into foure cornets, hath	There is allowed for each soldier for this service of sixteen daies, ten. pounde of Powder at 12d. the pounde, and is halfe a pounde the daie, and is for the sixtене daies at 6d. the pounde. Of leade for each man one pounde, at 12d. the pounde			
				The whole charge:—
				£4,163 5s. 0d.
				The whole charge of the twenty bands of footmen and four bands of horse.
				£. s. d.
				= 1457 0 0
				The charge of munition to be spent in this service = 706 5 0

LETTER
XVII.
1587.
Dec. 20.

1589.

XIX.

TO SIR GEORGE CAREW,
(*Afterwards Earl of Totnes.*)

From the Original. *Carew Papers*: MS. Tenison, dc. fol. 140 (Lambeth Palace). Holograph.

CUSSEN GEORGE,

FOR my retrait from the Court¹ it was uppon good cause to take order for my prize. If in Irlande they

graphical interest:—"But understanding further, by this bearer, that, in the absence of your Counsell, your will was that I shoulde consyder of the booke which passed betweene you and Mr. Browne, and that yt pleased you to use my opynion therin, I have perused the same accordinglie, and fynde yt to be intrycatelie penned, and with so great disadvantage for your parte, that I doubte the course which you are directed will hardlie satisfie your expectation; for, as I conceive yt, ymmediatlie [after] Her Majesties revocation, Mr. Browne ys to be discharged of the payment of his rent of 800*li.*, but yet your graunt to hym will contynue still in force untill, upon a perfecte accompte made by hym, you satisfie unto hym within vj monethes so muche of the somme of 1300*li.* as before that tyme he shall not have levyed by vertue of your graunte; and yf he refuse to yeld any such accompte at all, and so neglecte to receave any suche satisfaction at your handes, but resolve rather, beinge discharged of his rent, to contynue still to benyfitte of your graunt, I doubt greatlie that by lawe you shall hardlie avoyde yt. Wherefore I wyshe your counsell should advysedlie consyder of the pointe, before you procede with the revocation. And if by the wordes of the booke he [Browne] have this libertie and advantage in lawe (as I doubte muche he hath), then ys there nothing in the booke to restrayne hym, savinge onlye his bare covenant, to redeliver unto you the Letters Pattentes within six monethes after Her Majesties revocation, which was not so sufficientlie forseene and provyded for by your counsell in the drawinge of the booke as was meet. Thes thinges I thought good to make knowne unto you, and so leave them to your good consyderation, resting allwayes moost readye to be used by you in any servyce I can performe. And so, with my humble duetie, I commyt you to God. Your Worship's moost ready at commandment," &c.

¹ See Vol. I. p. 120.

LETTER
XIX.
1589.
Dec. 27.

think that I am not worth the respectinge they shall
 much deserve them selves. I am in place to be beleved
 not inferior to any man, to pleasure or displeasure the
 greatnes: and my opinion is so received and beleved as
 I can enjoy the best of them. And, therefore, if the
 Deputy¹ be not as ready to steed mee as I have bynn
 to defend hyme—be it art is may.²

When Sir WILLIAM FITZWILLIAMS shalbe in England,
 I thinke myselfe fast his better by the honorable offices I
 had as also by that ainess to her Majestye which still
 I enjoy, and never more. I am willinge to continew
 towards hyme all frindly offices, and I doubt not of the
 like fronde hyme, as well towards mee as my frinds.
 This much I desire he should understand; and, for my
 part, ther shalbe nothinge wantinge that becommeth a
 frinde: nether can I but hold myselfe most kindly dealt
 withall heretherto, of which I desire the continuance.
 I have deserved all his curtesies in the hiest degree.

For the sute of Lesmore, I will shortly send over
 order from the Queen for a dismis of their cavelacions;
 and so, I pray, deale as the matter may be respeted for
 a tyme: and cummend mee to Mr. Sollicitor with many
 thancks for his frindly deling therin; and I assure yow,
 on myne honor, I have deserve it att his hands in
 place wher it may most steed hyme.

For HARDINGE, I will send unto yow mony by
 exchange with all possible spead, as well to pay
 hyme (if he suffer the recoverye) as all others; and till
 then, I pray, if my builders want, supply them.

I look for yow here this springe, and, if possible³
 I may, I will returne with yow. The Queen thinkcs
 that GEORGE CAKEW longes to see her; and therefore

¹ Sir Wilham Fitzwilliam.

² So in MS., being written hastily for 'as it may.'

³ Possibly

For myne own part, I am very willing to enter bonde, as yow perswaded me, so as the Privey Seale be first sent for my enjoyng the third ; but I pray consider that I have layd all that I am worth, and must do, ere I depart on this voyage. If it fall not out well, I can but loose all, and if nothings be remaying, wherewith shall I pay the wages? Besides, her Majestie told mee herself that shee was contented to paye her part, and my Lord Admirall his, and I should but discharge for myne own shippes. And farther, I have promised her Majestie that, if I can perswade the Cumpanies to follow Sir MARTEN FURBRESHER,¹ I will without fail returne ; and bringe

be deducted for the third of mariners' part, £10,383; for my Lord his tenth, £3,015; for the Queen's customs, £1600; in charges for bringing the goods, £1200 = £16,198. Rests unto the owners and victuallers, to be divided amongst twelve, £14,952."

¹ NOTE ON RALEGH AND FROBISHER.

By the hypothetical expression—"if I can perswade the Cumpanies to follow Sir Marten Furbresher"—Raleigh seems to glance at the then notorious unpopularity of Frobisher with mariners, on account of his sternness of character and the 'martinet' severity of discipline which he maintained. This eminent navigator was probably, at the time when Raleigh's letter was written, fifty years of age, and he survived little more than two years longer; dying, in November 1594, of wounds received in the expedition which he had bravely conducted in aid of the defence of Brest against the troops of the King of Spain. What is known of Frobisher's life has been recently collected by Admiral Collinson, in the highly interesting volume published by the Hakluyt Society, and entitled, *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, in Search of a Passage to Cathaia*. It is by an oversight, however—as will be shown presently—that the gallant Admiral has said of *Frobisher*, when speaking of his share in Raleigh's expedition of 1592,—“He had but three ships, yet he made a shift to burn one rich galleon, and to bring home another.” The famous voyages of 1577 and 1578, which won for Sir Martin his most enduring laurels, present some curious incidental parallelisms with occurrences in the long subsequent voyages to Guiana of Raleigh, and in the metallurgic transactions which grew out of them. His own unfortunate experiences must have many times brought to Raleigh's mind the previous troubles of poor Frobisher with his “gold ores” and his foreign mineralogists. But the expedition of 1592 is the only one which is known to have brought Raleigh and Frobisher into direct intercourse.

LETTER
XXI.

1591-1592.
March 10.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Chatham.

Preparations for an Expedition against the Spanish Fleet.—Allusion to rumours about his Marriage.

LETTER
XXI.
—
1591-1592.
March 10.

them but into the sea but sune fifty or thriscore leagues, for which purpose my Lord Admirall hath lent me the *Disdayne*; which to do her Majestie many tymes, with great grace, bedd mee remember, and sent mee the same message by WILL KILLEGREWE, which, God willinge, if I can perswade the Cumpanies, I meane to performe; though I dare not be acknowa therof to any creature. But, Sir, for mee then to be bounde for so great a sune, uppon the hope of another man's fortune, I will be loth; and besids, if I weare able, I see no privy scale for my thirds. I mean not to come away, as they say I will, for feare of a marriage, and I know not what. If any such thing weare, I would have imparted it unto yourself before any man livinge; and, therefore, I pray believe it not, and I beseech yow to suppress, what you can, any such mallicious report. For I protest before God, ther is none, on the face of the yearth, that I would be fastned unto.¹ And so in hast I take my leve of your Honor. From Chattame, the 10th of March.

Your's ever to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

XXII.

TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, HOWARD OF
EFFINGHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. ccxlii. § 48
(Rolls House). Holograph. Without address or superscription.

LETTER
XXII.
—
1592.
June 8.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I HAVE seen the letter of the Deputes of Midelburgh, to which I am bold in this manner to awnswere.

¹ So in MS., but apparently the sentence is incomplete. See *Life*, Vol. I. p. 137.

About the thirteen day of Maye, as I remember, early in the morninge, about fortye leagus of the Cap Finister, wee discried a fleet of thirteen shippes; the Admirall carriinge a redd flage and the Vice-Admirall a white; which wee veryley thought to have bynn the fleet of Saint Mallos, wberof wee had harde, and was uppon returning. Thes shippes, notwithstanding they might well know us to be Englishmen, and might easely perceive Her Majesties shipp to be Admirall, bare from us all the¹ could, and kept out their flages in great bravery, till the *Rowbucke* reachinge the Admirall shote at hyme, and made hyme strike; which don, all strake and bare with mee, but foure, who, contrary to their bonds and promises to follow their Admirall, packt on all the sayle the¹ could, and left their own Admirall and us, beinge at hand with them, and knew us as well as our sealvs; after whom three of our smaler shippes followed.

I asked the Admirall and the rest why the rest rane away, knowing Her Majesties shipp to be ther. He told mee he knew not what the Flemings suspected of them sealvs, or whos goods they caried. Thos seven, after I had taken out Davis from them and two other passengers, which I sent your Lordship, I dismissed; and suffered not the valew of a farthinge to be taken from any of them. The rest, as it is confessed, first forsooke ther Admirall, rane from Her Majesties shipp, and fought it out afterward, as longe as she² could, agaynst thos three English shippes, beinge apoynted so well as they weare by their own confession, notwithstandinge he had seen his own Admirall strike; which in my oppinion douth make it very playne that the monye belonged to thos of Anwerpe who dayly freight shippes of Zelande for the trade of Spayne, to abuse Her Majestye. Besids, if

¹ they.

² So in MS.

LETTER
XXII.

1592.
June 8.

To the
Lord
Admiral
Howard.
From
Durham
House.

Answer to
the com-
plaint of
some mer-
chants of
Middle-
burgh, in
relation to
the treat-
ment of
certain
Flemish
ships.

LETTER
XXII.
—
1592.
June 8.

MANNSFELD had not had good reason for that he did, he would not have caried the shipp backe towards his Admirall thriscore and five leauges, but would have turnde her of,¹ and gonn awaye otherside Irland or Wales. Besides, it is in their letter confessed that MANSFELD did urge sume of the cumpany to confess it was belonginge to thos of Anwarpe ;—so as it apereth it was confessed to be so. In my oppinion the Flemings cannot say less for them sealvs then they do; and if they can recover xx thowsand pound for the askinge, I cannot blame them. I protest, before the levinge God, I am of oppinion that nether MANSFELD or any of the rest durst any more robe any Fleminge, or other, (being charged and instructed as they weare,) then they durst hange them sealvs. Besids, the masters of bothe the shippes be very honest and sufficient men, and of good wealth, especially the on.² From Durham House, this 8 of June [1592].

Your Honor's humble att cummandement,

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed :

8 Junii, 1592. *The answers of Sir Walter Raleigh to the letter of the Merchants of Middlebourgh.*

XXIII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxi. ff. 58, 59 (Hatfield).

LETTER
XXIII.
—
[1592.
July.]

SIR,

I WRAT unto your father how I am dealt withall by the Deputy,³ to whom my disgraces have bynn highly cummended. Hee supposed a debt of four hundred

¹ off.

² one.

³ Sir William Fitzwilliam.

pounds to the Queen, for rent, and sent order to the Shiriff to take away all the cattell my tenants had, and sell them the next day, unless the money weare payd the same day. All Munster hath scarce so mich mony in it; and the debt was indeed but fifty marks, which was payde, and it was the first and only rent that hath yet bynn payd by any undertaker. But the Shirife did as he was cummanded, and tooke away five hundred milch kine from the poor people; some had but two, and some three, to releve their poore wives and children, and in a strang country newly sett downe to builde and plant. Hee hath forcible thrust mee out of possession of a Castell, because it is in law between mee and his cousin WINCKFELD,¹ and will not here my atornes speake. Hee hath admitted a ward, and geven it his man, of a Castell which is the Queen's, and hath bynn by mee new built and planted with Inglishe, this five years; and to profit his man with a wardshipp, looseth her Majesties inheritance, and would plant the cussen of a rebell in the place of Inglishe men, the Castell stanetinge in the most dangerous place of all Munster.

Besids, ther is a band of soldiers, which a base phello, O'DODALL, hath in Yoholl,² which duth cost the Queen twelve hundred pound a yeare, and hath not ten good men in it; but our porest people muster and serve hyme for threepence a day, and the rest of his soldiers do nothing but spoyle the country, and drive away our best tenants.

If the Queen be over rich, it may bee mayntayned; but I will, att three days' warninge, rayse her a better bande, and arme it better tenfold, and better men, whensoever shee shall need it. And, in the mean tyme, it may

¹ Richard Wingfield, Deputy to Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at War in Ireland.

² Youghal.

LETTER
XXIII.

[1592.
July.]

To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From the
Tower.]

Dealings
of the
Lord
Deputy
with Sir
Walter's
tenants in
Munster.

LETTER
XXIII.[1592.
July.]

ether be employed in the North, or discharged ; for ther is in Munster, besides, a band of horse, and another of foot, which is more than needeth. In this, if yow pleas to move it, yow may save her Majestye so mich in her coffers. For the rest I will send my man to attend yow, although I care not ether for life or lands ; but it will be no small weakninge to the Queen in thos parts, and no small cumfort to the ill-affected Irishe, to have the Inglishe inhabitants driven out of the country, which are yet stronge enough to master the rest, without her charge.

Yours, to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To my honorable frinde, Sir R. CECILL, Knt., of Her Majesty's most honorable Privy Councell.

XXIV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As printed by MURDIN, from the Original, in the *Cecil Papers* (**Hatfield**).

SIR,

I PRAY send me the news of Ireland. I hear that there are three thousand of the BURGKS in arms, and young ODONELL and the sons of SHANE ONEALE. I wrote in a letter of Mr. KILLEGREEW'S, ten days past, a prophesye of this rebellion, which when the Queen read, she made a scorn at my conceat ; but yow shall find it but a shoure of a farther tempest. If yow please to sent me word of what yow hear, I will be laught at again in my opinion touching the same, and be bold to write yow my farther suspicion. Your cousen, the dotinge Deputy,¹ hath dispeopled me ; of which I have written to your father already. It is a sign how my disgraces have past

LETTER
XXIV.1592.
July.To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From the
Tower.]Rebellion
in Ireland.
— Proceed-
ings of the
Deputy in
relation to
Raleigh's
lands in
Munster.¹ Sir William Fitzwilliam.

the seas, and have been highly commended to that wise Governour, who hath used me accordingly. So I leve to trouble yow at this time, being become like a fish cast on dry land, gasping for breath, with lame leggs and lamer loonges. Your's, for the little while I shall desire to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To my very loving friend, Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, of Her Majesty's most honorable Privy Councill.

XXV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As printed by MURDIN, from the Original, in the *Cecil Papers* (Hatfield).

SIR,

I PRAY be a mean to her Majesty for the signing of the bills for the Gards' coats, which are to be made now for the Prograsse, and which the Cleark of the Cheeck hath importunde me to write for.

My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far of,¹—whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her, in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet nire at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three dayes, my sorrows were the less : but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like *Alexander*, hunting like *Diana*, walking like *Venus*, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph ; sometime siting in the shade like a Goddess ; sometime singing like an angell ; sometime playing like *Orpheus*. Behold

¹ *off.*

LETTER
XXIV.
—
1592
July.

LETTER
XXV.
—
[1592.
July.]

To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From the
Tower.]

Routine
duties, as
Captain of
the Guard.—
Passionate
regrets for
loss of the
Queen's
favour.

LETTER
XXV.
—
[1592,
July.]

the sorrow of this world! Once amiss, hath bereaved me of all. O Glory, that only shineth in misfortune, what is becom of thy assurance? All wounds have skares, but that of fantasie; all affections their relenting, but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friendship, but adversity? or when is grace witnessed, but in offences? There were no divinety, but by reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and mortall. All those times past,—the loves, the sythes, the sorrows, the desires, can they not way down one frail misfortune? Cannot one dropp of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *Spes et fortuna, valet*. She is gone, in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list. I am more weary of life then they are desirous I should perish; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born.

Your's, not worthy any name or title,

W. R.

Addressed:

To my honorable friend, Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, of Her Majesty's most honorable Privy Councill.

XXVI.

TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, HOWARD OF
EFFINGHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. cxlii. § 131
(Rolls House). Holograph.

LETTER
XXVI.
—
1592
August?

MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

I HAVE sent to Sir JOHN HAWKINGS to have his opinion touchinge the *Great Susan*, and both hee and my sealf do verely think that in removing the vities att

this tyme of the yeare,—the drink turnde on the leese, —all wilbe spoyld, so as I see no way but to leve the shippe and sell the remayne of the provisions; for I know no boddye but my sealf (if I had byne att libertye) that would undertake to sett her out, and a good strenght is therby wantinge, especially where a few mens¹ [?] ayde is required. It is hard to lessen that that was; but it is more profitable to punishe my great treasons, then that I should ether strenghten the fleet, or do many other things that lye in the diches. Here ar besides all the mariners that came in the prize, and the soldiers. They run up and down, exclayminge for paye. I dare not speak with them that I might cumpare their names with my booke, to know when they entr'eat² into paye and what hath bynn imprested, and so that order may be directly taken for their discharge. For now both thos of good and ill desart ar mixed without respect: the on³ unpunished, the other unpayde. I beseich your Lordship, if it be thought fitt, that order be geven to Sir GEORG [CAREW] that they may cum unto mee, to stay all farther exclamacion.

I was yesterday advertesed from a man of mine cumminge from the coast of Britayne [Brittany] that ther ar twentye shippes of warr for the leauge, that lye between Silley and Ushent to take up our newlandmen⁴ and to watch for any prises that shalbe sent home. If any of the ships in the Narrow Seas weare sent for a time, or some other course taken, it weare most necessarye; or elce wee shall lose all, and be a scorne to all nacions. But wee ar so mich busied with the affaires of other nacions, of whos manghanged troubles ther will never be end, that wee forgett our own affaires,

LETTER
XXVI.

1592.
August?

To Lord
Admiral
Howard.
[From the
Tower.]

Affairs of
the Navy.—
Thanks for
Lord
Howard's
interposi-
tion with
the Queen.

¹ This reading is doubtful. ² So in MS. ³ *one*. ⁴ So in MS.

LETTER
XXVI.

1592.
August ?

our profitt, and our honor. Hee is of a mean consait that lookes not into the purpose of this Peace, which may as well be turnde over,—finesse contra finesse,—to our most advantage. But in the meanwhile the few mean actions of our own ar utterly neglected.

To conclude, I must humblie thank your Lordship for your most honorable care of mee in this unfortunat accident. But I see ther is a determinacion to disgrace mee and ruin mee. And therfore I beseich your Lordship not to offend Her Majestye any farther by sewing for mee. I am now resolved of the matter. I only desire thatt I may be stayd no on¹ houre from all the extremetye that ether lawe or presedent can avowe. And, if that be to² litle, would God it weare withall concluded that I might feed the lions, as I go by, to save labor. For the torment of the mind cannot be greater; and, for the boddye, would others did respect themsealvs as mich as I valew hit att litle. And so, with my humble dewtys, and thancks which I canot express, I leve your Lordship to God.

Your Lordship's poore kinsman to do
you servece for ever,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable the Lord High Admirall of Ingland.

¹ one.

² two.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XXVII.—*CAPTURE OF A
SHIP OF BAYONNE.*

THE letter which follows was sent by the Lord Admiral Howard, from Byfleet, to Lord Burghley on the 28th of August, 1592, with a letter from himself in these terms :—" My very good Lord, this enclosed letter, directed to your Lordship and myself, coming to my hands, I made bold to break open, and do find the same to be an answer unto a letter written from us unto Sir WALTER RAWLIGHE touching a ship of Bayone taken by his man FLOYRE. For the particulars whereof I refer your Lordship unto itself; and think good only to touch the last part where he saith that FLOYRE delivered over the ship and goods to my Vice-Admiral upon letters from me which required the same. So it was that the Frenchman that made claim to the goods, having obtained commission out of the Admiralty Court for restitution of his ship and goods unto him, had also letters of assistance unto the same from me, by virtue of which the ship with some of the fish was recovered by the Vice-Admiral of Somerset, and delivered unto the Frenchman by order out of the Admiralty Court. Whereof I have thought good to advertise your Lordship."

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XXVII.

1592.
August.

XXVII.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELEY, AND
THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.

From the Original. *Burghley Papers* in MS. Lansdowne, vol. cxv fol. 173 (British Museum). In the hand of an Ammannensis. With autograph subscription and signature.

LETTER
XXVII.

1592.
Aug. 27.

To Lord
Burghley
and Lord
Howard of
Effingham.

On the
taking of a
ship of
Bayonne
by Capt.
John
Floyer.

MY VERIE GOOD LORDS,

I HAVE received a letter from your Lordships concerning the taking of a shipp of Bayon, laden with fish, by Captain JOHN FLOIRE, whereunto your Lordships require my aunswere. I acquainted the Judg of th' Admiraltie and Captain FLOIRE with the complaint, and do finde that in the Bay of Portugal, JOHN FLOIRE, meeting with this shipp of Bayon, which a little before was taken going into Spaine with victuell, without license, by a man of warre 'of Diep,' as was said,—though Captain FLOIRE judged him rather to be of Newhaven, —was earnestly entreated to succor and rescue them from the captain and others which were putt aboard from the man of warr. Captain FLOIRE, perceaving that they were the French king's frends and like to be spoiled by Leaguers, caused the supposed captain of Diep and the master of the ship of Bayon to come aboard his shipp, where one accused the other: the one, for carying victuel to the enemy; the other, for landing the greatest part of his men in Spaine. Hereupon the master, standing upon his integritie and innocencie, promised Captain FLOIRE great recompence to rescue him and to bring his shipp and lading safelie into some port of England, affirming that in France he should be

oppressed by the Ligue, and find no justice in recoverie of them againe ; during which time there arose a great tempest,—so violent that Captain FLOIRE could neither return the French captain and master to the shipp from whence they came, nor receive his own men out of the ship of Bayon. This storm severed the shipp, and the French ship was by Captain FLOIRE'S men, which did swim aboard her, caried to Uphil in Severn with intent to have made spoile of her ; which Captain FLOIRE understanding was forced to put into Plymmouth, and to victuel his ship for a moneth longer, all which time he followed the French shipp, and tooke her againe. Within 2 or 3 daies after, came commission from you, my Lord Admiral, to take the ship and fish from Captain FLOIRE, which he accordinglie obeyed, and delivered the same to your Lordship's officer, with a very small diminucion.

What became afterwards of the ship and goods Captain FLOIRE protesteth he is ignorant ; neither was he inquisitive, because he held himself discharged of anie farther account, uppon receipt of your Lordship's commission. Onelic he hath heard that by the negligence of such as had charge thereof the ship was lyke to perish in harbor, and the fish being removed and landed did begin noisomlie to smell ; and so it seemeth some losse was susteined after JOHN FLOIRE was commanded to leave her ; himself making no benefytt by the ship or her lading, although they made him great promises of recompence before he rescued them. Besides, he lost the benefitt of his voyage to the Indies ; victuelled his ship twise ; and is almost undone in seeking their safetie, never receaving penny for his travel,¹ charges, and losse of time.

LETTER
XXVII.
—
1592.
Aug. 27.

¹ *travail.*

~~1592~~
~~1591~~
~~1592~~
 Aug. 27.

Thus I make bold to dilate unto your Lordships the particularities at large, because Captain FLOIRE is reputed and known to be my man, and the ship mine wherein he was going to the Indies; yet do I write nothing partyallie, but what shall be confirmed by the testimonies of honest persons. And so do humblie take my leave. the 27th August. 1592.

Your Lordships' humblie att cummandmente,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honourable my vertie good Lords, the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admirall of England.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV. INCLUSIVE.—*THE PRIVATEERING EXPEDITION OF 1592, AND THE CAPTURE OF THE SPANISH CARRACK, 'MADRE DE DIOS,' BY RALEGH'S SHIP, 'THE ROEBUCK.'*

THE capture of the 'Great Carrack' of 1592, and the proceedings which ensued in relation to the partition of her spoils, have an interest which extends far beyond the mere occurrence itself. It was, in one sense, the most brilliant feat of privateering ever accomplished by Englishmen, even in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It was also a piece of mercantile enterprise,—pregnant with results,—and the history of which throws light, alike on some curious points connected both with our Admiralty law and with the growth of our commerce and colonies, and on several later incidents in the biography of Raleigh himself. The letters which follow will, I think, be found, intrinsically, very readable ; but they will be the better understood if a few particulars be first mentioned, in addition to those which have been already noticed in the ninth chapter of the preceding volume.

The Expedition of 1592 was headed by two Queen's ships, and by two admirals. But it was none the less a privateering cruise—in which the Queen was only a chief 'adventurer,' jointly with others,—combined with a plan for an attack on the Spanish settlement at Panama. That colony had been founded by Pedrarias de Avila more than seventy years before. It had already survived great dangers and hardships ; but was not destined to be put into any new peril by Raleigh's present enterprise,—which had, eventually, to confine itself to the cruise at sea.

In addition to her two ships, the Queen contributed eighteen hundred pounds in money. This was her whole outlay, beyond

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

English Privateers and Spanish Prizes.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XXVIII. TO
XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

the sum spent on the repairs of the ships themselves. The citizens of London contributed six thousand pounds towards the outfit of the expedition. The amount adventured by Raleigh is not exactly ascertainable, but it was very large. To Bughley, it will be seen, he stated that he had risked his whole fortune. And it is certain that he borrowed a large sum on interest, expressly for the occasion. His ship, *The Redoubt*, bore the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir John Borough. Carew Raleigh, Walker's brother, sent a ship of 250 tons, manned by 160 men, called *The Gallon Raleigh*.

The Earl of Cumberland had previously fitted out six ships on a privateering expedition of his own; quite independently—at the outset—of the enterprise of Raleigh. How the two came at length into combination will be seen hereafter.

Raleigh's ships were ready for sea in February, but from adverse winds were unable to set sail until April; and then they encountered severe storms. Under the obscure circumstances which have been noticed in Chapter IX. the Admiral himself left the fleet, by the Queen's express and reiterated order, about the middle of May, and divided it into two squadrons; entrusting the command of one squadron to Frobisher, with orders to watch the Spanish coast, and that of the other to Borough, with instructions to cruise about the Azores.

Towards the end of July Sir John Borough met at Flores with two ships of London, and for the purpose of strengthening his squadron made an agreement with their commanders which had some bearing on subsequent transactions. Its terms and tenor were thus expressed:—

“I, Sir John Burrowes, Knighte, and by vertue of her Majestie's commission, Generall of a fleet appoynted for the seas, have consorted, covenanted, and agreed, and by theis presents doe consorte, covenante, and agree, to and wyth Chrystopher Newporte, capitayne of *The Goulden Dragon* of London, a shippe of the borthen of 180 tonne, for himselfe; and on ¹ shipp more, of his consortshipp, called *The Prudence*,

¹ one.

of the sayde cittye of London, beinge of the burthen of 100 tonne, to have, possesse, and enjoye, and to be partaker with me and my fleete, and I with them, of all such lawfull pryse and pryses as shalbe taken by me or them, or any of us, jointelie or severally, in sighte or oute of sighte; tunne for tunne, and man for man; from the daye of the date hereof untill the tenth daye of September next."¹ The agreement bears date the 28th of July.

On the day immediately following, whilst Borough in *The Roebuck* was lying close to Flores, a great Portuguese carrack, and a ship of the Earl of Cumberland's fleet which had her in brisk chase, came in sight, bearing directly for the land. All three anchored. Both *The Roebuck* and the Earl's ship were on the point of attacking, when carrack and cruisers were scattered to sea by a sudden storm. When the opportunity recurred, the commander of the *Santa Cruz* obeyed the King of Spain's orders by setting fire to her, as soon as he saw escape to be impossible. But Borough learnt, from one of her crew, the welcome news that other and still more richly-laden carracks were also steering towards Flores, in the expectation of meeting there with their appointed escort of Spanish men-of-war. It was expressly to cut off this escort that Raleigh had placed Frobisher's squadron on the coast of Spain; and the plan had succeeded. Borough's hopes rose high. In the ships of London he had acquired a possibly needful accession of strength. By the junction with the Earl of Cumberland's cruiser, and her expected consorts, the partners in the game came, it seems, to be more than were wished for.

On the 3rd of August the *Madre de Dios* hove in sight. She was an enormous ship, of 1600 tons' burthen, and (all counted) of seven decks. Her length, over all, was 165 feet. She was, in fact, a floating castle, with nearly 800 inhabitants. Amongst them were several eminent Spanish governors and functionaries; and many wealthy merchants, going homeward

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XXVIII. TO
XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

¹ *Cesar Papers*, in MS. Lansdowne, lxx. § 20 (British Museum).

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XXVIII. TO
XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

with the fruits of their toil and enterprise in the Indies. Her commander was Don Fernan de Mendoza. Sir John Borough told Lord Burghley that the fight lasted from ten of the clock in the morning until one or two o'clock "at night." But on this point, as on some others, the accounts of eye-witnesses vary. On the respective parts taken in the capture by the ships of the Queen and Raleigh and by those of the Earl, there was, not unnaturally, a very sharp conflict afterwards. The Carrack, says Borough in his despatch, "is very rytche, but mutch spoyled by the sodiers being entred by force; to which yt was not possible for me to geive order, not of a long tyme; for that the Erle of Cumberland's men stood upon theyr Lord's comyssion, and therby challenged as great a commandement as I, notwithstanding that I mayle yt knowen to the chiefe of them that I was joined in her Majestye's commission with Sir Martyn Furbyssher." The commission here spoken of is one which would seem to have been issued *after* the discovery of what Raleigh calls "my great treasons." From other passages in the despatches it might have been inferred that both Frobisher and Borough were simply to be regarded as Raleigh's lieutenants. "I have nowe," adds Sir John Borough, "taken possession of the carrack in her Majestye's name and ryght, and I hope, for all the spoyle that has beene mayde, her Majestye shall receyve more proffyt by her then by any shipp that ever came into England."

Lord Cumberland's captains varied the story considerably. According to them, both the flagship (Raleigh's *Roebuck*) and the Queen's ship, *Foresight*, were disabled, more or less, during the fight. The Earl's ships, they said, at length "laid the carricke aboard, on both sides, and entred three hundred and sixty men at the least, and after some fight and losse of men, not only surprised and tooke her, but also rescued the *Foresight*."

The *Madre de Dios* had as stormy a passage to England as her captors had had in the voyage outward. She reached Dartmouth on the 8th of September. And then the liberal

"self-help" of the captors was resumed. It had gone very far during the brief interval between the taking of the ship and Borough's arrival on board her, to take possession for the Queen. But at sea it was easier to plunder than to turn the plunder to account. The news of the theretofore unheard-of wealth of a single ship had spread far and wide in England. The Queen's Commissioners made eager haste to the coast. Yet they were anticipated, not only by keen-witted Devonians, but by speculative shopkeepers from London. The ports of arrival looked for many days, says an eye-witness, "like Bartholomew fair." Even the clerk to the Queen's Commissioners expresses compassion for the sailors, on hearing of the unequal encounters between them and the traffickers on shore. He testifies that some of the precious commodities were sold by the buyers, before nightfall and without quitting the town, for five times the price given to those who had made the spoil at peril of life and limb.

"Pillage" within certain limits was, at this period, a recognised privilege of captors. What the proper limits were was a question on which sailors and statesmen widely differed. And they differed not less widely as to the time when it should be made. The sailors deemed the moment of victory the right moment for pillage. On this occasion, it was notified by a royal proclamation that no pillage at all was lawful "until the whole lading was brought into port." The proclamation was accompanied by warrants addressed to the bailiffs of the several hundreds adjacent to the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, in which they were directed to see that "all passengers should be stopped, and that all trunks, carriers' packs, hampers, cloak-bags, portmanteaus, and fardells, that are likely to have in them any part of the goods lately arrived in the ports of Dartmouth or Plymouth in a Spanish carrocke, . . . should be stayed and searched."

Among the earliest witnesses examined by the Commissioners at Dartmouth, was a Portuguese officer, named Vincent de Fontesecco, who had been purser of that carrack—the *Santa*

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XXVIII. TO
XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

Spanish
Prizes
and
English
Privateers.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XXVIII. TO
XXXIV.

1592
July—Oct.

Crus—which its crew had burnt at Flores, to avoid capture. Fontesecco deposed to his belief that the *Madre de Dios* contained, in precious stones, pearls, amber, and musk, “to the value of 400,000 crusados,” and that, amongst these, were “two great crosses and one other great jewel of diamonds which the Viceroy sent for a present to the King.” Of such precious merchandise as this, only a very small proportion was recovered, notwithstanding the most stringent measures. “For jewels, pearls, and amber,—I fear that the birds be flown,” wrote Robert Cecil to Lord Burghley, almost at the instant of his arrival at Dartmouth, on the 19th of September. But there was a large store of rich commodities less easily disposable. Of spices alone, according to Fontesecco, the *Madre de Dios*, at her sailing, contained no less than 537 tons;¹ and of ebony wood, 15 tons. The tapestries, silk stuffs, and satins of the ‘rich carrick’ seem to have been in fit companionship with the spices and the hardwoods. There is no need for further details, to explain the wide-spread anxiety—in high and low—to have at least a finger, if not a fist, in the prize. Several months after the arrival of the carrack, the Countess of Bath, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Devon, had occasion to thank the Judge of the Admiralty, Dr. Julius Cæsar, for some act of courtesy in relation to quite another matter, and she falls incidentally into this naïve reflection: “I send your wife a small token, in show of thankful remembrance; but, had I had anything by this rich carrick, she should have perceived it by my token. *But my Lord’s house*² *is far off, and so lighted of nothing.*”³

Captain Crosse (afterwards knighted at Cadiz, and to be

¹ Namely, 8,500 quintals, or hundredweights, of pepper; 900 quintals of cloves; 700 quintals of cinnamon; 500 quintals of anneal; 50 quintals of mace; 50 quintals of nutmegs, and 50 quintals of benjamin. A note on this deposition, in the hand of Lord Burghley, estimates the pepper as being then worth £12 a quintal, or £102,000 in the whole. (*Cecil Papers*, in MS. Lansdowne, lxx. § 36.)

² Tawstock, near Barnstaple.

³ MS. Addit. 12506, fol. 88 (British Museum).

met with elsewhere in these volumes as 'Sir Robert Crosse') carried the Queen's ship, *Foresight*, into Portsmouth Harbour, and enjoyed a quiet and pleasant little interval of five days, between his arrival and the official search of the ship, by order from the Council in London. The search was not very productive. Afterwards, Crosse acknowledged that he had taken out of the carrack spoils to the value of £2,000. Of the examination of Sir John Borough's own chests a curious account will be found in Letter XXXII.

The captain of another ship—the *Dainty*—found it convenient to "come about to Harwich." The Council had not thought it needful to take any such precautions on the coast of Essex and Suffolk as had been taken in Devon and Hants. Certain "verie greate bagges of greate cynamon" found their way, from Ipswich to Lombard Street, just at the time that Sir John Hawkins—to whom the *Dainty* belonged—had explained to Lord Burghley the elaborate measures he had adopted to secure the total abstinence of his own captain and crew from the prevalent offence. When this captain came under examination, he narrated a conversation between himself and Admiral Borough. The *Dainty*, it seems, had lost her mast just after the capture of the carrack, and was driven out to sea. When he was able to rejoin his admiral, he applied for a share in the good things that had been going. Sir John answered: "Proclamation is made; and I am for the Queen." "So am I, too," said Captain Thomson, "as I hope; but is there never a chain of gold, nor apparel?" "I have kept something for you," rejoined Borough, "because you were away." But, to Thomson's disgust, the something was "a common sailor's chest, which had been broken up before." Presently, however, he found means to console himself. The Commissioners, in their letters to Burghley, complain bitterly of the difficulty they found in knowing what and whom to believe or disbelieve. When some unwilling witnesses were reproached with disregarding the sacred obligations of their oath, one of them answered: "Nay, by my troth, we had rather be in the

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XXVIII. TO
XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XXVIII. TO
XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

hands of God, and trust His mercy, than in the hands of Commissioners that have no mercy.”¹

At this period, the cruises of privateers were commonly adventured on “by the thirds,” as it was termed. That is, the owners of the ship had one third part of the value of all captures; the victuallers, another third; the officers and crew, the remaining third. Ships adventuring in company, shared in like proportion, the owners taking in the ratio of the tonnage of their respective ships in consort; the victuallers and crew, in the ratio of the numbers of men on board each consort.

This being borne in mind, the passage in Letter XXVIII.—“If (instead of this £20,000) I had made it £100,000, and done injury to none but myself, I hope it may be thought it proceeded from a faithful mind. . . . *Fourscore thousand pounds is more than ever a man presented Her Majesty yet,*”—becomes less enigmatical than it looks at the first glance. The earliest estimate of the worth of the carrack’s cargo reached the inordinate sum of half a million (in the money, it is to be remembered, of 1592). Raleigh, much nearer the truth, put it at £200,000. Eventually,—as far as concerns what had been left available, after plunder,—it proved to be but little above £141,000, or some three quarters of a million, in our present currency. Raleigh—adopting, as I suppose, Sir John Borough’s account of the circumstances of the capture, as he was bound to do—questioned the fairness of the claim advanced on behalf of the ships of the Earl of Cumberland. The Queen, as a sharer in the original joint adventure of March 1592, he estimated to be entitled, for the tonnage of her ships and her proportion in the joint-stock, to one-tenth of the net proceeds. But, in courtly fashion, he adds that if his own share were large enough,—and no one would lose but himself,—he would willingly quintuple the royal proportion; and so offer for Her Majesty’s acceptance “fourscore thousand pounds.”

¹ MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxx. § 61.

In the issue, the Queen took quite sufficient care of herself. Having adventured £1800 out of a joint-stock of £18,000, and having furnished 1150 tons of shipping out of 5,000 tons, she took somewhat more than one-half of the net proceeds of the fortunate adventure. How Sir Walter himself came out of it, he has pithily summed up in Letter XXXIV. But he had subsequent opportunities,—in some of which he fared much better.

XXVIII.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 180), from his own transcript of the Original. With some corrections.

SIR GEORGE CAREW hath dealt with me to know in particular how Her Majesty might be profited by the Carique, according to the offer I made. My promise was not to buy my bondage, but my liberty, and, I hope, of Her Majesty's favour. . . . Before I heard of the taking of the Carack, I thought not worth the labour [to compute the account of the Voyage]. And myself being the greatest Adventurer, I was contented rather to smother my loss, than labour to publish an hopeless overthrown estate, &c.

Briefly, of 5,000 ton of shipping, Her Majesty hath but 1100. . . . Of £18,000, in money, Her Majesty hath but £1800,¹ for the other £1200² was employed on her two ships, as by Sir JOHN HAWKINS'S account will appear. To conclude, Her Majesty's adventure will come but to the tenth part. Which, of £200,000 (such,

¹ Strype, '£1500,' but compare Letter XXXIV., printed from the Original.

² Strype, '£1500.'

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV.

1592.
July—Oct.

LETTER XXVIII.

1592.
Sept. (On or before Sept. 15.)

To Lord Burghley. [From the Tower.]

Partition of the Spoils of the 'Madre de Dios.'

I think, is the value of the Carack), Her Majesty's part will be £20,000. And I know Her Majesty will not take the right of her subjects from them, contrary to her hand and seal; in consideration, that for her service sake, and the rather for your Lordship's persuasion, they were contented to adventure.

And this is not the last time that Her Majesty shall need their contribution. If Her Majesty had set out the journey of her own charge, it would have cost her £40,000. And now it costs her but in £1800,¹ besides her two ships. Instead of this £20,000 if I had made it £100,000, and done it to none but myself, I hope it may be thought to have proceeded from a faithful mind, and a true desire to serve Her. Fourscore thousand pounds is more than ever a man presented Her Majesty as yet. God have sent it for my ransom, I hope Her Majesty of her abundant goodness will accept it. If I speak, with the least, a² greater sum;—a greater sum will be more thankworthy. If my imprisonment or my life might do Her Majesty more good, I protest, before God, I would never desire either liberty or further respite of breathing.

And if Her Majesty cannot beat me from my affection, I hope her sweet nature will think it no conquest to afflict me. What her will shall be, I shall willingly obey. And so I humbly take my leave of your Lordship. From this unsavoury dungeon, this . . . of September [1592].

¹ Strype, '£1500.'

² Misprinted by Strype '1' (one).

XXIX.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 182), from his own transcript of the Original, but apparently imperfect.

BY your Lordship's great favour, I have obtained liberty to ride down. I hope it shall be profitable for Her Majesty and a quietness and satisfaction to the rest. . . . Present payment must be made the ships, that they come not under further charge. . . . The ways to profit Her Majesty's cause be in this wise: To take a fifth part of her custom. Secondly, a tenth part or more for her particular adventure. And next, and chiefly, I will put the third part of all into her hands for the mariners: which I did undertake to pay; and of right belongeth unto myself: which will amount to the one half of the Carack. . . . I did bind myself to all the ship's company to pay them; which indeed I did; and confessed to Sir ROBERT CECIL, while I was a prisoner. . . . I will aver, that I undertook on us, in the¹ name and right, who had promised me to save me harmless; hoping of Her Majesty's goodness otherwise. For I protest, before the living God, both my three years' pension of the Custom-house,—which was £6,000,—and all I have besides is in this journey. . . . All the wages of the seamen will not amount to £6,000. For that the third, I doubt not, but will be threescore thousand.

¹ So printed by Strype. Probably the reading should be: "in *her* name and right, who," &c.

LETTER
XXIX.

1592.
Sept. 16.

To Lord
Burgheley.
[On the
way to
Dart-
mouth.]

On the
partition
of the
Spoils of
the '*Madre
de Dios.*'

XXX.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 178), from his own transcript of the Original.

LETTER
XXX.

1592.
Sept. 17.

To Lord
Burgheley.
From
Hartle-
bury.

On pro-
ceedings to
be taken
respecting
the Carrack
'*Madre de
Dios*.'

MY humble duty remembered. If it please your Lordship to send us by this bearer a commission to examine upon oath as well mariners as townsmen, and all strangers of other places, what hath been bought or sold, I doubt not but we shall find out many things of importance. For the Earl of Cumberland's [ships]—who had the chiefest pillages—arrived at Plymouth, and made port-sale of diamonds, rubies, musk, ambergris, and all other commodities. And not one of the Commissioners ever moved or sent thither; but only sacked my ship, which only attended the Carack, even to the very keelson. The Earl's ships—the *Dainty*, the *Dragon*, the *Foresight*, and the rest—ran from her into several ports, and ever sold all; only my poor men and ship was stripped for her good attendance. And if she had forsaken the Carack as the rest did, she [the carrack] had been cast away.

Also if it please your Lordship to send a commission to Alderman MARTEN and others, to make inquiry into London what goldsmiths or jewellers are gone down, and that at their return they may be examined upon oath, what stones or pearls they have bought, I doubt not but many things will be discovered. If I meet any of them coming up, if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way, I mean to strip them as naked as ever they

were born. For it is infinite that Her Majesty hath been robbed, and that of the most rare things.

Whereas I wrote to your Lordship for £2,000, if we load the same ships with the goods, we shall not need to pay but part, and the rest at London. So I think one thousand will serve. Thus, in haste, I humbly take my leave. From Hartelbery, this Sunday morning.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

W. RALEGH.

If it please your Lordship to send commission to myself, Sir JOHN GILBERT, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, Mr. KILLIGREW, Mr. CHRISTOPHER HARRIS, and Mr. PAYDEN, the customer; and TRISTRAM GEORGE,—because none ¹ other dwell upon Saltashe river,—we [²] shall be able among their tenants to find out other things.

XXXI.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 177), from his own transcript of the Original.

THE particularities of all done your Lordship shall receive from Sir ROBERT CECIL. If the like diligence had been used at Plymouth, where the Earl [of CUMBERLAND]'S ships arrived: at Portsmouth, where the *Foresight* arrived; at Harwich, where the *Dainty* arrived; as hath been here, their value of the Carack would then have resembled itself in some sort. But if the Earl were presented, of voluntary gift, with so many thousands of pearls and diamonds, and these only from

¹ Misprinted by Strype 'some.'

² Strype reads 'and.'

LETTER
XXX.

1592.
Sept. 17.

LETTER
XXXI.

1592.
Sept. 21.

To Lord
Burgheley.
[From
Dart-
mouth.]

On the
Spoils of
the 'Madre
de Dios.'

LETTER
XXXI.
—
1592.
Sept. 21.

such of his men as were abiding in the Carack, what is to be thought of the rest remaining? His own ships I leave to your Lordship's discretion: and what was unrepresented was of some account, if it had been recovered. For mercenary men are not so affectionate or religious, but that they can, with safe conscience, lick their own fingers.

What will be done hereafter, I know not; but I dare give the Queen ten thousand pounds sterling for that which is gained by Sir ROBERT CECIL'S coming down; which I protest before the living God, I speak of truth, without all affection or partiality, for (God is my judge) he hath more rifled my ship than all the rest; and yet she, only, stayed by the Carack, lost most men, most of all spoiled; and only remaineth here under commandment. The rest are gone every one his way. And truly, my Lord, CROSS¹ was most to blame, and dealt lewdly to leave the Carack, and afterwards to steal from Sir MARTIN [FROBISHER]. I have always served him to my power; but his mad behaviour is too insolent in this action. Thus, with remembrance of my duty, I humbly take my leave, and remain most ready to do your Lordship all honour and service.

W. RALEGH.

¹ Robert Crosse, afterwards a captain in the Cadiz expedition, and knighted.

XXXII.

SIR ROBERT CECIL, SIR WALTER RALEGH, AND
OTHERS, COMMISSIONERS OF INQUIRY AT
DARTMOUTH, TO THE LORD TREASURER
BURGHLEY AND LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.

From the Original. MS. Lansdowne, lxx. No. 93. (British Museum).

OUR duties to your Lordships most humblie remembred. Althoughe wee have no great matter to write to your Lordships, yet the opportunitie of this messenger makes us bolde to trouble your Lordships, thoughe by our last letters of the xxth wee did aduertize you of our proceedinges, and desired some understandinge of your pleasure whether wee shall be thinke us of unloading the pepper or no, of which, althoughe wee be not yet come to it by one whole decke, yet woulde wee knowe some parte of your Lordships mynde; because here be diverse shippes, as the *Alcedo* and others, being fitt shippes to assure the transportacion, which woulde (if it were not for this seruice) be gone eastwarde to their owners, who shall loose the benefitt of their setting forthe againe, if here (uppon hope of fraughte) they shoulde be commanded to stay and then be disappointed; of which, for the first point, when your Lordships are resolved you may with more deliberacion advize to whom it may be solde, which we leave to your Lordships' consideracion.

Wee have examined Captain CROSSE'S brother, whom the messinger wee did send for him did meet on the way betweene Bridgwater and Exeter; we have examined him uppon these Interrogatories, and finde no more then here is sett downe. Sir JOHN BOROGHE arryved here yesternighte, whose chests voluntarilie he

LETTER
XXXII.

1592.
Sept. 27.

Sir R.
Cecil, Sir
W. Raleigh,
and others,
to the
Lord
Treasurer
and Lord
Admiral.
From
Dart-
mouth.

Proceed-
ings of the
Commis-
sion re-
specting
the '*Madre
de Dios.*'

LETTER
XXXII.
—
1522.
Sept. 27.

hathe shewed, hearing of our diligent searche for them in his absence; and thoughte wee finde them no common chests, yet finding in them nether Pearle, Amber, Stone, Jewell, Hangings, Tapestry, or riche stuffe, wee have lefte them in his owne keping, bothe because he assured us he had tolde Her Majestie of them, and also because wee finde he thinkes himselfe hardlie dealt withall, being Her Majesties Generall there, and a Gentleman of qualitie, not to be suffred to choose out and send from himselfe some suche present of them as may be acceptable to Her Majestie, to which wee founde reasone to assent, seing they were nothing in them but certaine China Taffataes and Damaskes, with painted Caffard for Quiltes, some Quiltes of White Callicute sticht, and 2 or 3 parcells of suche white China Taffatae imbrodered with China golde as Mr. CANDISHE broughte home; with certaine course gilt boxes, and a bunch of seede pearle.

Within 3 or iiij. dayes, wee shalbe able to give some estimat of the state of this Carricke, and wee shall knowe whither the iiij. chests spoken of be ether gone or ryfled; which being done, I, ROBERT CECILL, doe purpose to come away, with your Lordships' good favour; and thus for this tyme we most humblie take our leaves.

Fffrom the Tonne of Dartmouthe, the xxvijth of September, 1592.

Your Lordships most humblie to commaund,

RO. CECYLL.

W. RALEGH.

FRA. DRAKE.

WILLM. KILLYGREWE.

RICH. CARM'DEN.

THOMAS MYDDELTON.

Addressed :

To the right honorable our very good Lords, the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admirall of England.

XXXIII.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELY,
THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD,
AND THE LORD BUCKHURST.

the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. ccxliii. § 89
Dolls House). In the hand of an amanuensis, with autograph
description and signature.

VERIE GOOD LORDS,

I UNDERSTAND by Mr. MIDDLETON of your Lord-
ships' proceedings in the cause between CORSINA¹ and
and although it be prejudicial unto us, yet in
accordance with your Lordships have so prescribed, I am con-
senting to submit my selfe thereunto. And do hum-
bly pray your Lordships that theis enclosed articles²
(if you shalbe so pleased) be performed by such
particularlie are nominated therein by your Lordships'
order. Thereby CORSINA is to have the benefytt of
the public sale of the goods, which are valued at £12,000,
the use of the money, which wilbe worth unto him
1000. In my opinion, if your Lordships will allow
that, it were more fytt that the goods might remaine,
as presently they do, in sequestracion, untill your

Giulippo Corsini, plaintiff in an Admiralty cause respecting the ship
La Salvagnia.

The enclosed "Articles" (eleven in number) referred to in, and re-
lated with, Sir Walter's letter, are both too long and of too little interest
to be here printed. The only article in which Raleigh is expressly men-
tioned runs thus: "And that Sir Walter Rawley, in the behalf of Captain
Davies, shall enter into like bonds unto Corsini, in double the value of
the goods as the said Davies can be duly charged to have taken forth of
the said ship." The date of this Inclosure is 10 Dec. 1592. These
articles are followed by a series of charges and answers in the case, also of
considerable length and minuteness.

LETTER
XXXIII.

1592.
Dec. 13.

To Lord
Burgheley
and others.
From
Durham
House.

On Pro-
ceedings
pending in
the Court
of Admi-
ralty.

Letters of Raleigh.

Lordships' finall resolucion shalbe known therein, because the venting and dispercing thereof will extenuate the price of the Caracke goods, when they shalbe sold, being all of one nature and kinde; or, that they may be delivered to Her Majesties use, at such rate as they are prized;¹ and so all parties, uppon determinacion of the varyance, to receive their due porcion allotted unto the

all be deemed requisite, both for the good end, and Her Highnesses sake, above £3,000; otherwise, they will seeke by the use of time to delaie an absolute resolution, and to receive some of their private lucre. In your Lordships' direction therein, I take my leave. From this date, the 15th of December, 1592.

Your Lordships humble att cummandement,

W. RALEGH

Addressed:

To the right honorable my verie good Lords, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Admirall, and Lord Buckhurst.

XXXIV.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original, in the *Burghley Papers*, 1592. MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxx. No. 94 (British Museum).

THE accompt of the whole charge amounteth to 34,000^l. Her Majesty hath giuen order that we shall receue 36,000^l. So as there is giuen vs of profytt, 2,000^l.

The City of London is to haue 6,000^l profytt by

¹ Appraised.

LETTER
XXXIV.

1592.
Dec.

To Lord
Burghley.

her Majesties order ; then are they to haue her Majesties allowaunce of 2,000^l vppon all, and 4,000^l profit more, out of the principall. By that meanes we are to lose 4,000^l of our mony disbursed.

To help which we haue 3,000^l of the Queen's ; and then we lose but 1,000^l. But of that 3,000^l of the Queen's, 1200^l was bestowed on her own ships, to make them perfect. Then there remaineth 1800^l towards the losse of 4,000^l : so as the losse wilbe 2,200^l.

In respect hereof, we haue the remaines, and our ships againe : but we are not allowed for our ships in this accompt as they were worth in aduventure, but onelie according to the losse which we sustein by them ; and therefore that remain is nothing to vs : for wee take our shippes in part of payment.

The Erle of CUMBERLAND is allowed also 36,000^l ; and his accompt came but to 19,000^l : so as he hath 17,000^l profytt, who aduentured for himselfe ; and we that serued the Queen, and assisted her service, haue not our own again. Besides, I gaue my ship's sayles and cables to furnish the Caraque, and bring her home, or els she had perished : my ship first bourded her, and onely staid with her ; and brought her into harborough, or els she had also perished vppon Silley. I was not present, and therefore had no extraordinary profytt : I was the cause that all this came to the Queen, and that the King of Spaine spent 300,000^l the last yere : and I lost in the last yere in the voiage of my Lo. THO. HOWARD 1600^l ; besides the interest of 11,000^l, which I haue paid euer since this voiage began. And farther, my ship and Sir JO. HAWKINS' that were takers with *The Foresight* of the Queens haue no other allowance then those that were absent : and whereas the City onely disbursed 6,000^l, and haue 12,000^l againe, the same being

LETTER
XXXIV.
—
1592.
Dec.

Statement
of the
Charges of
the Expe-
dition of
1592 ; and
of the pro-
posed
partition
of prize
money.

LETTER
XXXIV.1592.
Dec.

taken out of the halles of London among a multitude: I that aduentured all my estate, lose of my principall, and they haue double: I tooke all the care and paines; caried the ships from hence to Falmouth, and from thence to the north cape of Spaine; and they only sate still, and did but disburse 6,000^l out of the common store, for which double is given to them, and lesse then mine own to me; and to the Earle of CUMBERLOND 17,000^l profytt, who aduentured [redacted] and I for the Queen.

Endorsed:

[redacted] *for R[edacted]'s Cause for the Carick.*

[redacted] 593.

XXXV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 93 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SIR,

I AM very sorry for Mr. WILKENSON and the rest, that I here ar lost in the River of Burdens; but for my part I was resolved of the success beforehand, and so miche I told WILLKENSON before his departure. Of this Irish combination Her Majestye shall find it remembred to her sealf not longe since; but the Troien Southsayer cast his spear against the wooden horse, but not beleved. I did also presume to speake somewhat how to prevent this purpose; and I thinck it not over hard to be yet donn; and if I had by any chance bynn acquaynted with the Lord BURGH'S instructions, I would have putt you in mynde to have woonne the Earle of Argile rather then all the rest of Skotland; for by

LETTER
XXXV.1593.
May 10.To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.Progress
of the
War in
Ireland.—
Aims of
the King
of Spain.

hyme this fier must be only maintained in Ulstell.¹ But for me to speake of the one or the other, I knowe my labors are prejudicate, and I cannot hereafter deserve ether thancks or acceptance. Less then that number men apoynted, I tacke it, will serve the turn, if the garrisons be placed aright to impeach the assemblies, and some smale pineses ordered to lye between CANTIRRS² and ODonells Country; but herein the order and the tyme hath most powere. Ther be also others in Irland that lye in waite, not suspected; which I most feare, and others most able and fitt to make them neglected and discouraged: which smale matters would have hartned to great purpose, as the tyme will better wittness. I had bynn able my sealf to have raysed to or three bands of Inglishe well armed, till I was driven to relinquishe and recale my people; of which the loss shall not be alone to mee, howsoever I am tumbled down the hill by every practize.

We ar so busyed and dandled in thes French warrs, which are endless, as we forgett the defens next the hart. Her Majesty hath good cause to remember that a million hath bynn spent in Irland not many yeares since. A better kingdome might have bynn purchased att a less prize, and that same defended with as many pence, if good order had bynn taken. But the question now may be, whether for so great expence the estate be not less asured then ever? If Her Majestye conseder it aright, she shall fynde it no small dishonor to be vexed with so beggerly a nacion, that have neather armes nor fortification; but that acursed kingdome hath always bynn but as a trafique, for which Her Majestye hath paid both fraight and custome, and others received the marchandize; and other then such shall it never be. The Kinge

LETTER
XXXV.

1593-
May 10.

¹ *Ulster.*

² *Cantyre.*

LETTER

XXXV.

1593-
May 10.

of Spayne seeketh not Irlande for Irlande, but havinge rayseed up troops of beggers in our backs, shall be able to inforce us to cast our eyes over our shoulders, while thos before us strike us on the braynes. We have also knowne the levell of his subversion; but destiney is stronger than councell; and good advice, ether neglected or weakly executed, hath tought our enemis to arme thos parts which before lay bare to the sworde. Prevention is the doughter of Intelligence, which cannot be borne without a mother; and the good wooman hath so many patrons, as the one referreth her cherishinge to another's trust, and in the meanwhile shee liveth baren and frutles.

Sir, thes poore Countris yeild no newse. I here of a frigott that taketh up fishermen for pilatts in the West. I am my sealf here at Sherburne, in my fortun's folde. Wherever I be, and while I am, yow shall cummande me. I thinck I shall need your furdere favor for the litle parke, for Law and Conscience is not sufficient in thes days to upholde me. Every foole knoweth that hatreds are the cinders of affection, and therefore to make me a sacrificize shall be thanksworthy. Sir, I pray remember my duty to my Lord Admirall, and to your father, if it please yow.

From Sherburne, this 10th of May [1593].

Your's most asured to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I am the worse for the Bath, and not the better.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CICILL, Knight, of her Majestie's most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed :

10 Maii, 1593. Sir Walter Rawley to my Master.

XXXVI.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHELEY.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 100 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, signature, and postscript in autograph. [See Vol. I. pp. 94—103.]

MY HONORABLE GOOD LORD,

BY reason of your Lordship's letters and the rest of the Lords of Her Majesties Privie Councell, written to the Lord Deputie and Councell of Ireland, for a restraint of transportacion of Pipestaves out of that Realme to the Islands, we have a great quantitie of barrell and hogshead bords alreadie cutt and made which, for want of venting and expending, will rott uppon the ground, if we maie not receive some order for their utteraunce. Besides, we must be forced to draw home a great number of able men from thence which are appointed to serve Her Majestie with their weapons uppon anie occasion, which will prove to be a great weakening of the province of Munster.

Wherefore, if it please your Lordship,—for the keeping and enterteyning of theis men in worke, which otherwise cannot live there; and for venting of this commoditie, which must needs perish if longer staie be made of them there,—to write to the Lord Deputie and Councell, that, according to your Lordship's meaning signified in your former letters, we maie be licensed to transport from thence into England such barrell and hogshead bords as we have made, and maie be sparde out of our own woods; the rather, because

LETTER
XXXVI.

1593.
June 15.

To Lord
Burgheley.
From
Durham
House,
London.

Enterprise
of prepar-
ing and
exporting
Pipe-
staves
from
Munster.

LETTER
XXXVI.

1593.
June 15.

those of the west cuntry here have great want of this caske, we will putt in such bords to Her Majesty's use, before th' officers of the ports where they are to be laden, as are required in your Lordship's said letters, for th' assured transporting thereof into England and to no other place. And so I most humblie take my leave. From Dirrham House, the xvth of June, 1593.

Your Lordship's for ever to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—For the bringinge of caske¹ into Ireland, I hope wee shall rather deserve thankes, then that wee shall need to make any great sutes for it. Yet, so mich it hath pleased the Deputy to malline² my particuler, as I know, without your Lordship's heulpe, yeven so mich will hardly be afforded. I do humblie desire your Lordship to favor mee so mich as to writ your Lordship's own letteres unto hyme that I may receve justice at his hands; and, acknowledging my sealf only bound and susteyned by your Lordship's goodnes, I wishe your Lordship eternall health, and humblie take my leave.

¹ So in MS.; meaning obviously 'the bringing in of cask-making.'

² *I. e.* malign. This doubtful word is so written that it ought, perhaps, to be read 'mallice.'

XXXVII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiii. fol. 31 (Hatfield). In the
manuensis; the subscription and signature in autograph.

I earnestlic entreated by my brother, Sir JOHN
to write unto you in the behalfe of Mr.
a marchant of Dartmouthe, his very honest
and because his and my perswasion may the
availe in his behalfe, I have sent you, as well
to testefie the honest behavior of the gentle-
my servant HANCOCKE, to certifie the truth
to my brother's mocion.
After importeth the deliverie of a letter, sent
WILLIE'S factor; sent by NICHOLAS FITZHAR-
ritten to THOMAS FITZHARBERT.
After, upon the deliverie to Mr. FITZHARBERT,
I have ly read and nothing found therein either
to the Estate or to any particuler person, as
I know, if you please, maie at large understand.
GILBERT wilbe bound for him in a thowsand
pounds and I will undertake for his honest cariage and
returne. And because you shalbe the better per-
former of his integritie and good affection to the
Majestie, and the opinion conceaved of him
of his neighbors, I have sent you my brother's letter
with the same. I beeseech your Honnor therefore
to offer anie wrongfull informacions to prevaile
against him; and to give order for his dispatch, as

LETTER
XXXVII.

1593.
Aug. 15.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

On behalf
of one
Kelly, a
Merchant
of Dart-
mouth.

LETTER
XXXVII.1593.
Aug. 15.

soone as your Honnor shall think convenient; that I may by this bearer understand some newes. And so I committ your Honnor to the tuicion of th' Almightye.

From Sherborn Castle, xvth of August, 1593.

Ever to do yow honor and service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I have sent HANCOCKE chiefelic to understand some newes, and to see yow; and to certefie mee the rest at his return.

XXXVIII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiii. fol. 41 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, signature, and postscript in autograph.

LETTER
XXXVIII.1593.
Aug. 27.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Gilling-
ham
Forest.

Enterprise
of prepar-
ing and
exporting
Pipe-
staves
from
Munster.

SIR,

YOU know our long suite to the Lords of Her Majesties Privie Councill for the continuance of transportation of Pipestaves out of Ireland to the Islandes, according to Her Majesties graunt by Her Letters Patents under the Great Seale. Master PINE, as I understand, is now at Court to sollicite your Honnor and the rest, in our behalfe, for a dissolution of the restraint procured by the Lord Deputie's letters, upon his supposicion of some enormities and surmised inconveniences which thereby will need ensue.

I beeseech your Honnor to fauor our proceedings therein, and to assist us, as much as you maie, for the obteyning of our suite; and if you please to acquaint

my Lord Admiral with my poore request, I doubt not but his Lordship will farther so honest a mocion.

If their Lordships would be pleased thoroughlie to consider the state of the cause, and have patience to peruse the contents of our demaund (which Master PINE will shew your Honnor, in all points, according to the truth), they wold assuredlie allow of our trade to the Islands, and conceave better of those which undertake the same. And so I humblie take my leave.

From Gillingham Forrest, the 27th of August, 1593.

Your Honor's humblie att cummandment,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Sir, The Indian falcon is sike of the buckworme; and therefore, if yow wilbe so bountefull to geve another falcon, I will provide yow a roning geldinge.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECIL, Knight, one of her Majesties most honorable Privie Councill.

Endorsed :

27 Aug. 1593. Sir Walter Rawley to my Master.

XXXIX.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiii. fol. 77 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, signature, and postscript in autograph.

SIR,

THIS gentleman, Mr. JOHN WOLLRIDGE, hath been written unto by my Lord Treasurer, about the deliverie of a ward, his wives sonne. If he shall have nede of

LETTER
XXXVIII.

1593.
Aug. 27.

The
Falconry
at Gilling-
ham.

LETTER
XXXIX.

1593.
Oct. 8.

LETTER
XXXIX.1593.
Oct. 8.To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Wey-
mouth.In favour
of the
bearer,
John Woll-
ridge,
who had a
matter
pending in
the Court
of Wards.—
News of
Rimonde.

your Honnors fauor therein,—which he is able himsef
lawfullie to aunswere, except he be overborn by his
adverse partie,—I praie you, in regard of the honestie
of the gentleman and of the desire he hath to deale
indifferentlie and uprightlie, to assiste him so farre that
he maie receave no hard measure. And so I humblie
take my leave.

From Weymouth, the 8th of October, 1593.

Your Honor's to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Sir, I have written to my Lord
Admirall the newes of Rimonde att large. From whom
I pray yow to be acquaynted. This bearer, WULREDGE,
—being sent for by my Lord, your father,—was here
stayde sumewhat longer to examyne a cawse of the
Admiraltye, so as I besich yow to excuse hyme.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, one of her Majesties
most honorable Privie Council.*

Endorsed :

8 Oct. 1593. Sir Walter Rawley to my Master.

XL.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 49 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER
XL.1593-1594.
Feb. 25.

SIR,

THIS gentelman, HENRY THYNNE, without sending
for is cum up to aunswere the cumplaynt of the Frensh-
men, for [which] my brother was lately called before
yow. Hec was an adventurer in that journey, and lost

all. For the fishe prize, hee did nothing but by cummission, and hath accompted for the same.

I besceich yow to favour hyme this mich, that hee be not charged with more than hee receved, and [that] he may have tyme till the next terme to bring in the accompt, which now resteth in other mens hands; and, in the meantyme, no hard dealing be offered hyme.

I shall think my sealf mich bound unto yow for any favor yow shall afford hyme, and so, being allwayes your servant to be cumanded, I humblie take my leve.

W. RALEGH.

From Sherburne Castell, this 25 of February [1593-4].

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, one of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed :

25 Feb. 1593 [legal style]. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master; in favour of Captain Henry Thynne.*

LETTER
XL

1593-1594.
Feb. 25.

From
Sherborne.

In favour
of Henry
Thynne,
whose pro-
ceedings at
sea had
been com-
plained of
by the
French.

fore a grandson of the "Princess Nesta," by her first marriage with Gerald de Windsor, Constable of Pembroke.¹

Lord Barry adhered very faithfully to Queen Elizabeth in the trying times that immediately preceded her death, and also to her successor. Several of his sons died in the field for the same cause; and in succeeding generations many of his and their descendants were equally conspicuous for loyalty to Crown and country.

The builder of Barry's Court was also—it is more than probable—the founder of that house of Dominicans at Cork, part of the ancient possessions of which were, I believe, included (among other forfeited Geraldine lands) in Raleigh's Irish estate, under the grant of 1585.

XLI.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 52 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription and signature in autograph.

SIR,

THIS honorable gentleman, the Lord BARRY, one that is well affected to her Majesty and her Estate, is in humble suite to her Majesty, and hath entreated my letter to your Honor that such fine or benefitt as FLORENCE MACCARTY hath by graunt obtained from her Majesty, by reason of his former offence in Ireland (which is well knowen to your Honor), may be again revoked and remitted.

¹ Compare Giraldi Cambrensis *Expugnatio Hibernica*, edit. Dymock, vol. v. pp. 351 *seqq.* (*Chronicles and Memorials*), with *Monasticon Hibernicum*, § Cork.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XLI.

LETTER
XLI.

1593-1594
March 4.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From Dor-
chester.

Affairs of
Ireland.

LETTER
XLI.1593-1594.
March 4.

Recom-
mends
Lord
Barry;
and asserts
that Flo-
rence
MacCarty
is not sin-
cerely
reconciled
to the
English
rule.

And if my opinion herein maybe regarded, I thinke that his¹ pardon which her Highnes graunted him hath wrought his true affection, and his entire disposition to honnor and serve her Maiesty with such unfeined obedience as can be required; and therefore not fitt to be discountenanced by FLORENCE MACCARTY, [he] being a man reconciled to the Pope, daungerous to the present State, beloved of such as seeke the ruine of the Realme his native cuntrie, and not worthie to bee relieved by her Maiesties goodnes. He maie for a time dissemble, and in revealing his poverty, by occasion of his imprisonment in the Tower, protest that obedience which he ought to performe: but he is not to be trusted. His alliance and friends in Ireland are great and manie, and he wanteth nothing but mony to execute his practices, whereunto the Pope hath animated him.

This noble gentleman¹ hath, to my knowledg, a long time lived civilly and conformable to all her Majesties directions and commandments, and hath not deserved theis troubles and discontentments. I praie you so much to favour him by yourself, or by the meanes of my honorable good Lord, your father, that hee maie bee discharged of this demaund; and I will reckon it amongst the rest of your favours. And so I humble take my leave.

From th' assises at Dorchester, the 4th of March, 1593.

Your Honor's humble att cummandment,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, one of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed: "4 Mar. 1593. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. 1st Barry." And, in another hand: "To recommend Lord Barry."

¹ Lord Barry, the bearer of this Letter. See Letter IV.

XLII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvi. fol. 25 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

SIR,

THIS night, the 13th of Aprill, wee have taken a notabell Jesuite in the Lady STORTON's house,—wife to old Sir JOHN ARUNDELL,—with his copes and bulles. Ther hath bynn kept in this house, as I have formerly informed, you above thirty recusantts.

Sir GEORGE TRENCHERD, Sir RAUFE HORSEY, and my self ar now ryding to take his examinacion, which, by the next, you shall receve att large. Sir GEORG and Sir RAUFE have used great dillegence in the fynding of this notable knave.

Being in hast, I do for the present humblie take my leve. From Sherburne, this 14th of Aprill [1594].

Your's, ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Hee calls hyme sealf JOHN MOONEY, but hee is an Irishman and a notabell stout villayne; and I thinke can say miche.

Addressed :

To the right honorable my very good frinde, Sir ROBERT CECILL.

Endorsed :

14 Apr. 1594. Sir Walter Rauleigh to my Master. John Moone, a Jesuite, taken in the Lady Sturton's house.

LETTER
XLII.

1594.
April 14.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

Capture of
a Jesuit in
the house
of Lady
Stourton.

XLIII.

TO THE LORD KEEPER, THOMAS EGERTON;

(After [redacted] count Brackley.)

From the Original. MS. Harleian 5, fol. 132 (British Museum). In the hand of an amanuensis. Subscribed and signed.

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

THERE hath been a subpena graunted out of the Star Chamber for the appearance of one THOMAS WHITFORD and WILLIAM DOBB before your Lordship and the rest of her Majesty's most honorable Privie Councell, for verelying their knowledg in a Stannery Court, as witnesses in an action uppon the case between one DENSHIRE and STEVENS. The triall and penaltie of the offence, if any shalbe proved, is to be censured in her Majesties absolute jurisdiction of the Stannery; and her Majesty hath been pleased of late, uppon complaint by me made unto her, to signifie to my honorable good Lord the Lord Treasurer, that the Stannery authoritie shall consist and continue, according to the auncient custome and prerogatives, and not to be contradicted by private censure; and that all abuses uppon my informacion shalbe presentlie reformed. I thinke your Lordship is not thoroughlie acquainted herewith, because a Stannery cause is suffred to be prosecuted in that Court; and therefore I am bold to putt you in mind thereof, and to praie you to dismisse the same out of the Starre Chamber, to be tried in the

To the
Lord
Keeper,
From
Sherborne.

Proposing
the re-
moval of a
cause,
Denshire
v. Stevens,
from the
Star Cham-
ber to the
Stannary
Court.

Stannuries, where it is determinable. And so I humbly take my leave.

From my Castle at Sherborn, the second of May, 1594.

Your Lordshipp's most humbly att cummandment,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

Endorsed :

Sir Walter Rawley. For pleas¹ in the Stannarye sued in the Star Chamber.

LETTER
XLIII.

1594.
May 2.

XLIV.

TO THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvii. fol. 8 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MY HONORABLE GOOD LORDE,

YOUR Lordshippe may perceve, by the intelligence sent by my brother, bothe of the strenghte of the Spanishe fleet as also of their reddiness to sett sayle. The master hyme sealf, which was taken out of Dartmouth, is returned. The intelligence your Lordship had before was from too of his men which weare sett free; but this master, called MAKERELL, is a man of good judgment, and very honest. If your Lordship consider, too things especially² . . . in this intelligence: first, that some surprize is purposed by the hast,—for

LETTER
XLIV.

1594.
June 21.

To the
Lord
High
Admiral.
From
Sherborne.

News of
the
Spanish
Fleet.

¹ This reading is doubtful, the word being nearly illegible.

² So in MS., the verb being wanting. Probably, the word 'appear,' or some equivalent, was intended after 'especially.'

LETTER
XLIV.1594.
June 21.Desire to
serve
under the
Admiral
against
Spain.

the carpenters and all other about the fleet worke the Saboth dayes ; next, the hugeness of the shippes, which must needs cary many soldiers, or else lesser vessells weare farr fitter for the coast of Bryton.¹

Ther ar also many shippes taken of ours ; some of good burden, but all of good wealth ; as may appeare by the report sent the Lords.

How the Spaniards have proceeded about Brest, your Lordship may also understand by this report : First, havinge received no impeachment, they have finished the fortifications at Old Croydun,—which your Lordship well knowes is within the port of Brest,—and the better to cumand the haven, they have also built a stronger peere at the very entraunce. Now, if it pleas your Lordship to pardon mee, I pray remember that their² wilbe no entraunce for the Queen's fleet, what weather so ever happen ; for Blewatt, and Brest, and Belsho ar theirs. The Spanishe shippes ar huge ; wherof eyght ar between 800 and 1000 toones ; 10 shippes more, of good burden ; divers galles, and full filde with soldiers. I hope also that your Lordship will remember it is the Queen's honor and safty to assaile and not defende. And, for ought I here, your Lordship's fleet wilbe far to weake.

I hope your Lordship will take my remembrance in good part. And if your Lordship will vouchsaife [to ask] her Majesty for me to attend you privatly in her service, I hope I shall stand your Lordship in the place of a poore marriner or soldier. I have no other desire but to serve her Majestye. And seinge I deserve nor place, nor honor, nor rewarde, I hope it wilbe easely graunted,—if I be not condemned to the grave ; no libertye nor hope left that ether tyme or the geving of

¹ Brittany.² *there.*

my life may recover, or be a sacrifice for, my offences.
I hope your Lordship will not forgett my desire, or that
I am evermore

Your most assured poore kynsman to serve you,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 21 of June [1594].

Addressed :

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord Admirall of
Englande, in haste.*

Endorsed [erroneously, being in the hand of a clerk to Sir Robert Cecil]:
21 Junii, 1594. *Sir Walter Raulighe to my Master.*

LETTER
XLIV.
—
1594.
June 21.

XLV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvii. fol. 46 (Hatfield). Holograph. The address is in the hand of an amanuensis.

SIR,

IT seemeth that the late advertisement of the Spanishe preparacions is now confirmed, and this last weeke ther weare three great Spanishe men of warr, that gave chace to an Englishe shipp and her too prizes, and drave them yeven to the very mouth of Dartmouth. It is likely that all our Newfounland men wilbe taken up by them if they be not speedely driven from the coast, for in the beginninge of August our Newland¹ fleet ar expected, which ar above a hundred sayle. If thos should be lost, it would be the greatest blow that ever was geven to England.

I beseich you to remember my leve to go privatly

¹ So in MS.

LETTER
XLV.
—
1594.
July 20.
To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.
News of
the
Spanish
Fleet.—
Cornish
Miners for
Ireland.—
Intended
expedition
to Brittany.

LETTER
XLV.1594.
July 20.

with my Lord Admirall. I may perchance do her
Majesty sume service.

I am now preparynge thos 50 myners for which I had
direction. But if her Majesties letter had left it att
large, as well for Devon as Cornwale, Devon may better
spare men then Cornwale. But I am now tyed by the
letter to Cornwale, which hath fewer men and is nirer
the enemye. I pray, Sir, vouchsaufe me a lyne or too
how things go on, and who goes for Britayne.¹

Thus, evermore bound to honor and serve yow, I take
leve.

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 20th of July [1594].

Addressed :

*To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, one of her
Majesties most honorable Privie Councill.*

Endorsed :

20 Julii, 1594. Sir Walter Raulcight to my Master.

XLVI.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvii. ff. 101, 102 (**Hatfield**).
Holograph.

LETTER
XLVI.1594.
Aug. 25.To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
the Coast.

SIR,

I BESEICH yow to geve me leve to trobell yow a
littell with my particuler, because it concerns all the
poore estate I have. The priests of Sallisburie have
signed and sealed the fec-farmes more to benefite one

¹ Brittany.

FITS-JAMES, who hath geven them a good fine, then any way to satisfye or releve mee. They have stooode uppon scrupell of conscience to yeilde any thinge to Her Majestye; but,—without her letters, without her cummandements,—they have past £50 land to another, and in suche sorte as myne must be voyde unless that £50 land pass also. For they have geven myne upon condiscion that the other shall pass withall, or else both to be voyde. This¹ bravely they dare to tye the Queen to do what they injoyne, or else they refuse to do what she commands.

Now this wilbe the culler of this insolency,—that unless FITS-JAMES have his fee-farme, the Church shalbe in danger to lose £50 rent. But it is meerely false; for, if by any trick in law FITS-JAMES may pretende to defraud the Church of that rent, yet it was never ment to be so; and therefore the Chancery will inforce hyme by a decree att the first motion. And, if that should be doubted, I will undertake to assure that rent my sealf. This FITS-JAMES is a smooth knave as any leveth, and a false; and hee offers mee £200 for my good will. Butt, first, I gave the Queen a jewell worth £250 to make the byshope;² I must geve £60 land to the Churche, for ever, of increas,—which will cost mee £1200 more; the charges will cume to £250 more, which is demanded. And, when all this is spent, I am not one farthinge the better, butt the assurance of my estate only; which I purchase att a most terribell rate.

I am sure, if I weare a Turke I could not be worss dealt withall then I am by them, who have dun nothinge for Her Majesties sake butt rackt mee yeven asunder; and, notwithstanding, have past to another £50 land,—better then all Sherburne,—for their own profitt, and to

LETTER
XLVI
—
1594
Aug. 25.

Private
affairs.—
Dealings
of the
Dean and
Chapter
of Sarum
with Fitz-
James.

¹ For *thus*.

² John Caldwell, 'elected' in 1591.

LETTER
XLVI
—
1594
Aug. 25.

satisfye their frinde. And, if it had not bynn for his sake, they would never have past myne; and so it appeereth: for they pass myne butt on condiscion that his shall pass withall, or else both to be voyde.

Sir, if you please but a littell to consider, both of the charge they putt mee to; how earnestly Her Maiesty hath dealt for me; how hardly they use mee; how undewtifully they dare to condiscion with the Queen; how, agaynst all presedent that ever was, they pass £50 land of¹ their own handes,—which never any Church did, uncummanded by the Prince; I hope you may favor mee so mich,—uppon thes advantages,—as ether to cumpell them to graunt myne alone; or else that FITS-JAMES may ease mee in my charges in a more liberall kynde, which—of the too—I desire rather. For if by sute, or by sume frinde in the Privy Chamber, hee shall obtayne his passage from the Queen, then shall I lose that which he offereth mee, and have it carried more to my disgrace. And therefore, if I could draw hyme to healp toward my charges, I had rather it should pass by mee then by another.

On the other syde, I hope, by this advantage of the Byshope and Chapter, that I may be freed for this increas of rent during myne own life, [or] att least during the Byshop's, who, I hope, will easely be perswaded to spare mee for his tyme. But I desire that this graunt may be inroled to the Queen, before any speach b made att all, and then, when it is in Her, perchance Master Aturney will finde a waye to frustrat that condiscion, as sure as they think they have made it. Sir, if you think we may cum bake in tyme, after it is inrold to the Queen I could wish it rested ther; unless my wife be satisfied by FITS-JAMES to her likinge.

¹ *off.*

[*What follows appears to have been added somewhat later.*]

Sir, we are here att the Forelande, and purpose to cum over for the French coast as soon as we can. Butt I feare that wee shall have a wanton peece of work with thes shippes att this tyme of the yeare; and, if wee tarry longe, putt them so out of order, if not in danger, as they will hardly be reddey for the next yeare, when we shall have more use of them. My Lord Admirall knowes that if the wind blow att South, South-West, or South-South-West, and blow strong,—as it will do now every day,—that wee must then needs ride at ancor in the Downs; and if wee be driven to shift roades in the dark night here amonge the sands, how perrelous it may prove; butt we leve it to your wisedomes. Sure I am att this tyme of the yeare we can do no service, unless the enemy cum for the Themes mouthe; and if hee dare enter it with his shippes hee shall do more then wee dare do, but with that feare, deliberation, and tyme, as no enemy can do the like; nor ever pass up, while the world stands, unless he come in the beast¹ of summer, and have galles² to sound the Chanell, which now he cannot have for this yeare.

For our instructions, I beseich yow they may be certayne, for else great advantage may be taken of us: I mean for goinge westwarde; wherof I now begin to be afearde, finding the unweildenes of thes shippes, in which I shall never sleap night, if I be here till Chrismass.

Yours ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

25 August [1594].

Endorsed, in a different hand from that of the usual endorsements on the letters of this period: "*Sir Walter Rawleigh.*" Without superscription, or date of the year.

¹ *best.*

² *galleys.*

LETTER
XLVI.
—
1594.
Aug. 25.

XLVII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxviii. fol. 40 (Hatfield).
Holograph.

LETTER
XLVII.

1594.
Sept. 20.

To Sir R.
Cecil,
From
the Coast.

Prepara-
tions for
the Guiana
Voyage. —
The plague
at Sher-
borne.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH EATON'S shipp be gonn, yet the letter will do no harme, for I may be frynded of hyme in sume thinges I want. Your own I have returned. And I can say no more, but what good shall happen in England, or in India or elsewhere, so God favor mee as I take it and confess it to be of your most honorable frindshipp towards mee; and how much for such respect I may be bound you know, and which I will acknowledg and performe, to the end of my life. So, with my humble dewtye to my Mistris, I leve, and I am ever your servant,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I had a post this morning from Sherburne. The plaugue is in the town very hote. My Bess is on one way sent; hir sonne, another way; and I am in great troble therwithe.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CICILL, Knight, of Her Maiesties most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed :

20 Sept. 1594. Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.

XLVIII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lviii. § 52 (Hatfield). Holograph. Wholly undated. The Hatfield Catalogue assigns this letter, by oversight, to 1597.

I AM sorry to be now so nire that my letters may cum to your hands. But this unfortunate yeare is such as thos that weare reddy and att sea too moneths before us ar beaten bake agayne and distressed. This longe staye hath made mee a poore man, the yeare farr spent, and what shalbe cum of us God knowes. The boddy is wasted with toyle; the purse with charge; and all things worne. Only the mind is indifferent to good fortune or adversety.

Ther is no newes from hence worth the writtinge. If I weare more fortunate, I should be the more worth the cummandinge; as I am, yow may dispose of mee; and thus, for the present, I leve yow to all good fortune, and my sealf *quo me Fortuna retrudet*.

Yours ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I pray be gracious to my frends in my absence, and not too credulous. And further that yow wilbe pleased, if any of my officers be suters unto yow in my behalf, that you will vouchsafe your favor towards them. I pray excuse mee to my Lord your father; havinge nothings worth his reeding to write of.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBARD CECILL, Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Rawley.*"

LETTER
XLVIII.

1594?
Sept.?

To Sir
Robert
Cecil
Written at
sea.

Delays of
an expedi-
tion by
stormy
weather.

XLIX.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxix. fol. 44 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER
XLIX.

1594.
Dec. 21.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

Loss of a
letter
which had
fallen into
the hands
of Essex.—
Lawsuits.

SIR,

MY carelessness in loosing the copy of the letter I cannot excuse, butt it concernd no boddy butt my sealf, and therfore the less matter. Butt how it came to the Earle's¹ hand I beseiche you lerne by sume means; that I may butt know wher it weare lost, or otherwise imbesced. What you have vouchsafed for the stay of my sutes in law, especially for the widdo SMITH, I humblie pray you to lett me know, for I stay butt for the winde to bringe about the shipp. I shall be wiser one day, and I shall withall, I hope, do you sume service, after so many of thes troblesome affaires. Till then, and ever, I shalbe your debtor and most your's of all livinge,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 21 of December [1594].

Addressed :

*To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, of Her Maiesties
most honorable Privy Council.*

Endorsed :

21 Dec. 1594. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.*

¹ Earl of Essex.

L.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxix. fol. 53 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SIR,

I AM so importuned by this bearer as I cannot refuse hyme to write unto you. His desire is to retayne towards you. What your disposition hath bynn in thes thinges I know well, but hee will not be otherwise aunswered att my hands. I would be gladd he would sew to serve the Earle of Essex, to which I have persuaded hyme. I hope to here how you do, and, for my sealse, this wynde breakes my hart. That¹ should cary mee hence now staves mee heere, and holds 7 shipps in the river of Temes. As soone as God send them hither, I will not lose one houre of tyme. Ever anxious to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 26 of December [1594].

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CICILL, Knight, of Her Maiesties most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed :

26 Dec. 1594. Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master. In favour of Charles, that was somtyme his page.

¹ In the sense of 'that which.'

LETTER

L.

1594-
Dec. 26.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

In favour
of a page,
who
desires to
serve
Cecil.—
Delay of
Guiana
expedition
by con-
trary
winds.

LI.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxix. fol. 61 (Hatfield). Holograph.LETTER
LI.1594-
Dec.To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Alresford.Private
affairs :
Lawsuit
with Mrs.
Smith.—
Proposal
for a re-
straint of
shipping.

SIR,

YOU must esteeme me for your yevell spirritt that haunts you thus with so many tedious businesses. I could not dispatch with that debt of SYMSON'S for the widoe SMITHE. She hath a sonn that waytes on the Keper, and her daughter married Mr. WILKES, so as it wilbe the harder to clere. Yet, seeing I am butt a suretye for SPILMAN, and never borrowed penny of her, it hath the more reason. If it be not stayde, all that I have wilbe taken uppon the execusion in my absence. And, if she will not geve longer day, I thinke the next way wilbe that the Shirrif of Dorsett be cummanded to execute no write upon me in that countrey. For although they can do no good, by reason all the intrest is in my soonn, yet the discreditt wilbe great if I be driven to shew that conveance; and besyds, by that means my wife will know that shee can have no intrest in my livinge, and so exclaime. On this all my estate dependeth, and the Queen, having refused all other graces, I hope will save me yet from the ruin of others. I leve it and my sealf to your honorable constant care on whom I only depend and love above all, and it is all I can saye.

Your constantlye and sinserely to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—It is more then tyme that ther be a restraynt of all shippinge bound out to the warrs; for

ther ar multetuds going for the Indies. If any men be taken (as sume every yeare ar) the Queen's purpose wilbe frustrate. And if EATON's shippes go, who will attempt the chefest places of my enterprize, I shalbe undun ; and I know they wilbe beaten and do no good.

From Alsford, this Saterdag after I left you, with a hart half broken.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CICILL, Knight, of Her Majesties most honorable Privy Councill.

Endorsed :

Dec. 1594. Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.

LETTER

LI.

1594-
Dec.

LII.

TO SIR JOHN GILBERT.

From a MS. copy of the Original, made for its then possessor, the late MACVEY NAPIER, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.

BROTHER,

WHER by my last letters directed vnto yow concerning the levieing of sailoris and marrineris I gave direction that they should be readie against the xvth of this moneth at Dartmouth, which I am now thorowe manie vrgente occasions constrained to deferr ; herebie praing yow to haue speciall care that they be levied from places least infected, and to be readie at Dartmouth the twentieth daie of this present moneth to tak shippinge. I have sent money by LUSKOMBE for ther conduct : I prairie supplie anie thing necessarie that is wanting ; I will see that answered at my cominge about. I haue likewise sent by him proclamations to be proclaimed with yow and sent vnto my servaunt

LETTER

LII.

1594?

To Sir
John
Gilbert.

On a
levy of
mariners ;
apparently
for the
Guiana
expedition.

LETTER
LII.
—
1594?

RICHARD SMITH into Cornwall, or to Sir WILLIAM BEVILL to be delivered vnto SMITH, with all spede (if I be at charge of sending a fote man of purpose). And heirof I desire yow to haue care first that good and sufficient menn be ymprest and ther names taken, and then that yow cause the proclamation to be published, and not before: for that the best sort will absent themselves, not having received the prest before, and to write the like direction vnto SMITH, and appoint him to be likewise readie at Falmouth at the same daie with the Cornishe menn. And so, commending me vnto yow, I comytt yow to God.

Your lovinge Brother,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I praie lett LUSCOMB have the levienge of the menn in Devon; or, if they be alreadie ymprest, if he know menn of better sufficiency, to ymprest them anew, and leave out some of the worse sort for them alreadie ymprest.

Addressed:

To my verie loving brother, Sir JOHN GILBART, Knight, theise.

1595.

LIII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiv. fol. 76 (Hatfield). Holograph
SIR,

LETTER
LIII.
—
1594-1595.
Jan. 2.

THIS gentleman, my especiall frinde and kynsman, hath sume controversyc with the towne of Ply-

mouth, and hath desired mee to recummende unto your Honor his just and reasonable desire, and therin no farther to be favored then it shall apeare lawfull. If it shall therefore pleas your Honor to be his honorable favorer herein I shall acknowledge it as don to my sealf, and shalbe very proude if it pleas yow to make hyme know that, as I am yours in all love and service, so hee may fynde that you pleas for my sake in this his great righte to aforde hyme sume testimony therof; and yeven so, only gasing for a wynde to carrye mee to my destiny, I humblie take my leve. From Sherburne, this first of January [1595].

Your Honor's to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CICILL, Knight, of Her Majesties most honorable Privy Councill.

Endorsed :

2^{mo} Jan. 1594 [legal style]. Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.

LETTER
LIII.

1594-1595.
Jan. 2.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

Recom-
mending a
kinsman
who has a
contro-
versy with
the townsmen of Ply-
mouth.—
He is only
waiting for
a wind, to
set sail.

LIV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 4 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SIR,

FROM this desolate place I have little matter; from myself, less hope; and therefore I thinke the shorter the discourse, the better wellcum.

I receved from Lyme,—a port town in this shire,—by a smale barke lately arived, that there ar lately many French shipps imbarged in Spayne, and of good burden

LETTER
LIV.

1595.
Nov. 10.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

LETTER

LIV.

1595.
Nov. 10.

Alleged
Naval Pre-
parations
in Spain
against
Ireland.—
Desire to
hear if
anything is
to be done
in the
matter of
Guiana.

and very serviceable; notwithstanding that the same went by pasport and asurance from Spayne. And all the marriners likewise imprested; and that ther ar a fleet ether gone or goinge of sixtye saile, as the¹ saye, for Irlande. It seemeth asuredly that the preparations ar great, and do dayly increase.

If your Honors conceave therof aright, or looke into the nirest mischeif, wee shall do the better. Butt I feare, by your favors, ther is somewhat more in the enemys intent then is supposed. Wee that have mich ado to gett bread to eat have the less to care for, unless mich lost labor and love awake us that ar also thanckles² busied in things ether beyound our capasates or cares.

What becumes of Guiana I miche desire to here,—whether it pass for a history or a fable. I here Mr. DUDLEY³ and others ar sendinge thither; if it be so, farewell all good from thence. For although my sealf,—like a cockscome,—did rather preferr the future, in respect of others; and rather sought to wine the kings to her Majesties service then to sack them, I know what others will do, when thos kings shall cum simply into their hands. If it may pleas yow to acquaynt my Lord Admirall therwith, lett it then succeed as it wille.

If my Lord will have a fyne pinnes sent to the coast of Spayne, to vew what is dunn, I thinke for a matter of £40 or £50 I can gett one that shall do service.

Sir, for conclusion, I will only say this mich,—take good heed least you be not to slow. Expedition in a little is better than mich, to late. Butt yow, ministers

¹ they.² For *thanklessly*.³ Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards titular Duke of Northumberland (son of the Earl of Leicester).

of dispatch, or not plentiful. Neither is it every man's occupation. God send you all honor and health. I will wish you both, and be ready ever to do your service,

W. RALEGH.

From Sherborne, the 10th of November [1595].

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, of Her Majesties most honorable Privy Council.

Endorsed :

10 November, 1595. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.

LETTER
LIV.
—
1595.
Nov. 10.

LV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 9 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SIR,

You may perceive by this *Relation* that it is no dream which I have reported of Guiana. And if on¹ image have byn brought from thence wayninge 47 kintalls,²—which cannot be so little worth as 100 thousand pounds,—I know that in Manoa there are store of these. If the *Relation* sent to the Spanish kinge had byn also taken, you should therein have founde matter of great admiration. But, howsoever this action be respected, I know that the like fortune was never offered to any Christian prince. I know it will presently be followed both by the Spanish and French; and if it be foreslowed by us, I conclude that we are cursed of God.

In the mean tyme, I humbly beseech you to move her Majesty that none be suffered to soyle the enterprise :

LETTER
LV.
—
1595.
Nov. 13.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

On the
coloniza-
tion and
the
mineral
wealth of
Guiana.

¹ . *ne.*

² *I.e.* forty-seven hundredweight.

LETTER
LV.
1595.
Nov. 13.

and that thos kings of the borders which ar by my labor, perrill, and charge, woonn to her Majesties love and obedience, be not by other pilferers lost agayne. I hope I shalbe thought worthy to direct thos actions that I have att myne own charges labored in ; and to govern that countrey which I have discovered, and hope to conquer for the Queen, without her cost. I am sendinge away a barke to the countrey, to cumfort and asure the people, that they dispaire not, nor yeild to any composition with other nations.

I know the plott¹ is by this tyme finished which yf you pleas to cummand from HERIOTT, that her Majestye may see it. If it be thought of less importance then it deserveth, her Majestye will shortly bewayle her negligence therin ; and the enemy, by the addition of so mich wealth, weare us out of all.

Sir, I pray esteeme it as the afaire requirethe, if you love the Queen's honor, profitt, and saufetye. If I be thought unworthy to be imployed, or that because of my disgrace all men feare to adventure with me,—if it may not be otherwise,—I wishe sume other, of better sufficiency and grace, might undertake it, that the Queen loose not that which shee shall never fynde agayne.

Yow fynd that ther ar, beseds gold, both diamonds and pearell. And I brought with mee — taken up amonge the sands—a stone which, beinge cutt, is very rare. I pray do mee the favor to cummand PETER VANLORE to deliver you thos too² which I gave hym to prove,—which hee made litle accompt of. Butt I will have them cutt by PEPLER, who is skilfull, and dwells here with A[DRIAN] GILBERT. I have sent yow on³ which was cutt here,—which I thinke is amatist,⁴ and

¹ *I.e.* a map of Guiana. See the Letters of Harriot and others to Cecil, in the Appendix of this volume. ² *two.* ³ *one.* ⁴ *amethyst.*

hath the strang blushe of carnation. Butt I asure my sealf that ther ar not more diamounds in the Est Indies then ar to be founde in Guiana; which yow see also veriefied by the relation of the Spanishe letters.

I have another, cutt, of another sort; and if it be no diamound, yet it is exceeding any diamound in bewtye. Butt I am not in hast to lett it go out of my fingers. Butt thes stones beare wittness of better, and ther is enough for all the world if wee have the grace. Butt we must cast so many doubts; and this dolt and that gull must be satisfied, or elce all is nothing. If the Spanierds had bynn so blockishe and slouthfull, wee had not feared now their poure, who by their gold from thence vex and indanger all the estates of kings.

Wee must not looke to mayntayne warr upon the revenews of England. If wee be once driven to the defencive, farr well myght.¹ Butt as God will so it shalbe—who governs the harts of kings.

I rest your asured to be cummanded, poore or riche.

W. RALEGH.

Sherburn, this Wensday morning, an houre after the receipt of your letter; the 13 of November [1595].

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERTT CYCILL, Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.

Endorsed :

13 November, 1595. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.

¹ This reading is doubtful, the last word of the sentence being partly defaced.

LETTER
LV.
1595.
Nov. 13.

LVI.

TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 26 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an amanuensis; subscribed, signed, and addressed in autograph.

LETTER
LVI.

1595.
Nov. 25.

To the
Lords
of the
Council.
From
Sherborne.

On levies
of men and
defence of
the Coasts
of Devon
and Corn-
wall.

MY dewtie most humblie remembred. In the letters which I received from your Honors, bearing date the xvth of this November, yt hath pleased you that mutuall succour be gyven from the counties of Devon and Cornwall to each other by renforsing of each with 4,000 men, uppon notice gyven from me to the Erle of BATHE for the succour of Cornewall, and the like from his Lordship to me for Devon. Yt is trewe that before this tyme wee had not anie warrant to send out of the counties under our charge any releeffe to the neighbour places invaded. For remedy whereof your Lordships have gravely ordered this course of seconding each other. Notwithstanding, because I holde myselfe bounde in duetie to speake my knowledge of the estate of Cornwall, wherewith it hath pleased her Majestie to put me in trust,—a charge, both for the greatnes and grace, farr beyond any worth or deserte of myne,—I doe presume to put your Honors in minde that, according to my mean judgement, yt were more fitt to supplie Devon out of Somersett, then from Cornewall; hoping that your Honors will receive my reasons for the same as in discharge of my duetie, and not that I dare to offer them in any other sorte; being bound to obay, and not to advice.

Yf there shall any discent be made by the enmye, in either county, by the waie of surprize, and that the enmye doe but burne, or sacke, and departe, then can nether be releved as aforesaid, bycause there wilbe no tyme gyven to unite the forces of the same shere, where such attempt shalbe offered, much lesse for the drawing in of any numbers from afarr; and for any such enterprize, where there is no purpose to hold and possesse the places gotten, each shire with 4,000 men shalbe able either to repell or resiste the same. But if the enmye dispose himselfe to fortyfye any parte in Cornewall or to strengthen any neck of lande of advantage, and thereby begyne to dryve us to a defensive warr, then there is noe country adjoyneth to Cornewall but Devon from whence any spedy supplie maie be had to impeach the begining of such a purpose. And if ought be attempted in Devon—of which Plymouth is most to be feared, having, in one indraught, two goodly harboroughes, as Cattwater and Aishewater—then it is also very likely that the enmye will either assure Cornewall, or seeke utterly to wast yt, bycause yt is next his supplies, both from Spayne and Brittain¹; and hath divers portes and good rodes to receive a fleete.

Furthermore, maye it please your Lordships to consider that Cornewall is stretched owt all in lenght, and hath little bredth; the west parts whereof ar little lesse then 80 myles from Plymouth, and between the one and the other the great river of Tamar, which is not fordable in any place within 12 myles of Plymouth: and for 4,000 men to march over at Newbridge above Calstock—which ys the neerest passage—the journey of one part of the succour wilbe of one 100² myles and more, as they come to the town of Plymouth; considering the coasting

LETTER

LVI.

1595.
Nov. 25.

¹ Brittany.

² So in MS.

LETTER
LVI.1595.
Nov. 25.

of the river on both sides. And for other passage, there are but two ferries,—the one at Stonehouse, the other at Aishe,—and those but smale boats of no receipt, and by which nether carriage, horse, victuall, munition, nor ought else fitt to followe an army, can be conveyed but in a very longe time. Besides, if ther be ~~an~~ intent for Plymouth, yt is to be feared that the enmy will bring gallies with them, as well to assure there landing as to comaund the river of Tamar, and then all passages shalbe taken awaie but at Newebridge aforesaid; and yet the same maie be also easelie broken, yf the gallies once possesse the saied river. And yf the enmy shoulde lande towards the east of Plymouth, as at Salcoombe, Slapton, Dartmouth, or Torbay, which I doe nowe thinke is likely, then sholde also parte of the succours of Cornewall martche above one hundred and 20 myles, or 140 mile, to the place attempted.

Moreover, may it please you to consider that if 4,000 men sholde at any time be drawn out of Cornwall, and the same knowne to the enmy,—as it wilbe at the instant, —I assure your Honors that 300 soldiers, either sent out of Brittain¹ (which maie be done in two tydes) or returned in a gallye or two from Plymouth, wilbe strenght sufficient to indaunger and distroy the whole shire; at least all the western parts, which oughte most to be defended in respecte of the good harboroughes therein. For there is noe parte of England so daungerouslie seated, soe thinnly mande, so littell defended, and so caselie invaded; having the sea on both sides, which noe other countye of Englande hath, and is withall so narroe, that yf an enmy possesse any of two or three straights, neither can those of the west repaire eastward, nor those of the est westward: for betwyn

¹ Brittany.

Mounts Baye and the sea entring within St. Tees it is but 3 miles and a halfe from sea to sea ; without which their lyeth a good parte of the lande to the west in forme of a Peninsula.

Betwen Trewro (which standeth on the first sound of the river of Falmouth) and St. Piran is but fyve miles overland, passable, and the same also easelie garded ; which is as much of Cornewall as the enmye should need. For within soe muche as lieth to the west of the two indraughts are the best ports, and are very sufficient to receave the greatest fleet that ever swam, and conteyneth 27 myles of lenght, very gardable ; which in my simple iudgement is everie waie more to be sought for by the enmye then Plymouth ; at least yf the same weare soe well understode by them, which is not unlikely ; for the enmye taking Plymouth, and not possessing Cornewall, there is then a whole country¹ to the west of them, and betwen them and their supplies. But possessing this part they ynjoye as good, yf not a better, porte then Plymouth ; and there is then noe lande betwen them and Britaine or Spaine : and if they have any purpose to make warr with us at home, and shalbe able to dryve us to a defensyve, then is ther² noe comparyson betwen the one and the other. For which I could yeilde your Honors many reasons, but that I feare I am over tedyouse in these.

The cuntrye eastward ys also but narrowe, there being but 8 miles betwen the river of Padstowe and the Baye of Frewardreth.

Againe, Cornewall hath not anie one company of horse, either lance, lightehorse, petronell, or pistoll. Notwithstanding, if it shall please your Honors to thinke it fitt, there maie be order given that all those

¹ So in MS. ² This word has been added in Sir Walter's own hand.

LETTER
LVI.
—
1595.
Nov. 25.

LETTER

LVI

1595-
Nov. 25.

companies which boulder the river of Tamar or Saltashe be redde to releave Plymouth upon any sudden; bycause they maie be soone past over, if there were provision of better passage. But as yet there ar but two ferries neere Plymouth,—the one at Stonehouse, the other at Aishe, as aforesaid. And two or three gallies will interrupte all transportation; bycause there is not any place strengthened to gard or assure anie passage over the saied river, neerer then Newebridge, which is 12 miles above, within the lande.

Contrariwise, Somerset lieth¹ to Devon in great bredthe, and is a cuntrye strongly formed; whereas the other is stretched all in lenght. Somersetshire is not devyded from Devon by any river which is not fordable, at all tymes and in all places, so as both horse, foot, carriage, victuall, and whatsoever maie come, in hast, from thence to the succour of Devon. Cornwall hath Tamar, noe waie passable neere Plymouth. Somerset is seated from daunger, having Devon towards the southe, and on Severne side it hath not ports capeable of any shippes of bourden, and the indraught is long and daungerous. All the north coast of Devon and Cornwall lyeing betwen the waters of Somerset, which are Dunster, Minnett, and Bridgewater, into which smale barques cannot aryve without precise observation of tyde. Cornwall is but an arme of lande which stretcheth it selfe even to the bosome of the enemye, and hath the best ports of England on the south; and better than any in Somerset on the north; and also betwen them and harme. Somerset is verie riche and full of horse, as well for carriadge as service; many welthie gentlemen; and aboundeth in victuall. Cornwall hath no horse

¹ This word is added, by interlineation, in Raleigh's hand.

of service; the cuntrie poore; fewe gentlemen, and those of meane livinge; and, by reason that their riches consisteth in tynn-workes, there is little corne, and lesse of all things else.

For these respects, I hope that your Honors will have favorable regarde towards us; being, notwithstanding, redye to performe whatsoever it shall please her Majestie to determine, or your Lordships to comaunde. And even soe, craving pardon for my presumption herein, I humblie take my leave. From Sherborne, this 25th of November, 1595.

Your Honors' in all to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable the Lords and others of Her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed :

25 .Nov. 1595. Sir Walter Raleghe to the Lords.

LETTER
LVI.
—
1595.
Nov. 25.

LVII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 44 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

SIR,

I BESEICH you lett us know whether wee shalbe travelers, or tinkers; conquerors, or novices. For, if the winter pass without making provision, there can be no vitling in the summer; and if it be now foreslowed, farewell Guiana for ever. Then must I determyne to begg or run away. Honor, and gold, and all good, for ever hopeless.

LETTER
LVII.
—
1595.
Nov. 26 ?
To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

LETTER

LVII.

1595.
Nov. 26!Proposals
for the
Coloniza-
tion of
Guiana.Arrange-
ments for
the defence
of Devon
and Corn-
wall.

I do not heer how you like the white stone. I have sent for one of each; as soon as they come, you shall have them.

I have written this letter¹ to the Lords in answer of that which I received about mutual supplies between Devon and Cornwall,—a matter soon written, but not possible to performe. Somersett may best relieve Devon, for if it be appointed to Dorsett, it is more than need.² For Dorsett hath never a haven capable of any great shipp, without which there is no feare of any dissent.

I beseech you let us here somewhat as soon as you can. And so, with my most humble dewtye to my Mistris—I care not much for your idle Honor—

W. R.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I have sent the letter unsealed. HANCOKE hath a seal of myne; when you have perused it. I humbly pray you that your footman may deliver these two letters at Derum House.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECIL, Knight, of Her Majesties most honorable Privy Councill. Hast, &c.

Endorsed:

November 1595. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. [It also bears the endorsements of the several postmasters on the route.]

¹ See preceding letter of 25th of same month.

² This reading is a little doubtful, through abbreviation in the original.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LVIII. — *THE PANAMA
EXPEDITION OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, IN 1595.*

RALEGH'S gloomy anticipation, in this letter, of the fate of Drake's expedition,—“if the Spanish fleet arrive while the soldiers are overland,”—had been actually realized, though in a different way, a few days before its date. Whilst Sir Walter was writing it, Hawkins already lay dead; as did also Drake's dear friend and comrade, Brute Browne. The unfortunate attack on Puerto Rico had been made, and had failed of its object. Within less than two months, Drake, too, died “of a broken heart;” as Raleigh himself said, long years afterwards, in the letter which records his own disasters in the fatal expedition to Guiana.

There is but too much proof that the Queen and her Ministers were the responsible authors of Drake's failure and death. The expedition, at its outset, had been scandalously pinched in its due supplies and appliances. A divided command—that frequent source of failure in the Elizabethan enterprises—was insisted upon; and to the divided command were added conflicting instructions. As in so many other expeditions, the chief anxiety at home was for the spoils.

Almost from the first day, the commanders differed in opinion as to the best course to be pursued, and the misfortunes began almost as soon as the voyage. On the 30th of October, Hawkins' sternmost ship was attacked and taken by five Spanish ships of war. His death took place on the 12th of November, the day before the attack on Puerto Rico. Drake died on the 28th of January, 1596;—just six months too soon to share in the rejoicings for the great victory at Cadiz.

A considerable portion of the expenditure for the outfit

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LVIII.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LVIII.

of this expedition had fallen on the commanders. As soon as Drake was dead, proceedings were taken in the Exchequer against his heirs to recover a large debt alleged to be "due to the Crown."

Such was the monumental recognition awarded, by Queen Elizabeth and her advisers, to the services of those among the naval worthies of England who were not courtiers.

LVIII.

TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL HOWARD.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 42 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.
Without date of the year.

LETTER
LVIII.

1595.
Nov. 30.

To the
Lord
Admiral
Howard.
From
Sherborne.

Proposals
for the
sending of
Spanish
news to
Sir Francis
Drake ;
and for
renewing
the enter-
prise of
Guiana.

MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

I THINCKE your Lordshipp hath understoode by WATTS,¹ that came lately out of Spayne, that ther wilbe a fleet sent after Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and Sir JOHN HAWKINGES. The man was curius to confess any particulers to mee, butt I did ever gess it to be so. I thincke your Lordshipp should do very honorable to cause a coople of smale carvellis or pineses to be dispatcht, with all hast, with advise to them. The charge wilbe small to the Queen, and it may save all her shippis and people in that action. For, as sure as God lives, if the Spanishe fleet arive while the soldiers ar over lande, bothe the shippis att ancor and thos at Panama wilbe both lost. And they may yet be warned in tyme sufficient.

I dare take on mee to direct them to fynde them out by a sure and speedy course ; butt your Lordshipp can

¹ Sir John Watts, of London, already mentioned in preceding letters.

do it better your sealf, and therefore ther needs nothing butt the resolution ;—which God grawnt may be effected, according to the greatness of the necessetye.

If any fleet go for Ilande,¹ and that your Lordshipp go not, I beseich your Lordshipp to inable mee to the service, who would purchase her Majestyes favor with what labor or perrill soever.

If your Lordshipp send to Sir FRANCIS, it would be best don from hence—I mean from Wiemouth or Plymouth. For a messenger may be with them from hence, er they can cum about from London hither.

I would also humblie pray your Lordshipp to gett a resolution for our enterprize of Guiana. For, if provision of vitle be not made in the winter, it cannot be done for this yeare. Her Majestye shall, by foreslowing it, lose the greatest asurance of good that ever was offered to any Christian princes.² And your Lordship douth fynde that it is the surest way to devert all attempts from home.³

Thus, levinge thos afaires to your Lordshipp's honorable care and my sealf to your service, I humblie take my leve, and will ever be your Lordshipp's as your sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the last of November [1595].

Addressed :

To the right honorable my singuler good Lorde, the Lorde Admirall of Inglande.

Endorsed :

30 Nov. 1595. Sir Walter Raleghe to the Lord Admirall. A pynnasse to be sent after Sir Francis Drake.

¹ So in MS.

² Perhaps, for *princess*.

³ In view of subsequent events, the reader will do well to bear this very pregnant sentence in mind.

LETTER
LVIII.

1595.
Nov. 30.

LIX.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 55 (**Hatfield**), Holograph.
Without date of year.

[See Vol. I. pp. 206, 207.]

LETTER
LIX.

1596.
May 3.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Blackwall.

On the
levying of
men for
the Cadiz
expedition.

SIR,

MAY it pleas yow to vouchsaufe to send for Master BURROUGHES, the Controler of the Admiraltye, and to geve charge unto hym to repaire to Bralkewale¹ and to Ratleife,² to cummand away thos fibotts and other shipps that remayne, who cann best informe yow of the possebilleteye of thes things. I am not able to live, to row up and down every tyde from Gravsend to Lunden, and hee, that lies here att Rackleif, can easely judge when they³ rest, and how the rest, of the shipps may fale downe.

[*What follows appears to have been written a little later.*]

I am cum up agayne as farr as Blakewale, and would attend yow, if I knew how, or when. The names of thos men that refuse to serve Her Majestye I have delivered to POPE, Marshall of the Admiraltye. The rest shall also be sent hyme.

¹ So in MS. for *Blakevale*.

² Ratcliff, then a village on the Thames between London and Blackwall.

³ For *the*.

The names of the shippes remaying I will send to Master BURROUGH, whom I humblie pray yow to speake withall. And so, being more greved then ever I was, in anything of this world, for this cross weather, I humblie take my leve. From Blakewale, redde to go down agayne this tyde.

Your Honors to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

The 3d of Maye [1596].

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed :

3 May, 1596. Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.

LETTER
CLIX.
1596.
May 3.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LX.—*RALEGH AND
HUGH BROUGHTON.*

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LX.

THE following letter, in addition to the interesting testimony it affords of Raleigh's friendship with the eminent scholar and divine to whom it relates, serves to correct a small inaccuracy in the usual biographies of Broughton. It has commonly been stated that at about the date of this letter Broughton was in Germany, "and appears," it is added, "to have continued abroad till the death of Queen Elizabeth." Both before 1596 and after that year, this great scholar was much in Germany; but it is clear that at this date he had revisited England, and was again seeking Church preferment. He was once more unsuccessful; and the endorsement of this letter by Cecil's secretary is plainly an erroneous one. Hugh Broughton died in the neighbourhood of London in 1612, in the 63rd year of his age. His contributions to the literature both of theology and linguistics are well known. His preferment continued, until the end, to be little or none.

In a remarkable letter which Broughton wrote to Archbishop Whitgift (a letter which is now among the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield), he distinctly asserts that he had more than once the Queen's assent, or intended assent, to his elevation to the episcopal bench,—on the occurrence, as it seems, of vacancies in the see of St. Davids and in that of London; and that his nomination was prevented through Whitgift's opposition. But he says nothing about the bishopric of Waterford.

The "Archbishop of Cashell" of this letter was Meiler Magrath, who held that see for the remarkable period of fifty-two years; dying, it is said, a centenarian. The Queen's letter for the restitution to Magrath of the temporalities is dated at Windsor, Nov. 11, 1570. He died in 1622, then

holding, with the archbishopric, the sees of Killala and Achonry. These united sees he had received "*in custodiam*," in April 1611; up to which date he had continued to hold those similarly united sees of Lismore and Waterford which Raleigh was so desirous to obtain for Broughton.

Beatson (in his *Political Index*; 2nd edition) asserts—with an inaccuracy but too common in him—that these sees were surrendered by Archbishop Magrath in 1589. The King's letter of April 1611 affords conclusive proof that they were at that period still held *in commendam* with Cashel.

Raleigh's unfavourable opinion of the Archbishop's character is evidently not an impartial opinion. He had a great love for Church lands, and small love, usually, for prelates in possession. In Archbishop Magrath's case, however, Raleigh's opinion accords with other and better evidence.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LX.

LX.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 52 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; subscribed and signed.

THESE maye be to seignifye unto your Honor that the Archebishopp of Cashell, a man whome, I thincke, my Lord Treasourer hathe lytell cause to favor, hathe of late delte verye badlye with me, contrarye to all faythe and promysse, touchinge diverse of my Irishe leases and lands; whoes discortysies I wold gladlye mete withall. And doe fynde noe better meanes in releffe of my self, fartheraunce of relygyon, and comfote of all myne Inglyshe tenants and frendes, then in preferryng some other of better sorte to the bishoppricke of Lesmore and Waterforde, whereof the Archebishop hathe but a

LETTER
LX.

1596.
May 3.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From
Mile End?]

Recom-
mending
Hugh
Broughton
for the
bishopric
of Lismore
and Water-
ford.

LETTER
LX.1596.
May 3.

comende,¹ and hathe, besydes, twoe or three other bishoprickes.

My desire is that you wilbe pleased to be a meane to prefer unto the same bishopricke of Lesmore and Waterford my verye good frend Master HUGHE BROUGHTON, a man well knowen to my Lorde his Grace of Caunterburye,² my Lorde Treasurer, and all the lerned docters and scollers of Englande; and a man unto whome I wishe moche goode; besechinge you to have some conference with my cosen GORINGE aboughte the same—wherein the said Master BROUTON is able to do moche good and be a greate comfote to all our Inglishe nation thereaboughtes, and encrease of relygyon. And the gentellman hymself wilbe verye thanckefull unto you for anye favor shewed unto hym, whome I leave to your good remembrance, and your self to God. This third of Maye, 1596.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

³ To Sir Robert Cycill.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERTE CECILL, Knighte, Counciller in Her Highnes' Privye Councilles.

Endorsed :

3 May, 1596. Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master. In favour of the Bishop of Lesmore and Waterford.

¹ *I. e.* a tenure *in commendam*.

² See the Prefatory Note to this Letter.

³ Added, at foot, in Sir Walter's hand.

LXI.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 50 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; subscribed and signed.

SIR,

THIS bearer my ancient servaunt, CHARLES CARTIE, is an humble suitor to your Honnor for the renewing and confirming of a letter formerlie written by your Honnor and the rest of the Lords of Her Majesties Privy Councell to the Lord Deputie and Lord Chauncellor of Ireland for the passing of certen concealed lands there, graunted by her Highnes to PATRICK GRANTE, for which CHARLES hath agreed and compounded; for that he and his father have been possessed of the said lands a long tyme.

Your Honnors' letters have not been obeyed; and therefore he humblie desireth other letters of lyke tenor, to comaund performance thereof. He will show your Honnor a letter conceaved in writing, which, if you shall please to allow of as a reasonable request, he will ever remaine most bound for your honorable favor, without which he is like to be undone, for that this is his chiefest living. And so I humblie take my leave.

From Myle End, the 3rd of May, 1596.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECIL, Knight, one of Her Majesties most honorable Privie Councill.

Endorsed:

3 May, 1596. Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master. In favour of Charles Cartey.

LITTE
LXI.

1596.
May 3.

To Sir R.
Cecil
From
Myle End.

Recom-
mending
Charles
Cartie for
a grant of
lands in
Ireland.

LXII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 51 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
LXII.

1596.
May 3.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From
Mile End ?]

Personal
affairs.

SIR,

BEINGE ever bolde to charge yow with many of my troubles and burdens, I do still presume on your favor that yow wilbe pleased to bee bounde for mee for the £500 which I stande in danger to the Widdow SMITHE for; and because the conveyance of the Statute is intricatt, and that I hope this very terme to cum pound for it, and to discharge yow, I beseich yow to accept of my counterbonde for your reasurance, in which I will not faile.

I must hope that, if other then sawftye accompany my service in this enterprize, that yow wilbe pleased to favor thos of myne that remayne, who must only depend on yow, as I have dun. So, as of all other, I shall take good order to save yow from any particuler charge or inconvenience.

Thus, hoping to take leve on yow er I depart, I rest ever your's to be cummended,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, of her Majesty's moste honorable Privy Council.

Endorsed :

3 May, 1596. Sir Walter Ralighte to my Master.

LXIII.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 60 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

[See Vol. I. pp. 206, 207.]

SIR,

THE shippes that remayne above ar six: The great flebote of Brasenes¹ is on; ²—riding at Blakewale; another flebote of London, caled the *George*; another, the *Jacobe* of Agarslote; another, the *Jusua*³ of Horne; a fourth; and sume too other. POPE, the marshall of the Admiraltye, can informe Mr. BURRIS.⁴ For POPE prest all the shippes. Hee can also informe yow how litle her Majesties autoretie is respected. For as fast as wee press men on ² day the ⁵ cum away another, and say the ⁵ will not serve.

I beseich you, Sir, to vouchsaf to send for POPE, of Seynt Katerens, who hath taken great payns alreddy, and to tell hyme that I have recummeded his service; and hee will do more then any. Here ar att Graysend, and between this Lee,⁶ sume 22 saile. Thos above that ar of great draught of water cannot tide it down, for the⁵ must take the high water, and dare not make after an houre ebb untill they be past Barking Shelf. And, now, the winde is so stronge as it is impossible to turne down, or to warpe downe, or to tooe⁷ downe.

¹ Apparently so in MS., but the word is partly obliterated.

² one.

³ *Joshua*.

⁴ Elsewhere called 'Burroughs,' another officer of the Admiralty. ⁵ they.

⁶ Apparently so in MS. The word 'and' is probably omitted. ⁷ tow.

LETTER
LXIII.

1596.
May 4.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
North-
fleet.

Prepara-
tions for
the Cadiz
Expedition.

LETTER
LXIII.
—
1596.
May 4.

I cannot writ to our generalls att this tyme; for the pursevant found me in a cōuntre villag, a mile from Gravend, honting after runaway marriners, and dragging in the mire from ale-howse to ale-howse, and could gett no paper, butt that the pursevaunt had this peece.

Sir, by the leving God, ther is nor King, nor Queen, nor generall, nor any elce, can take more care then I do to be gonn. Butt I humblie pray yow butt to speak with Mr. BURROUGH, and lett hyme be sent for afterward before my Lorde Chamberlayne, that they may here hyme speak whether any man can gett down with this wind or no; which will satisfie them of me.

If this strong wind last, I will steale to Blakwale to speak with yow, and to kiss your hands.

W. R.

From Norfleet, this Tuesday [4 May, 1596].

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councill.

Endorsed:

4 May, 1596. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.

LXIV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 63 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.
Without date of year.

LETTER
LXIV.
—
1596.
May 6.
To Sir R.
Cecil.

SIR,

THIS gentleman, my frinde and kynsman, hath intreated mee to be a sutor unto yow in his behalfe, that it would pleas yow to move her Majestye, after so many years disgrace to cumfort hyme with one gratius worde.

I do not know how hee may be wronged unto her Majestye, butt I fynd no man more reddy and disposed, of his qualletye, to do her service; neather more willing to spend all he hath therein.

I know his charge was great in the last Discovery¹ with me, and ther is none now of his sort that douth so chargable prepaire hyme sealf. I must leve me, and all myne, to your honorable favor, and wee will all honor yow and serve yow.

W. RALEGH.

From Quinburrow, this 6th of Maye [1596].

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECIL, Knight, of her Majesties most honble Privy Councill.

Endorsed :

6 May, 1596. Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.

LXV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xli. § 14 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, postscript, signature, and address in autograph.

SIR,

I HAVE written to Doctor CÆSAR² in the behalfe of Mr. WILLIAM HILLIARD, a master of arts and very learned, to move her Majestie for her letters to the Deane and Chapter of Exceter for his admittance to the

¹ *I. e.* the Voyage of Discovery to Guiana of 1595.

² Afterwards the well-known Sir Julius Cæsar.

LETTER
LXIV.

1596.
May 6.

From
Queen-
borough.

In com-
mendation
of a kins-
man who
had in-
curred the
Queen's
dis-
pleasure.

LETTER
LXV.

1596.
May 26.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Plymouth.

next place that shall be void of a Prebend and Cannon
 there.
 I beseech your Honor to further him in his suite,
 for the recovering thereof. He will in dutefull service
 acknowledge your honorable favour, and I shalbe bound
 for his sake to remember it to my power. And so I
 humbly take my leave. From Plymouth, the 26th of
 May, 1596.

Your Honors to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT].—Sir, I beseeche yow for my sake, be-
 cause it standeth miche on my credit, to favor the sute;
 and I shall evermore acknowledge it in the highest
 degree.

W. R.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECIL, Knight, of her Majesties
 most honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed:

26 May, 1596. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. In favour of
 Mr. Hilliard.

LXVI.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xli. § 25 (Tatfield). In the hand
 of an amanuensis; subscribed and signed.

LETTER
 LXVI.

1596.
 May 29.

To Sir R.
 Cecil.
 From
 Plymouth.

SIR,

I AM entreated by Mr. JOHN RANDOLL, Deputie
 Vice-Admirall of Dorsetshire, to desire your honorable
 fauor towards him, if by reason of his office or other
 occasions he shalbe urged by suites to sollicite your

Honor. I beesech your Honor in regard of the honestie of the gentleman, and for the good opinion that is hereabouts generallie conceived of him, to fauor him in such sort as the equitie of his causes shall require, and him selfe deserve. And so I humblie take my leave. From Plymmouth, the 29th of May, 1596.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, one of her Highnes' most honorable Priuy Councell.

Endorsed :

29 May, 1596. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. In fauour of Mr. Randoll.

LETTER
LXVI.

1596.
May 29.

In com-
mendation
of John
Randall,
Vice-
Admiral
of Dorset.

LXVII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. MS. Cotton, VESPASIAN, C xiii. fol. 290 (British Museum). Holograph. Without date of year.

* * Sir Anthony Ashley, the bearer of this letter, was the first to bring intelligence to England of the capture of Cadiz. Some particulars of his statements as to the spoils have been noticed in the preceding volume. (*Life*, p. 229.) In the course of his explanations on that very difficult part of the subject,—which he affected to give with great frankness,—he was brought repeatedly under cross-examination, by the Queen herself, as well as by Burghley and Robert Cecil; and his evidence about it was found to be somewhat unsatisfactory and incoherent. He was presently put under restraint. Cecil wrote to Sir John Gilbert to order strict search to be made along the coast for spoils which Sir Anthony Ashley was

supposed to have found means of concealing, in the brief interval between his arrival at Plymouth and his journey to London. Sir Anthony's subsequent history is in many respects remarkable. Both the *Council Books* and the *Domestic Correspondence* contain numerous references to it. He died towards the close of the reign of James the First. Lady Ashley, his widow, married Carew Raleigh, only surviving son of Sir Walter. Anne Ashley, his daughter and heiress, married John Cooper, and became the ancestress of the Earls of Shaftesbury.

LETTER
LXVII.

1596.
July 7.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
Written at
sea.

Victory at
Cadiz.

SIR,

THIS bearer, Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, that hath seen all, can better report all then any letter or discourse. The xxi of June we beheld the city of Calize, the fleet of the Kinge, and that of Nova Hispania; all which we mastered the same day.

Of every man's desert, both for counsell and performance, lett it bee delivered with what device soever, yet I doubt not butt all shall have right. I was not secound to any in the fight against the gallions and gallis; wherin I was hurt, and could not be first att the taking of this town as att the rest.

Ther hath been good agreement between the Generalls. The victorye was caried with great honor and mercye.¹ Ther hath been mich gotten by the land commanders; although I do think little possest by the Generalls themsealvs. The Kinge of Spain never so much dishonored; neither hath he ever receved so great losse.

¹ Francisco de Quesada, a canon of the Church of Cadiz, drew up a very striking account of what passed under his own observation, at this juncture—just after the victory. On the point here touched by Raleigh, Quesada says: "Ninguna mujer ha sido forzado ni llevada à Inglaterra; a nadre han dado tormento por haber dineros sino fueron dos otras; ninguna persona murió à sangre fria; casi ninguna insolencia se ha hecho;" &c. MS. Simancas, *Estado*, Bund. 177. (*Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 343, seqq.)

The Earle hath behaved hymesealfe, I protest unto yow by the living God, both valiently and advisedly in the highest degree; without pride; without crueltye; and hath gotten great honor and mich love of all.

LETTER
LXVII.
—
1596.
July 7.

For particulars, your Honor shall receive by others,—which I had rather should so be written yow, [than] by mee.

I hope her most excellent Majestye will take my labors and indeavors in good parte. Other ritches then the hope therof I have none; only I have received a blow which now, I thank God, is well amended;—only a little cysore will remayne. If my life had ended withall, I had then payde some part of the great deabts which I owe her. Butt it is butt borrowed, and I shall paye it, I hope, to Her Majesties advantage, if occasion be offred.

Sir, I humbly beseich you to excuse me that I write thus briefly for the present, and that yow will vouchsaife also to excuse me to my Lord your father. And I will remayne, evermore to be cummanded by yow as your sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

To the westward of Calize, sune x leaugs, the 7 of July [1596].

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I beseich yow to cummend me to my cussen . . .¹, my brother, and to my cussen Stanhope.

Addressed : To Sir ROBERT CECIL.

¹ This name has been torn away.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXVIII.—*RALEGH AND
SIR ARTHUR SAVAGE.*

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXVIII.

SIR ARTHUR SAVAGE, who was the bearer of this letter to Sir Robert Cecil, together with the despatches from the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, is the "verrie honest plaine gentleman," mentioned, in close connection with Raleigh, in a remarkable letter to Lord Henry Howard from King James, undated: but written in the year 1602. The letter to Howard is at Hatfield, and is one of those which have been recently printed by Mr. Bruce for the Camden Society. In the original the figures 'S' and '10' stand as cyphers for the names of Edward Bruce of Kinloss and of Cecil. The passage which relates to Savage and Raleigh is as follows:—
 "I doe also persave by youre letters to BRUCE that Sir ROBERT CECIL is verrie desyrouse to knowe the knichtis name that delt betwixt the Duike of LENOX and RAULIE; and thairfore, althoch the knight him self be a verrie honest plaine gentleman for so farre as I can learne, yett knowing that confident trust can no more be severid from trew freindshippe than the shaddow can be cutte from the boddie, I will give to Sir ROBERT CECIL this further prooffe of my confident truste in him by discoverie of this gentlemanne's name unto him,— quhiche is Sir AIRTHOURE SAVAGE: not doubting but that Sir ROBERT CECIL will conserve this as a freind's secrete, *without suffering the gentleman to receive any hairme hearby, quhiche more wolde interest me in honoure than him in person*; especiallie since the gentlemannis nature appearis to be farre different from RAULIE's, thoch oute of zeale to me and affection to his freinde he could not refuse to be trucheman unto him."¹

¹ *Cecil Papers*, cxxxv. fol. 86 (Hatfield). Printed in *Correspondence of King James VI.* &c. p. 43.

LXVIII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

from the Original. MS. Cotton, OTHO, E ix. fol. 365, verso (formerly numbered 334). (British Museum). Holograph. Mutilated; having been partially burnt in the fire at Ashburnham House. Without date or year.

[The beginning of the letter—all that precedes the word 'burnt'—has been so burned in the fire at Ashburnham House as to be irrecoverable.]

. . . . burnt. We had not means to and men, being both wasted in the Ther is a very dangerous infection and sicke, as with great difficultye was to the Port. I have my sealf labored as to person. I thancke God she is now in the Port of ; and with us my Lord Thomas¹ in the *Honor*,² both which came³ a litle before by reason of leakes, wherof my Lord Thomas was in great [peril].⁴ The rest of the Fleet will be here to-morrow in [my opin]ion, if the winde stand; for the second of August I left them well, and the sixth I arrived. And they came above a dussen or twentye leauges astern.

This gentleman, Sir ARTHUR SAVAGE, is dispatched by the Generalls. I know not the effect of his message. Butt, under pardon, I thincke it good for Her Majestye, if he be agayne returned with order for the Army which may, for the most, be returned into their countries from hence; which, the sooner it be done, the less charge

¹ Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk.

² The ship *Mer-Honour*. ³ Meaning evidently 'came away.'

⁴ The words within brackets are words of which the fire has left some trace—more or less.

LETTER
LXVIII.

1596.
Aug. 6.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Plymouth
Sound.

The
Victory
at Cadiz.

~~LETTER~~
~~LETTER~~
—
1596.
Aug. 2.

Her Majestye shall be att here, with continewance of her sea charge.

Sir, may it please yow to beleve me; this bearer hathe deserved with the first and had the Poynt att the entrance of Calize. Butt he came, with others, in the rereguard of proÿtt and good fortune. And I assure your Honor, by the love I bear yow, that yow shall not favor any man more honest and valient. He can yield a good accompt of whatsoever hath past.

For my particular, I beseech yow, if it may be, that I may be pardoned for cumminge about by sea; for besids the great and dangerous infection, I am not well in health my sealf. My Lord Admiral will cum with the Fleet, and my Lord Thomas likewise. Sir, I hope her devin Majestye is well: the report wherof hath incountred us all with inñnit joy.

From the port of Plymouth, cumming in, this 6th of August [1596].

Your Honor's, ever to honor and serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXIX.—*NARRATIVES OF THE BATTLE IN CADIZ HARBOUR.*

ON the question 'To whom was this letter addressed?' I am unable to throw any light. In a MS. copy of it which I have seen in the old library known as "Dr. Williams' Library" (formerly in Red Cross Street, London; now, temporarily, in Queen's Square), it is said—against plain internal evidence—to have been addressed to the Earl of Northumberland. Other copies are, like Philip Raleigh's print of 1699, wholly without superscription. Fortunately, its great historical interest depends in no degree on the solution of that small question. It has, eminently, the qualities which Raleigh's writings so rarely lack,—force and clearness. It also combines fairness to his fellows with his wonted full justice to himself. In half a dozen clear and simple words, he brings vigorously before the reader that fearless courage and self-devotion, on the part of the Earl of Essex, which, in moments of excitement and of peril, did much towards redeeming very grave errors of judgment. When, in relation to this event, Raleigh has to touch on those errors, he touches them with a gentle hand. If, for example, the reader will compare his account with that of Sir William Monson (MS. Cotton, TRUS, B viii.), he will find that the rival—whom Essex had so repeatedly and so bitterly attacked—deals more leniently with the faults of the brave but rash and inexperienced general, than does the declared follower and friend. Nor will it be found less interesting, or less instructive, to compare many of Raleigh's details, as to the doings and sufferings of the Spaniards, with their own contemporary accounts, as they have been recently collected from the Simancas archives and elsewhere, by the Continuator of the

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXIX.

1596.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXIX.

1596.

Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España, so ably began by Navarrete.

Another collation has an interest more directly biographical. Thomas Carte is known to have had access to many original papers of the Elizabethan period, not all of which can now be traced. Some, even, of the Burghley MSS. to which in his *History of England* he refers cannot, I believe, be discovered. Whatever may be thought of the colouring given to Carte's inferences by party feeling, his use of documents is admittedly honest. In his account of the Cadiz battle, he borrows much from the present letter; yet there are in that account some details, distinctly personal to Raleigh, which are not mentioned in Sir Walter's own letter, minute as it is. Whether, or not, these have been taken from correspondence not at present accessible, they are obviously founded on original testimony, and will be seen to have considerable interest. Here, to note them all,—or nearly all,—is impracticable. One or two points must suffice, by way of sample.

The victory at Cadiz was notoriously a great blow to the power and influence of Spain, but no one can study the documents which bear upon it without perceiving that it might, with little difficulty, have been made a much more effective and farther-reaching blow. The question, 'Whose was the neglect?' is, for students of English history, not at all an idle or superfluous question. Raleigh (in Letter LXIX.), Sir William Monson (in the Cotton MS. TRUS, B viii.), and Carte's informant,—whosoever he may have been,—all give, or suggest, an answer. All were present. All, it is obvious, had access to the best sources of information, for what did not pass actually under their own eyes. Each, if listened to separately, gives, or seems to give, on this point a different answer. But, if collated, the conflict of testimony may, perhaps, be found to be much less than it, at first, appears:—

RALEIGH'S
NARRATIVE.

. . . . I returned [to the ships] chiefly for that there was no Admiral left to order the Fleet, and indeed few or no people in the Navy; all running headlong to the sack; and secondly, because I was unfit for ought but ease at that time.

At break of day following I sent to the General to have order to follow the fleet of ships bound for the Indies; which were said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerto Reall road; where they could not escape. But the town new taken, and the confusion great, it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once; so as I could not receive any answer to my desire.

The afternoon of the same day those which were merchants of Cales and Sevil offered the Generals two millions to spare the Fleet; whereupon there was nothing done for the present. But the following

SIR WILLIAM MON-
SON'S NARRATIVE.

After the landing, . . . my Lord [Essex] dispatched another messenger to my Lord Admirall entreating him to give orders to attack the merchants that rode in Port Keyall, for that it was dangerous to give them a nights respite, least they should convey awaie their wealth or take example by the Philipp and the other to burn themselves. This message was delivered by Sir Anthony Ashley and Sir William Monson, even as my Lord Admirall was in his boate ready with his troupes of seamen to land; and fearinge the Lord General Essex should be put to distress with his smale companies, . . . hastened by all meanes to second him, and gave order to certain ships the next day to pursue them. . . . To speak indifferently, his [Essex'] sudden landing without the Lord Admirall's privitie and his giveinge advice by a messenger to attack the shippes, which should have bene [given] by a mature determination, noe doubt but

CARTE.

In the heat or the conquest, the India Fleet was in a manner forgot, till Sir Edward Conway, Blount, and Gerard offered to go with the soldiers, on board some small vessels, to attack it. But this Raleigh opposed, as the honour of that service belonged to the seamen. He was disabled from walking by a wound in the leg; and, in the evening, the Generals desired him to go on board the fleet, to guard against any attack the gallies might make upon it in the night, at low water; promising him good quarters in the town, and his share in the booty. Before he went, he desired orders for attacking the Indian Fleet; asking only one of his ships and twelve London merchantmen for the enterprise. But they entreated him to give them time to think of it till the morrow.

Day was no sooner broke, than Raleigh sent for the answer, and they desired him to come into the town to consult with them, about a proposal made by the King's officers and the commissioners of the merchants, who offered two millions of dollars for the ransom of the Fleet and cargo.

Raleigh said their business was first to make themselves masters of the Fleet, and then those who now offered two millions would give four millions for its ransom. But to this it was objected that if the seamen once got possession of the ships, they would plunder them; besides some other inconveniences.

In the meantime, the Spaniards worked day and night to get the best of the goods out of the ships; and, this being done, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Governor of St. Lucar, gave orders for their being burnt, which was executed the third day; before the

<p>evening, being the 23rd of June, the Duke of Medina caused all that fleet of merchants to be set on fire, because he was resolved that they must needs have fallen into our hands.</p>	<p><i>the Lord Admirall did make his answer a little extemporal; and, perhappes, did hasten his landinge for his reputacion, when he [himself] thought it more reason to have possest the Fleete.¹</i></p>	<p>contractors, who saw the blaze at a distance, arrived with the news of their being ransomed.²</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXIX.

1596.

With all their variety of circumstance, these three several accounts will be found, at bottom, to be in substantial agreement on certain main points of the story:—(1) That Raleigh strenuously urged an attack upon the Indian Fleet, without any delay; (2) That a want of thorough harmony between the two “generals in chief” interposed delay; (3) That the conflicting desires—on the one hand, to make as much available spoil as possible; on the other, to follow up with vigour the blow so successfully struck against the Spanish navy—proved, in some considerable measure, mutually destructive. Justly to apportion the blame of this degree of failure is very difficult. But, assuredly, Essex would be less anxious for plunder than Raleigh. Both Raleigh and the tough High Admiral of England, during the whole active life of each of them, were “unsatisfy’d in getting.” Of Essex, at all times, it may most emphatically be said that “in bestowing, he was most princely.” As to the want of harmony amongst the chief commanders, it had evidenced itself, not only before the battle, but before the very outset of the expedition from our coast. Howard had written to Cecil from Dover: “My comission in being

¹ Sir William Monson, in MS. Cotton, Titus B viii. ff. 120, 121, and verso.

² *History of England*, vol. iii. pp. 659—661. Compare also *Journall of all the Particularities that fell out in the Voyage under the charge of the Lords Generals*, MS. Lamb. ccl. ff. 362, *seqq.* (Lambeth Palace); and the Despatches, as entered in the *Registers of Privy Council*, Elizabeth, vol. xii. pp. 348—361 (Council Office).

joined to the Erle is an idle thyng. I am yoused but as the drage."¹

The estimate of their naval loss, formed by the Spaniards themselves, is thus briefly summed up in a paper entitled *Relacion de todo lo subcedido en Cádiz desde 29 de Junio de 1596, hasta 27 de Julio*,² which is preserved amongst the archives of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia: "Besides the loss of the three galleons, *St. Philip, St. Andrew, St. Matthew*; two galleons were lost of those under Pedro de Soella, which came from Lisbon; and also three Levantine ships which had arrived from Italy a fortnight before, richly laden. The ships of the Fleet for New Spain—to the number of thirty-four in all—were burnt, by the advice of Don Francisco Tello and of the General Luis Alfonso, in order to hinder the falling of so much wealth into the power of the enemy. The cargoes were estimated to be worth more than four millions, without reckoning the value of the ships and guns."³

The Spanish documents relating to the affair of Cadiz abound in curious illustrations of Raleigh's letters of this period (LXVIII. LXIX. and LXX), but very few of them can here be noticed. Not the least curious are the examinations of the handful of prisoners who, at different stages of the affair, were captured by the Spaniards, and who were put through their catechisms with a cool and systematic precision

¹ Lord High Admiral to Secretary of State; Dover, 13 April, 1596. (*Civil Papers*, vol. xl. § 6. Hatfield.)

² The reader will bear in mind that the Spanish dates are ten days in advance of the English.

³ "Demás de la pérdida de los tres galeones, S. Felipe, S. Andrés, S. Matias, se perdieron dos galeones de los de Pedro de Soella, que vinieron de Lisboa, y tres naos levantiscas que quince dias ántes les habían llegado de Italia muy ricas, y se quemaron las naos de la Flota de Nueva España, que eran treinta y cuatro en todas, por acuerdo de D. Francisco Tello y el general Luis Alfonso, porque no viniese tanta riqueza en poder de los enemigos, que se estima la carga en mas de cuatro millones, sin el valor de las naos y artilleria."—*Coleccion de los Documentos*, &c., xxxvi. pp. 418, 419.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXIX.

1596.

and minuteness which would do credit to Doctors Commons. Among the points on which Spanish curiosity was especially keen was the suspected presence, in the English Fleet, of that *bête noire* of Philip the Second, Antonio Perez, and of another Antonio, son to the claimant of the crown of Portugal. Whether the examinant chanced to be a Cornish foremast-man, an Irish soldier, or an English boy-student¹ (who had, according to his own statement, embarked on board the Fleet, simply to get a quick and cheap passage to a Spanish university), he was closely questioned as to his knowledge of the Antonios, as well as of the secret objects and original plans of the Expedition, and of the information which had reached its commanders on their way.²

One "Juan Prugs," a sailor, who is described as "native of a suburb of London" (which one would scarcely have suspected from his name), whilst denying all knowledge of the fugitive Secretary of the King of Spain, deposed that he saw at Plymouth some Spaniards who were said to be about to embark in the Fleet. It seems that a son, if not two sons, of the titular King of Portugal really sailed with the Expedition. Perez had just before returned to France; after helping, as Essex himself declares, to hinder, not further, the enterprise then in hand: by "feeding the Queen in her irresolution."³

All the accounts agree in showing how entirely the policy pursued by Philip the Second had stripped the most vital parts of the kingdom of adequate defence. After the English Fleet

¹ "*Duarte de Aquin, que es de la provincia de Darvi,*"—which may perhaps be translated "Edward Hawkins, or Dawkins, a Devonian?"

² Amongst these witnesses were four Irishmen who deserted from the army in Cadiz on the 2nd of July [12th of Spanish accounts], with the intention of joining the Spaniards, because they were Catholics, and because they had heard that an Irish gentleman, described as calling himself "Mores Marchas, tio del Conde de Semont,"—to whom some of them were tenants,—was at the Spanish Court, and would be likely to find an opening for them in Philip's army.

³ Earl of Essex to Edward Reynolds, MS. Tenison, dclvii. f. 93 (Lambeth Palace).

had left Cadiz, the Duke of Medina Sidonia wrote to the Secretary of State at Madrid, that in the course of seventeen days, and in a province so populous as Andalusia, it had not been possible for him to get together so many as 4,000 effective men or 800 horse.¹ Another great officer wrote on the same day, to the King himself, that from this denudation of troops the English possessed, for a fortnight, the spoils of Cadiz, of the whole island, and of the vicinity, with as much of security and quiet enjoyment as they could have had in their quarters on the banks of the Thames.² This being so, it is no wonder that the English commanders found the maintenance of discipline a hard task. As Raleigh here says: "The tumultuous disordered soldiers, being then given to spoil and rapine, had no respect."

Another point on which the Spaniards were very earnest and minute in their inquiries was the rank and family connexions of the English leaders. To master some of the names they found to be at least as difficult as the owners had found it to be to master Cadiz. At length a Spaniard was discovered who declared himself "*muy practico de la lengua inglesa.*" Beginning with the 'Conde de Esiques' and the Admiral,—“son of the Duke of Norfolk, whose head the Queen cut off,”—he comes to Raleigh, to whom he assigns precisely the dignity Sir Walter was very ambitious of, but could never obtain—that of Privy Councillor;³ though he, many times, exercised its functions.

¹ Duque de Medina Sidonia al Secretario D. Mart. de Idraquez; 16 de Julio, 1596.

² Don Luis Fajardo á Su Magestad del Puerto de S. Maria; 16 de Julio, 1596.

³ "Guaterrale, consejero, coronel de un tercio."

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXIX.

1596.

LXIX.

TO A PERSON UNNAMED.

As printed in 1699, by PHILIP RALEGH, Grandson of Sir WALTER, from a copy, or draft, found among Sir WALTER RALEGH's Papers.

LETTER
LXIX.

1596.

To a
person
unnamed.

Narrative
of the
Action in
Cadiz
Harbour.

YOU shall receive many Relations, but none more true than this. May it please your Honour, therefore, to know, that on Sunday, being the 20th of June, the English fleet came to anchor in the bay of St. Sebastians, short of Cales half a league. My Lord Admiral,¹ being careful of her Majesty's ships, had resolved with the Earl of ESSEX that the town should be first attempted; to the end that both the Spanish gallions and galleys, together with the forts of Cales, might not all at once beat upon our navy.² My self was not present at the

¹ Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, and afterwards Earl of Nottingham.

² It was probably from the sight of the preparations for this conference between Essex and Howard—one of the Queen's ships hoisting a flag at her poop and firing a gun; after which many boats were seen, by the watchful eyes of the Spaniards, to come off to her—that the President Pedro Gutierrez Florez wrote to Philip II., on this same 20th of June (30th of the Spanish documents), that the enemy, "at sight of the galleys and ships—more than 40 in number—which were in the bay, seemed afraid to enter, or at least summoned a council to consider what should be done," &c. (Gutierrez Florez to the King. Cadiz, postrero de Junio, 1596. Archives of Simancas: *Secretaria de Estado*, Bundle 177. Printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos*, Tomo xxxvi. pp. 208, 209.) The President at Cadiz adds that the sails had been counted, and that there appeared to be twelve ships of war of upwards of 600 tons, and 100 other ships of from 300 tons upwards, "forming the most beautiful fleet that was ever seen (*la mas hermosa armada que se ha visto*);" that they formed four squadrons—having eight flag-ships—and that thence the Spaniards inferred that the fleet was composed of *French* ships, as well as of English and Flemish.—Ibid. (Navarrete, Pidal, and others, as before, p. 209.) The

resolution; for I was sent the day before towards the Main, to stop such as might pass out from St. Lucar, or Cales, along the coast. When I was arrived back again (which was two hours after the rest), I found the Earl of ESSEX disembarking his soldiers; and he had put many companies into boats, purposing to make his descent on the west side of Cales; but such was the greatness of the billow, by reason of a forcible southerly wind, as the boats were ready to sink at the stern of the Earl; and indeed divers did so, and in them some of the armed men; but because it was formerly resolved (and that to cast doubts would have been esteemed an effect of fear), the Earl purposed to go on, until such time as I came aboard him, and in the presence of all the collonels protested against the resolution; giving him reasons, and making apparent demonstrations that he thereby ran the way of our general ruin, to the utter overthrow of the whole armies, their own lives, and her Majesty's future safety. The Earl excused himself, and laid it to the Lord Admiral, who (he said) 'would not consent to enter with the fleet till the town were first possessed.' All the commanders and gentlemen present besought me to disswade the attempt; for they all perceived the danger, and were resolved that the most part could not but perish in the sea, ere they came to set foot on ground; and if any arrived on shoar, yet were they sure to have their boats cast on their heads; and that twenty men in so desperate a descent would have defeated them all. The Earl, hereupon, prayed me to perswade my Lord

LETTER
LXIX.
1596.

Duke of Medina Sidonia wrote to the King, on the following day, that the enemy's ships—to the number of eighty—were first seen off Lagos, on the 25th [15th of English style], but that the news did not reach him until the 29th.—Archives: *Secretaria de Guerra*, Bund. 475. (Navarrete, &c. n. 220.)

Admiral who, finding a certain destruction by the former resolution, was content to enter the port.

When I brought news of this agreement to the Earl, calling out of my boat upon him, *Entramus*,¹ he cast his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor.

The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the boats of soldiers to their own ships; so as we could not that night attempt the fleet, although many (seeming desperately valiant) thought it a fault of mine to put it off till the morning; albeit we had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who should second; whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our fleet possibly recover all their men in, before sun-set. But both the Generals being pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so mean an understanding, came again to an anchor in the very mouth of the Harbour: so that night, about ten of the clock, I wrote a letter to the Lord Admiral, declaring therein my opinion how the fight should be ordered: persuading him to appoint to each of the great gallions of Spain two great fly-boats to board them, after such time as the Queen's ships had battered them; for I knew that both the *St. Philip* and the rest would burn, and not yeild; and then to lose so many of the Queen's for company, I thought it too dear a purchase, and it would be termed but a lamentable victory.

This being agreed on, and both the Generals persuaded to lead the body of the fleet, the charge for the performance thereof [was²] (upon my humble suit) granted and assigned unto me. The ships appointed to second me were these: the *Mary Rose*, commanded by Sir GEORGE CAREW; the *Lion*, by Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL; the *Rainbow*, by the Marshal, Sir FRANCIS

¹ So printed in the edit. of 1697-1700.

² Omitted in original edition.

VEARE; the *Swiftsure*, by Captain CROSSE; the *Dreadnaught*, by Sir CONYERS and ALEXANDER CLIFFORD; the *Nonpareill*, by Mr. DUDLEY;¹ the twelve ships of London; with certain fly-boats.

The Lord THOMAS HOWARD,—because the *Meere-Honour*,² which he commanded, was one of the greatest ships,—was also left behind with the Generals; but being impatient thereof, pressed the Generals to have the service committed unto him, and left the *Meer-Honour* to Mr. DUDLEY, putting himself into the *Nonpareill*. For mine own part, as I was willing to give honour to my Lord THOMAS, having both precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honoured, so yet I was resolved to give and not take example for this service; holding mine own reputation dearest, and remembering my great duty to her Majesty. With the first peep of day, therefore, I weighed anchor, and bare with the Spanish fleet, taking the start of all ours a good distance.

Now, Sir, may it please you to understand, that there were ranged under the wall of Cales, on which the sea beateth, seventeen galleys, which lay with their prowes to flank our entrance, as we passed towards the gallions. There was also a fort called the *Philip*, which beat and commanded the harbour. There were also ordnance, which lay all alongst the curtain upon the wall towards the sea. There were also divers other pieces of culverin, which also scowred the channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the *St. Philip* perceived one of the Admirals under sail approaching, she also set sail, and with her the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Thomas*, the *St. Andrew*, the two great gallions of Lisbon, three frigots of war, accustomed to transport the treasure; two argosies, very

LETTER
LXIX.
1596.

¹ Afterwards Sir Robert Dudley and titular Duke of Northumberland.

² *Meer-Honour*, a famous ship of the Queen's Navy.

LETTER
LXXIX.
1596.

strong in artillery; the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of Nueva Espagna; with forty other great ships, bound for Mexico, and other places. Of all which, the *St. Philip*, the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Andrew*, and the *St. Thomas*, being four of the Royal Ships of Spain, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntall, in a streight of the harbour which leadeth towards Puerto Reall. On the right hand of them they placed the three frigots; on the back the two gallions of Lisbon, and the argosies; and the seventeen galleys, by three and three, to interlace them, as occasion should be offered. The Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and the Rear-Admiral of Nueva Espagna, with the body of the fleet, were placed behind them towards Puerto Reall; hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance; the place being no broader from point to point than that these did in effect stretch over as a bridge, and had besides the fort of Puntall to their guard. But the seventeen galleys did not at the first depart with the rest, but stayed by the town, with all their prowes bent against us as we entered; with which, together with the artillery of the town and forts, they hoped to have stumbled the leading ship, and doubted not thereby but to have discouraged the rest.

Having, as aforesaid, taken the leading, I was first saluted by the Fort called *Philip*, afterwards by the ordnance on the curtain, and lastly by all the galleys, in good order. To show scorn to all which, I only answered first the fort, and afterward the galleys, to each piece a blurr with a trumpet; disdaining to shoot one piece at any one or all of those esteemed dreadful monsters. The ships that followed beat upon the galleys so thick that they soon betook them to their oars, and got up to joyn with the gallions in the streight, as aforesaid; and

then, as they were driven to come near me, and inforced to range their sides towards me, I bestowed a benediction amongst them.

But the *St. Philip*, the great and famous Admiral of Spain, was the mark I shot at; esteeming those galleys but as wasps in respect of the powerfulness of the other; and being resolved to be revenged for the *Revenge*, or to second her with mine own life, I came to anchor by the gallions; of which the *Philip* and *Andrew* were two that boarded the *Revenge*. I was formerly commanded not to board, but was promised fly-boats, in which, after I had battered a while, I resolved to joyn unto them.

My Lord THOMAS came to anchor by me, on the one hand, with the *Lyon*; the *Mary Rose*, on the other, with the *Dreadnaught*; the Marshal,¹ toward the side of *Puntall*; and towards ten of the clock, my Lord General ESSEX, being impatient to abide far off, hearing so great thunder of ordnance, thrust up through the fleet, and headed all those on the left hand, coming to anchor next unto me on that side; and afterward came in the *Swiftsure*, as near as she could. Always I must, without glory, say for myself, that I held single in the head of all.

Now, after we had beat, as two butts, one upon another almost three hours (assuring your Honour that the volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of musketeers), and finding myself in danger to be sunk in the place, I went to my Lord General in my skiff, to desire him that he would inforce the promised fly-boats to come up, that I might board; for as I rid, I could not endure so great battery any long time. My Lord General was then coming up himself; to whom I declared that if the fly-boats came not,

LETTER
LXIX.
1596.

¹ Sir Francis Vere.

LETTER
LXIX.
—
1596.

I would board with the Queen's ship; for it was the same loss to burn, or sink, for I must endure the one. The Earl finding that it was not in his power to command fear, told me that, whatsoever I did, he would second me in person, upon his honour. My Lord Admiral, having also a disposition to come up at first, but the river was so choked as he could not pass with the *Ark*, came up in person into the *Nonpareill*, with my Lord THOMAS.

While I was thus speaking with the Earl, the Marshal, who thought it some touch to his great esteemed valour to ride behind me so many hours, got up ahead my ship; which my Lord THOMAS perceiving headed him again;—my self being but a quarter of an hour absent. At my return, finding my self from being the first to be but the third, I presently let slip anchor, and thrust in between my Lord THOMAS and the Marshal, and went up further ahead than all them before, and thrust my self athwart the channel; so as I was sure none should outstart me again, for that day. My Lord General ESSEX, thinking his ship's side stronger than the rest, thrust the *Dreadnaught* aside, and came next the *Warspight* on the left hand; ahead all that rank, but my Lord THOMAS. The Marshal, while we had no leisure to look behind us, secretly fastened a rope on my ship's side towards him, to draw himself up equally with me; but some of my company advertizing me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and so he fell back into his place; whom I guarded, all but his very prow, from the sight of the enemy.

Now if it please you to remember, that having no hope of my fly-boats to board, and that the Earl and my Lord THOMAS both promised to second me, I laid out a warp by the side of the *Philip* to shake hands with

her (for with the wind we could not get aboard): which when she and the rest perceived, finding also that the *Repulse* (seeing mine) began to do the like, and the Rear-Admiral my Lord THOMAS, they all let slip, and ran aground, tumbling into the sea heaps of souldiers, so thick as if coals had been powred out of a sack in many ports at once; some drowned and some sticking in the mud. The *Philip* and the *St. Thomas* burnt themselves: the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Andrew* were recovered with our boats ere they could get out to fire them. The spectacle was very lamentable on their side; for many drowned themselves; many, half burnt, leapt into the water; very many hanging by the ropes' ends by the ships' side, under the water even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds, stricken under water, and put out of their pain; and withal so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great *Philip*, and the rest, when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most lively figured. Our selves spared the lives of all, after the victory; but the Flemmings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter, till they were by my self, and afterward by my Lord Admiral, beaten off.¹

The ships that abode the fight in the morning till ten a'clock, were the *Warspight*, the *Nonpareill*, the *Lyon*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Rainbow*, and the *Dreadnaught*. To

¹ The Spanish account, after describing the entry of Raleigh's squadron into the Bay, goes on to describe the retreat of the Spanish fleet under the fort of Puntal, and then proceeds thus: ". . . quedando en la boca del los dichos galeones y las galeras, se fueron arrimando á ellos los mayores navios del inglés, y se han acañoneado pasadas de quatro horas con tanta fuerza de artilleria que los galeones *San Felipe* y *San Andrés* queriendo virar para entrar mas adentro se quedaron en seco, y asi se han perdido, echándose á nado la gente dellos, y los ingleses pegaron fuego á *Sant Felipe* y lo mismo harán de los demás," &c.—Duke of Medina Sidonia to the King of Spain; Puerto Real, 1 Julio, 1596 [21st June, O. S.].

LETTER
LXIX.
—
1596.

LETTER
LXIX.
1596.

second these came up the Earl and the *Swiftsure*; and these were all that did ought against six goodly gallions, two argosies, three frigots, seventeen galleys, and the Fort of Puntall, backed by the Admiral of Nueva Espana, and others; in all, fifty-five or fifty-seven.

This being happily finished, we prepared to land the army, and to attempt the town; in which there were, of all sorts, some five thousand foot burgers, one hundred and fifty souldiers in pay, and some eight hundred horse of the gentry and cavalleros of Xerez, gathered together upon the discovery of our fleet two days before, while we were becalmed off Cape St. Mary. The horsemen sallied out to resist the landing; but were so well withstood that they most took their way toward the bridge which leadeth into the Main, called Puento Souse; the rest retired to the town, and so hardly followed, as they were driven to leave their horses at the port (which the inhabitants durst not open, to let them in), and so they leapt down an old wall into the suburbs; and being so closely followed by the vanguard of our footmen, as when the General perceived an entrance there, he thought it was possible for ours to do the like; upon which occasion the town was carried with a sudden fury, and with little loss; only Sir JOHN WINGFEILD was slain; Sir EDWARD WINGFEILD, Captain BAGNOLL, and Captain MEDICK hurt; other men of quality, few or none.

For the particular behaviours of any that entered, I cannot otherwise deliver than by report; for I received a grievous blow in my leg, interlaced and deformed with splinters, in the fight. Yet, being desirous to see every man's disposition, I was carried ashoar on men's shoulders; and as soon as my horse was recovered, my Lord Admiral sent one unto me, but I was not able to abide above an hour in the town, for the torment I

ed, and for the fear I had to be shouldred in the
, and among the tumultuous disordered soldiers,
being then given to spoyl and rapine, had no re-
. The same night I returned; chiefly for that there
to Admiral left to order the Fleet, and indeed few
people in the Navy; all running headlong to the
; and, secondly, because I was unfit for ought but
at that time.

the break of day following, I sent to the General
ve order to follow the fleet of ships bound for the
s; which were said to be worth twelve millions, and
a Puerto Reall road, where they could not escape.
the town new taken, and the confusion great, it was
st impossible for them to order many things at
; so as I could not receive any answer to my desire.
re afternoon of the same day, those which were
hants of Cales and Sevil offered the Generals two
ons to spare the fleet; whereupon there was nothing
: for the present. But the morning following, being
twenty-third of June, the Duke of MEDINA caused
hat fleet of merchants to be set on fire; because he
resolved that they must needs have fallen into our
ls; so as now both gallions, frigots, argosies, and all
r ships of war, together with the fleet of Nueva
agna, were all committed into ashes; only the *St.*
thew and the *St. Andrew* were in our possession.
h of the ordnance of the *St. Philip* hath been saved
he Flemmings, who have had great spoil. There is
rked good store of ordnance out of the town; and
two Apostles aforesaid are well furnished, which
d willing) we purpose to bring into England.
he town of Cales was very rich in merchandize, in
e, and money; many rich prisoners given to the land
manders; so as that sort are very rich. Some had

LETTER
LXIX.
—
1596.

LETTER
LXIX.
1596.

prisoners for sixteen thousand ducats; some for twenty thousand; some for ten thousand;¹ and, besides, great houses of merchandize. What the Generals have gotten, I know least; they protest it is little. For my own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed. For the rest, either I spake too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usance. But I have possession of naught but poverty and pain. If God had spared me that blow, I had possesst myself of some House.

¹ The President of the 'Contratacion,' or Chamber of Commerce, of Cadiz, gave what (to the reader) is a most amusing account of one part of the preliminary 'haggling of the market,' to these and the like bargains for ransom, in a letter to his fellow-officials of the *Contratacion*, dated 5th July (25th June, O.S.), which narrates his personal adventures when taken prisoner by the English. After much prefatory talk about his poverty, he made an offer, he says, of 300 ducats,—after he had been asked 20,000, a little while before. Of this offer, the Englishmen made great derision (*han hecho mucho burla de mi*). Presently, he offered 1,000 ducats, and there the matter rested for the night. In the morning, he thought it expedient to double the offer. But his captors replied that they would not be content with a real less than 10,000 ducats; knowing that the President was "the principal man in Andalusia, and had under his charge all the gold and silver that came from the Indies." When his letter was written, he was still in captivity. The news of the burning of the fleet had just then arrived.—*Carta del Dr. Pedro Gutierrez Flores . . . á los Oficiales de la Contratacion*. De Cádiz en 5 de Julio, 1596. (*Coleccion, &c.* ut sup. vol. xxxvi. pp. 271—273.)

ATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXX.—DEATH OF LADY
CECIL—CECIL AND THE BROOKES.

THE circumstance that the wife of Robert Cecil was the sister of two of the unhappy Conspirators of 1603 adds nothing to the interest of the letter at which we now arrive. The interest is great, intrinsically, for almost every line of the letter is characteristic. The writer, indeed, attained at length a deeper wisdom than that of which we have here the sense and somewhat laboured expression. His mind grew, finally, up to the knowledge that sorrows are capable of doing "other service than to multiply harms;" and that they are not, always, "dangerous companions, converting bad luck, and evil into worse." He learnt (in course of time) that grief may become, in a certain and pregnant sense, "the price" of quite other men than fools,—of men '*who going through the vale of misery use it for a well; and the pools are with water.*' But he attained to this knowledge only with extreme slowness,—at a late period of life, and after desperate exertions in the hewing out of very leaky pieces of comfort. Perhaps few men of like mental calibre have taken so long a time to learn the lessons of bereavement, and the uses of adversity. The task, however, was got by heart at last. In the letter before us we have Raleigh's crude notions of the theme, before he had really learnt a line of it.

This letter on Lady Cecil's death is also interesting as being strong through indirect testimony to the existence of fine qualities in her husband. No one who knew Robert so intimately as Raleigh did, would have written thus, under a conviction that the man to whom he was giving consolation as he then had to give had loved truly and

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXX.

1596-1597.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXX.

1596-1597.

would grieve deeply. One feels in reading the letter that it is written to a real mourner and upon a real loss. Other friends and correspondents of Cecil, who had enjoyed like closeness of access, bear like evidence,—both to the worth of the dead and to the unselfishness of the grief. The Lord Admiral (Howard of Effingham) writes thus to Cecil on this occasion: "She was to vertuos and good to live in so wretched a world. And you that hath an extraordinary jugment, by his gevte that dowth all, much nede that wysdome. Seke now to master your good and kynd nature and to thynk that sorro, nor any thyng els, can now redeme it. And as she is now, most asured, hapyer than all we that live in this pudeled and trubled world, so dow I asure yow, as long as God shall spare me lyfe in it ther shall not any tred on the erthe that shal love you beter then my poure self."¹

We may take Lord Howard's testimony on the point in hand, without attaching overmuch meaning to his pious moralizings. For himself, and for his family, he was just as proud, as ambitious, and as covetous, as ever. His relish for the pomps and vanities of "this puddled and troubled world" was still as keen as it had always been. Some eight months earlier he had written to Sir Robert Cecil one of the most curiously impulsive, egotistical, and angry letters that even our Elizabethan repertories—much abounding in that sort of literature—can show. Under the excitement created by a passing royal rebuke, he made pretence to the Secretary that he was ready to pitch the High Admiralship of England to the feet of the first comer, merely because some official right "ever before enjoyed," as he said, "by admyralls of my name," had been infringed, or was thought to have been infringed, upon. His indignation at the straitening of his prerogatives rose so high as to make him utter the wish, "I had drowned by the way, before I aryved at this place."² A

¹ Lord Howard of Effingham to Sir R. Cecil, Jan. 1596-1597; *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxviii. (Hatfield).

² *Ibid.* vol. xl. § 6.

few weeks or months have passed ; and now, whilst imparting tender consolation to the Queen's Secretary on his bereavement, the consoler has his eye intent on the weather-tokens at Court. He knows how much the recent months have increased Cecil's power and influence. He thinks the Secretary's greatness to be still on the growing hand, and his gushing affection almost overpowers him. He winds up his letter of condolence thus : "I vow it to God," he adds, "I thynk none dowth or cane so much love you, as I dow."¹

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXX.

1596-1597.

Cecil himself seems always to have spoken of his lost wife in terms entirely consonant with those employed by Howard and by Raleigh. The allusions to Lady Cecil in those of his letters which are preserved at Hatfield, commonly occur in his extensive correspondence with her unfortunate brothers. The consolers of 1597, could they have raised a corner of the veil of the years then swiftly speeding onward, would have seen, in Lady Cecil's case, with more than usual clearness, the special force of the expression—'taken *from the evil to come.*'

One of those allusions is of great, though merely incidental, interest in the biography of Raleigh. George Brooke had written to his brother-in-law, in the January of 1603—only eight months before his execution—a somewhat strange letter, Cecil's reply to which is preserved. That letter shows that Cecil had employed Brooke in some agencies—of which nothing more is apparent, on the face, than that they were in some sort political—and that Brooke mistrusted the extent of Cecil's real confidence in him. It also shows that he was jealous of the greater favour borne, as he thought, by Cecil to their brother, Lord Cobham, with whom at that moment, it would seem, he himself was not on very good terms.² And

¹ *Cecil Papers* (Jan. 1596-1597), vol. xxxvii. (Hatfield).

² This dissension, however, had not usually existed between the brothers. Only a short time before, honest William Lambarde, who was one of the executors of William Lord Cobham—father of the Brookes,—when writing to Lord Burghley about the provisions of Lord Cobham's Will, tells him

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXX.
—
1596-1597.

he protests, in somewhat angry words, that his own "metal was as pure as any, howsoever it be valued." Cecil replies thus:—"Your care to send me your servant is very welcome, for care is the companion of love. And the dearest bond that ever I was tyed in made me think that I might challenge it; except I could have accused myself to have justly lost it. For the sending to my Lord [Cobham], and not to you, it proceeded of no private indisposition towards you, but from the inwardness of my conversation with my Lord which both our fortunes hath established in this place where we both ordinarily live; as also, this¹ being so far from my esteeming worth inquisition. I made bold with his Lordship to do me the courtesy—rather accidentally than immediately—to advertise me of some circumstances which made my friends carefuller than I was to beat out that, of which for myself, I thank God, I have made my audit; as of all other hopes or fears, but of God's providence. For an answer to your profession to be made of 'as pure a metal as any, howsoever you are valued:' for the first part, Sir, if you remember, from what stock you are a branch,—you may conclude that I need no remembrance, being, next yourself, as well able to guess at the mixture as any, when I conceive that if any composition could be purer than other, I had most tryal of it, to my infinite comfort; till God found me fit to be corrected with the privation. For the second part, which concerns your value, I can say no more than this, that the purest gold may be touched with pitch, and so less valuable to those that otherwise would have prized it. That pitch, I mean,—credulity of the practices of malice and envy; whereof, when you shall make separation, I confess there remains nothing of the solid but that which may attract the best offices of him that never wronged you, but ever resolved to be your assured friend and brother-in-law, R. C."²

that the brothers live on terms exemplarily good. Lambarde's letter is one of great and curious interest. (MS. Harl. lxxxiii. British Museum.)

¹ *I. e.* the transaction respecting which he had sent to Cobham.

² *Cecil Papers*, vol. xci. § 85 (Hatfield).

Whatever mysteries may yet hang over the plots and counterplots of 1603, it is certain that George Brooke proved in the issue to have been the *instrument* of the ruin, alike of his brother Cobham and of Raleigh. It is also certain that mere "credulity of the practices of malice and envy" could never have ripened, save in a very congenial soil, into the consummate baseness displayed both in the examinations and in some of the letters of George Brooke, after his arrest. In certain particulars, his baseness exceeded his brother Cobham's; and that is saying not a little as to its depth. One letter of his, addressed to Robert Cecil,—less dishonourable to Brooke's memory than the letters just glanced at,—I have printed in the Appendix to this volume. There also the reader will find a very remarkable letter from the Bishop of Chichester respecting a statement made by Brooke immediately before the administration of the Holy Communion.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXX.

1596-1597.

LXX.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvii. (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

SIR,

BECAUSE I know not how you dispose of your sealf, I forbear to vissitt yow; preferringe your plesinge before myne own desire. I had rather be with yow now then att any other tyme, if I could therby ether take of¹ frome yow the burden of your sorrows, or lay the greater part therof on myne owne hart. In the mean tyme, I would butt minde yow of this,—that yow should not

LETTER LXX.

1596-1597.
Jan. 24.
To Sir R. Cecil.
[From Sherborne.]

¹ *off.*

LETTER
LXX.

1596-1597.
Jan. 24.

A letter of
sympathy
and conso-
lation on
the death
of Lady
Cecil.

overshaddo your wisdome with passion, butt looke aright into things as the¹ are.

There is no man sorry for death it sealf, butt only for the tyme of death ; every one knowing that it is a bonnd never forfeget to God. If then wee know the same to be certayne and inevitable, wee ought withall to take the tyme of his arivall in as good part as the knowledge ; and not to lament att the instant of every seeminge adversety, whiche, we ar asured, have bynn on ther way towards us from the begininge. It apartayneth to every man of a wize and worthy spirritt to draw together into sufferance the unknown future to the known present ; lookinge no less with the eyes of the minde then thos of the boddy—the one beholdinge afar of, and the other att hand—that thos things of this worlde in which we live be not strange unto us, when the¹ approach, as to febleness, which is moved with noveltes. Butt that, like trew men, participating immortalteye, and know[ing] our destines to be of God, wee do then make our estates and wishes, our fortunes and desires, all one.

It is trew that yow have lost a good and vertuous wife, and my sealf an honorable frinde and kynswoman. Butt ther was a tyme when shee was unknowne to yow, for whom yow then lamented not. Shee is now no more your's, nor of your acquayntance, butt immortall, and not needinge or knowing your love or sorrow. Therefore yow shall but greve for that which now is as then it was, when not your's ; only bettered by the differance in this, that shee hath past the weresome jurney of this darke worlde, and hath possession of her inheritance.

Shee hath left behind her the frute of her love, for whos sakes yow ought to care for your sealf, that yow leve them not without a gwyde, and not by grevinge to

¹ they.

pine att His will that gave them yow, or by sorrowing
dry up your own tymes that ought to establishe
em.

I beleve it that sorrows are dangerus cumpanions, con-
verting badd into yevill and yevill in worse, and do no
her service then multeply harms. They ar the trea-
res of weak harts and of the foolishe. The minde
at entertayneth them is as the yearth and dust wheron
crows and adversetes of the world do, as the beasts of
e field, tread, trample, and defile. The minde of man
that part of God which is in us, which, by how mich
is subject to passion, by so mich it is farther from
yme that gave it us. Sorrows draw not the dead to
e, butt the livinge to death. And, if I weare my sealf
advize my sealf in the like, I would never forgett my
tiencie till I saw all and the worst of yevills, and so
eve for all att once ; least, lamenting for sume one,
other might not remayne in the poure of Destiney of
eater discumfort.

Your's ever beyond the pour of words to utter,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall
Secretary to her Majesty.*

dated : "24 January, 1596 [legal style]. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my
Master :*" and beneath, in the hand of William Cecil, second Earl
of Salisbury : "*Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to my Father, touching
the deathe of my Mother.*"

LETTER
LXX.

1596-1597.
Jan. 24.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXXI.

1597.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXXI.—RALEGH, E.
AND THE 'RICHARD THE SECOND' OF SHAKESPEARE.

IT is much easier to explain what it is which in the interesting—but somewhat obscure—letter, Raleigh to Cecil it is his wish “shall never alter,” and the continuous which he believes to be “the true way to all our good, even to conjecture what was that “conceit of *Richard the Second*” which, when communicated to him from Cecil the Earl of Essex so merry. Our curiosity about that more reasonably excited, inasmuch as the comic matter of 1597,—if it grew out of the Play,—turned into very grief in 1601. All readers remember the remarkable which ‘*Richard the Second*’ figures in the last scenes of and death of Essex, and of his associates. Probably, if possible to find the letter of Cecil to which this is a gleam of strong light would be thrown,—perhaps a strange incident itself of 1601, but certainly on one most obscure points in the literary history of the Elizabethan Shakespeare. All Cecil’s letters to Raleigh, however disappeared.

The quarrels of the myriad of Shakespeare ‘commentators’ are far less surprising than is their marvellous agreement ever they have to face a real historical difficulty. What not a Play of Shakespeare helped, in its measure, to take the head of Essex from his shoulders is a question—both literary and historical—very worthy of earnest research. To some of the commentators have been telling us (now for almost three centuries) that there was an “old play,” on the “*Deceased Richard the Second*,” which “Sir Gilly Meyrick procured to be played before the Conspirators” on the eve of the rebellion; and that this “old play” was certainly

care's." When one inquires on what *evidence* this assertion rests, the only attainable answer is that no evidence at all. Camden's expression—'tragediam' and the resembling words in the depositions, pre-mongst our State Papers, prove nothing, either way. need no argument to show that a play which had had run in 1597 might be very 'stale' to the playgoers ; even if, in 1597, it had been new. Of an older n Shakespeare's "*de tragicâ abdicatione regis Ricardi*" as Camden calls it, no commentator or anybody else, t days, ever saw a line. A playgoer of the time of the First has left, however, a notice of the performance y, about Richard the Second, which seems to be other than Shakespeare's (whether it were really older

But of *that* play, all the commentators again, who itten since the discovery of the notice of it, agree in ; that it cannot,—from the terms in which its contents tely described by the auditor of 1611,—be the play as performed before the Essex conspirators in 1601. theory, therefore, we are shut up to these three con- :—(1) That there were *two* old plays on the story of Richard the Second, of neither of which a line is now o have been preserved ; (2) That *both* had actual on of the stage at some time within the years 1601— 3) That *both* held such occasional possession, notwith- the great popularity, on the same boards, and as ed by the same company, of Shakespeare's play ;—a pularity so great, as to be followed by the *printing* of al editions, in the years 1597-98, within a few months other. All this may really be true ; but it is a some- l superstructure for such a slight foundation as the one *colata* in Camden's *Annals*, or the words 'old' and in the Depositions of 1601 ; even when conjoined : curious entry printed by Mr. Collier from Simon 's note-book of 1611.

worthily interesting this small item of our literary

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXXI.

1597.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXXI.

1597.

history is will, perhaps, be best seen, if the ascertained points of information about it be simply enumerated, in their order of date :—

I. In July 1597, Raleigh writes to Cecil that the Earl of Essex was “wonderfull merry att Cecil's consait of *Richard the Second*.”¹

II. In August 1597, Andrew Wyse entered at Stationers' Hall his copyright in Shakespeare's “*Tragedye of Richard the Seconde* ;” and presently afterwards published (without the author's name) an edition of it, printed by Valentine Symmes.²

III. Early in 1598, Andrew Wyse entered and published a new edition, with the author's name, and from the press of the same printer.³ Neither of these printed editions contains what is called the “Deposition Scene.” But there is ample reason to believe that the omitted scene was performed, though not printed.

IV. Between July 1597 and February 1601, several new plays by Shakespeare,—and many other new plays, of course, by other authors,—were produced and repeatedly performed in London.⁴

V. On the 7th February, 1601, Sir Gilly Meyrick—one of the most conspicuous partisans and personal followers of the Earl of Essex, as well as an officer of his household—desired the players of Shakespeare's company to perform “the Play of the Deposition of King Richard the Second.” Augustyne Phillips, one of that company, objected to the choice, “holding” as he afterwards told the Lords of the Council, on his oath,—“that play to be so old and so long out of yous, that they should have small or no cumpany at yt.”⁵ Whereupon, to remove the objection, Meyrick

¹ Letter LXXI. hereafter.

² *Register of Stationers Company*, under A. D. 1597.

³ *Ibid.*, under A. D. 1598. ⁴ *Annals of the English Stage, 1597-1601.*

⁵ *Domestic Corresp.*: Eliz. 1601. (Unnumbered Papers. Rolls House.)

gave the players forty shillings; and the play was performed.¹ There is no evidence that Essex saw it; although he was charged by the Crown lawyers—after their manner—with having feasted his eyes, by way of foretaste, on the show of that which he hoped afterwards to execute—the deposition of his sovereign.²

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXXI.

1597.

In the merry "conceit of *Richard the Second*," of this play written by Sir W. Raleigh in July 1597, refer to the play known to have been about that very time in course of performance at the Globe Theatre in London? If it probably is so refer, What passage or incident in the Play can, at that date, have turned Cecil's thoughts towards the Earl of Essex? As we all know, '*King Richard the Second*' abounds in passages which glorify the "anointing balm," and denounce the hands that impiously dare to "gripe the sacred handle of sceptre." Yet Shakespeare's 'deposition scene' was never acted, so long as Queen Elizabeth lived. It appeared first in print, in the Edition of 1608. And finally, To what performance was it that the Queen herself alluded, when, in her famous conversation about the Pandects of the Records, with William Lambarde, on the 4th of August, 1601, she suddenly addressed him, by exclaiming—"I am *Richard the Second*, know not that?" and was answered: "Such a wicked imagination, indeed, attempted by a most unkind gentleman, the adorned creature that ever your Majesty made;"—the Queen herself presently adding:—"That tragedy was played many times in open streets and houses."³

These questions are more easily asked than satisfactorily answered. But it becomes obvious that the supposition of the performance—in 1601—of "an old play" called '*Richard the Second*,' now totally unknown, leaves at least as many difficulties

Domestic Correspondence: Eliz. 1601. (Unnumbered Papers. Rolls House.)
ibid.; and *Trial of the Earl of Essex*, Appendix.
MS. Addit. 15664, fol. 226. (British Museum.)

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXXI.

1597.

as it removes. There are in Shakespeare's play incidental passages—as, for example, that famous passage in which the Duke of Hereford is depicted as “wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles”—which bring Essex to the reader's mind irresistibly, without any reference whatever to the Meyrick incident of 1601. Shakespeare might well have painted that whole passage from the life, and have had the Earl of Essex as his sitter. That Cecil's application of some passage or other—either in a play or in a book, entitled ‘*Richard the Second*,’ and recently seen or read,—to the Earl can (in 1597) have conveyed no serious imputation of *disloyalty*, is just as certain as it is that Raleigh's anticipation, in our present letter, of “the better progression” of the Queen's affairs was pointed at the recent union—or apparent union—of Essex and Cecil, which had been brought about by his own efforts and agency. The same post that on the 6th of July carried this letter from Weymouth to Sir Robert Cecil at Court, carried one from the Earl to the Queen (written at the same place, on the same day), in which he expresses his loyal devotion to her service, in terms that seem to bear the stamp of sincerity.

The prosperity of a jest is said to lie in the receptive ear. It is quite as true that the perception, or apprehension, of public harm in a play has many times lain entirely in the sudden application, by an eager audience, of some striking phrase or passage to some passing incident which had recently excited public feeling. And it has sometimes happened that the author has been not the least surprised observer of the uproar. If evidence should hereafter be discovered that a Play, the performance of which was thought entirely harmless in 1597, awakened royal anger in 1601; the inconsistency will be a fact much less surprising than would be the proof,—if it be ever adduced,—that the friends of the Earl of Southampton, as well as of the Earl of Essex, applied to Shakespeare's company to perform, at the Globe Theatre, a Play of ‘*King Richard the Second*,’ which was not his;—which was able to

keep the stage against his;—and of which every line has now disappeared. Thus far, however, such a belief has been an act of faith with Shakespeare's editors—from the days of Theobald down to our own.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
LXXI.

1597.

LXXI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth.* (Unarranged Papers.) Holograph. Without date of year. (Rolls House.)

IN this hast and confusion of bussneses amonge so many wantes and so great hast, I hope you will pardon mee if I write litell, and that confusedly. Wee have all written for supply. I beseich yow to further it, or to looke for nothing att our hands; for the tyme, together with the multitude of mens boddes [?], hath such an advantage over us, as wee shall not be abell to retch the place of our greatest hope.

LETTER
LXXI.

1597.
July 6.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Wey-
mouth.

Prepara-
tions for
Island
Voyage.—
"Richard
the
Second."

I acquaynted the Lord Generall¹ with your letter to mee, and your kynd acceptance of your enterteymente;² hee was also wonderfull merry att your consait of '*Richard the Second.*'³ I hope it shall never alter, and whereof I shall be most gladd of, as the trew way to all our good, quiett, and advancement, and most of all for Her sake whose affaires shall thereby fynd better

¹ The Earl of Essex.

² Essex and Raleigh had recently visited London, in company, and had been "entertained" by Cecil. Had they also diverted their minds by a visit, in company, to the Globe Theatre?

³ See, in addition to the Prefatory Note on this Letter, a passage in Vol. I. p. 293.

LETTER
LXXI.
—
1597.
July 6.

progression. Sir, I will ever be your's; it is all I can saye, and I will performe it with my life, and with my fortune.

W. RALEGH.

Weymouth, the 6 of July [1597].

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secretary to Her Majesty.

LXXII.

[TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL!]

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth.* (Unarranged Papers.) Without date of year. (**Rolls House.**)

* * It appears by passages in a letter from the Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, of the 23rd July, 1597, and in Cecil's reply to that letter, dated 26th July, that a third letter was written by Sir Walter Raleigh, intermediately between these despatches of the 18th and 20th July; which third letter is not now known to exist. The Earl says: "We wonder we have not a word from you. Sir Walter Raleigh wrote on Monday *and Tuesday*, and I sent Sir Thomas Gates on Wednesday,"¹ &c. Cecil answers: "For good Mr. Raleigh, who wonders at his own diligence (because diligence and he are not familiars²), it is true that on Wednesday night, I being

¹ *Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth, as above.* (Rolls House.)

² This expression has been elaborately commented upon, as if written by Cecil in the way of grave censure. The context shows that it is said ironically. Readers of this volume will not lack proof that Raleigh's "diligence" in writing was not less conspicuous than his energy in action; and must, occasionally, have been a little embarrassing to a much-worshipped Secretary of State. In the course—for example—of one May day, in the year immediately preceding, Sir Robert Cecil had been favoured with four letters from Raleigh.

at Greenwich and the Queen at Mr. Walsingham's, his letter found me ; which I imparted on Thursday, as soon as the Queen was ready, unto her ; and do confess that, in expectation to hear of you, we did defer answer until Friday. . . . Thus do you see that a man *whose fortune scants him of means to do you service*, will not bear coals to be accused of dulness ; especially by your Rear-Admiral, who, making haste but once in a year, to write a letter in post, gave date from 'Weymouth' to his last despatch, which, by the circumstances, I knew was written from 'Plymouth.'"¹ The reader will observe that the despatch of the 18th [Monday] bears date from Plymouth, as does that also of the 20th [Wednesday]. It follows that,—if Cecil's statement be not entirely made in error,—Sir Walter must have written another despatch dated from Weymouth, on *Tuesday*, the 19th of July. And this would agree with the statement of Essex. The letter which follows has no address.

ALTHOUGH the news of our disseverance and storme-beaten fleet bee most displeasinge and discumfortabell, as well unto us that have first felt and indured the sorrow and danger, as unto her Majestye, to whom wee had hoped to have presented some better relation, yet the extremetes being such as the² are, I thought my self bound to advertize the same.

Wee departed Plymouth on Sundaye night, beinge the 10th of this monenth, and held cumpany till Monday night, beinge the 11th, when by reason of fowle weather with thonder and mich winde and rayne, and for abating sayle for the *Mathew* and the *Andrew*, I lost sight of my Lorde Generall.³ On Twesday morninge, my self, the *Bonaventer*, the *Mathew*, and *Andrew*, were together, and steered for the North Cape, not doubtinge butt to have crost the fleet within six howres, butt att

LETTER
LXXII.

1597.
July 18.

[To the
Lords
of the
Council.]
From
Plymouth.

Disasters
at the
outset of
the Island
Voyage.—
Refitting
of the
Fleet.

¹ *Burghley Papers*, in MS. Lansdowne, lxxxv. § 19. (British Museum.)

² *they*.

³ The Earl of Essex.

LETTER
LXXII.
—
1597.
July 18.

the instant the winde changed to the south, and blew vehemently; so as wee putt our sealves under our fore corses, and stood to the west into the sea. Butt on Twesday night I perceived the *Mathew* to labor very vehemently, and that shee could not indure that manner of standinge of,¹ and so putt her sealf a try with her mayne course; which I did also the better to hold her, and the *Andrew*, with mee, being both of myne own squadron. Notwithstandinge, in the morninge I had lost sight of them both, and of divers other fibotes nire mee overnight. The storme on Wensday grew more forsibell, and the seas grew very exceeding lofty, that my sealf and the *Bonaventer* had labor enough to beat it up. Butt the night following, the Thursday, Friday, and Seterday, the storme so increased, the shippes being waighty, the ordenance great, and the billoes so raysed and iraged, as wee could carry out no saile which to our judgment would not have bynn rent of¹ the yards by the winde; and yet our shippes roled so vehemently, and so disjoynted themsealvs, as wee weare driven ether to force it agayne with our corses, or to sinke. In my shipp it hath shaken all her beams, knees, and stanchens well ny asunder; in so mich as on Saterdag night last we made accompt to have yielded our sealvs up to God. For wee had no way to worke, ether by triinge, hollinge, or drivinge, that promised better hope; our men beinge wasted with labor and watchings, and our shipp so open every wher, all her bulk-head rent, and her verye cook-rome of brike shaken down into powder.

The Saterdag morning I spake with your Lordships' servant Captain WATSON, who came from the North Cape, mysealf beinge, as hee told mee, the windermost man of our fleet; so as it seemed that my Lord Generall

¹ *off.*

was ether more to the westward or more asterne ; for Captain WATSONNE had not then mett with any butt my sealf. The same day also I spake with another small man of war that came directly from the Cape, and hee had not seen any but my sealf. I therefore, fynding the extremety of the weather such, and perceving that my Lorde Generall was asterne mee, bare up with a litle peece of my forsaille to seeke hyme, butt could not cross any one that could geve mee knowledge of hyme ; only I know in reason he cannot butt be forced ether with England or Irland ; and my greatest feare notwithstanding is that hee willbe hyme sealf in sume extremetye, before hee yeilde to putt backe, although it can be butt too dayes sayling lost, and I know that the fibotes which transport the army ar skattered into divers places. Sume of them I found here att Plymouthe, with great sickness amonge their cumpanyes, and the fibots brused, the sailes rent, and ther other furneture wasted.

That which most greaveth mee, and which, I protest before the majesty of God, I do constantly beleve, is that ether my Lorde Generall hyme sealf will wrestell with the seas to his perrill, or (constrayned to cum bake) be found utterly hartbroken ; although it be not in the powre of man to fight agaynst ellements.

I here that ther ar between thirtye and fourtye saile putt to Falmouth, to which place I have sent overland to know of what sort ; but my Lorde hyme sealf is not among them.

I know not what cource to take here with thos which importune me to supply them, sume with masts, sume with sayles, sume having wett all their bredd, and others that have a great many sicke soldiers which will shortly infect all the rest. I understand that the fleet is stronge in F-----"

LETTER
LXXII.
—
1597.
July 18.

LETTER
LXXII.1597.
July 18.

What shalbe cume of us I cannot judge; when wee shall cume together; or how wee shall repaire the wracke of this storme; the tyme of the yeare being so advansed.

You, my good Lordes, can judge how wee shalbe abell to beat it up with thes waighty shippes. I dare not advize. It weare to great a presumption; the persons and natures of the affaires being as the¹ are.

God send it a blessed end. I beseich your Honors to direct mee with all speed, and herewithall I humblie take my leve. From Plymouthe this Mundaye yevening, the 18 of July [1597].

Your Honors to serve you,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Here ar none of her Majesties shipes butt the *Wastspight* and the *Bonaventer*. The Lorde send us good newse of the *Mathew* and *Andrew*. I hope to here of them, ether in Falmouth or in Torre Baye. The wind doth remayne forcibell att the writing hereof, and like rather to increas then slaken.

LXXIII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth.* (Unarranged Papers.) Without date of year. (Rolls House.)

LETTER
LXXIII.1597.
July 20.
To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Plymouth.

SIR,

THIS Wensday morninge my Lorde Generall is expected here att Plymouth, beinge on Twesdaye night putt into Falmouth in great extremetye and imminent perrill of sinking in the sea, which I knew would betyde hyme err hee would yeild to ether seas or winds. The

¹ *they*.

Mathew and *Andrew* and the *Mary Rose* (wherein the Marshall is) ar also arived; the *Dreadnought* is in Fal-mouth with the *Mere Honor*. The Admirall of Hollande, with some three or four of his squadron, ar also cum in. Most of the shippes have crakt theire masts and ar mervelus leake, especially my Lorde Generalls own shipp. I thinke by this Wensday night all the rest wilbe on the coast. The most of the longe botes ar lost, and all the barges. I have here withall sent your Honor a very trew report of the state of the army at Farroll. What your Honors will resolve I cannot forthinke; in the meane tyme, Sir, I beseich yow to worke from her Majestye summe comfort to my Lorde Generall, who, I know, is dismayed by these mischances, eeven to death; although ther could not be more dun by any man uppon the yearth, God havinge turned the heavens with that fury agaynst us, a matter beyound the powre, or valure, or will, of man, to resiste, and such accidentes as the warr draweth with itsealf. This much I thought my sealf bound to lett your Honor understand of, being among thes miseres herein cumforted that my Lord Generall by me sealf hath escaped such a perrill, and thos other too shippes the *Mathew* and *Andrew* saved, which I most vehemently feared. Plymouthe, this 20 July [1597].

Your Honor's, to your service,

W. RALEGH.

The shippes alreddy arrived ar—The *Mere Honor*, the *Wastspighte*, the *Bonaventure*, the *St. Mathewe*, the *St. Andrew*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Dreadnought*, the Admirall of Holland; with sume 25 saile of other sortes.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir R. CECYL, Knight, Principall Secretary of State to her Highnes.

LETTER
LXXIII.

1597.
July 20.

Disasters
at the out-
set of the
Island
Voyage.—
Report on
the condi-
tion of
Ferrol.

LXXIV.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth. (U
Papers. 1597; formerly numbered '189.') Holograph.
date of year. (Rolls House.)

LETTER
LXXIV.

1597.
July 26.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Plymouth.

Proceed-
ings of
the Fleet.

SIR,

I HUMBLIE thanke you for your letters. I c
nothinge of substance to the generall letter.
send thes to remember my love and service.

My Lord Generall¹ is my guest in the *Was*
[with]² the Earle of RUTTLAND, Sir THOMAS GE
ALEXANDER RATKLIFE, and Sir R. MANSFEI
should have taken it unkyndly if my Lorde ha
up any other lodging till the *Lion* cum. And
Majestye may be sure his Lordship shall sleape
what the sounder, though hee fare the worse, b
with mee; for I ame an excelent watchman att s

Wee only attend the winde; having repayred
as wee can our bruses. Butt wee shall not bee
great corage for winter weather and longe nights
shippis.

I trust wee shall performe whatsoever—and
can be don with like strenght and means. Sir
love us in your element, and wee will love an
you in ours and every wher. And remayne to l
manded by you for evermore, W. RAI

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Sir, I pray vouchsaufe to rei
mee in all affection to my Lorde COBHAME.

Plymouth, the 26 of July [1597].

Addressed :

*To the right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Prin
Secritory to her Highnes.*

Endorsed :

26 July, 1597. Sir Walter Raleight to my Master. From I

¹ The Earl of Essex.

² Omitted in MS.

LXXV.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lv. § 21 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date of year.

SIR,

I THOUGHT my sealf bound by this bearer to lett your Honor know the fortunes wee have passed since our departing Inglande, which was the 18 of August. Att which tyme, havinge the winde very bare att north-west, and afterward more westerly, wee weare forst into the Baye of Biskey, and had great payns in torninge out. In which forsibell weather the *St. Andrew*¹ spent her mayntopmaste; and, as I hard by a barke of the Fleet that the *Mattheew* had spent her maynmast and was left in the Bay, I hope yow have hard of her, or else God cumfort them.

About the 26, wee recovered the Cape Prior with a very prest sayle, and uppon the very dublinge I also lost my mainyearde,—broken into yeven peeces in the midle, which I was forst to lay on² over the other, and so make it shorter; and have past with it to the hight of the Rocke.³ My Lord Generall, after he had cum unto mee and seen my mishape, stood in with the North Cape, and [in] the yeveninge sent unto mee to stand in also. Butt as I was forst to drive before the winde, and not able to ly by a winde, without a maynesayle, the sea beinge also miche growne, I passed on toward the

LETTER
LXXV.

1597.
Sept. 8.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Terceira.

Proceed-
ings of
the Fleet
in the
'Island
Voyage.'—
Account
of the
great
storms
met with
in the Bay
of Biscay.

¹ One of the prizes which Raleigh had taken in the harbour of Cadiz.

² *ere*.

³ The 'Rock' of Lisbon.

LETTER
LXXV.1597.
Sept. 8.

Rocke,—being the second rendezvous agreed on, and sent word to my Lorde that I would attend hyme ther.

Ther stayed with mee of her Majesties shippes the *Dreadnought* only, who never leaft mee in that first and a greater mischance; for, tarring att the Rocke 3 dayes for my Lorde Generall, I received letters from hyme by a pinnes to follow hyme att the Ilands; in which course my maynemast also fayled. I had with me my cussen Sir WILLIAM BROKE in the *Dreadnought*, 20 voluntary barks of the west countrey that came out with mee, and 3 fibotes of soldiers of the Low Countres, BRETT, CONWAY, and SYDNEY. SYDNE'S fibote foundred. Butt I saved hyme and all the soldiers. I had also that mett mee sume 3 of the vitlers of London,—the *Georg*, the *Gamaliell*, and the *Gift*. I have notwithstanding followed my Lord's order to cum to the Ilands, and I am now, this 8 of September, in sight of Tercera, having chosen rather to perishe than to relinquishe the enterprize; and, the Lord douth know, in a torne shipp. Butt her Majestye shall fynd that I valew not my life; although I hope that her Majestye would not that I should perishe in vayne.

I hope after too dayes to fynd my Lorde Generall and the fleet, with whom, I thinke, all the rest of her Majesties shippes ar, butt the *Mathew* with poore GEORGE CAREW.¹ It is a carfull and perelus tyme of the year

¹ Sir George Carew, in the *St. Matthew*,—one of the prizes taken by Raleigh at Cadiz,—had been constrained by stress of weather to put in Rochelle. On the 10th of September—two days after Raleigh's letter from Tercera—he wrote to the Secretary that he had in vain endeavoured to follow the fleet, overland; and that “the shyppe withe much perill hath bene safelye brought home, and is now att an anker att St. Hellen's Point by Portsmouthe.” He entreats also that if the Queen have any despatch for Essex he may be made the messenger, in one of the ships then lying in the Downs; adding that he would have attended the Secretary in person but for considerations connected with the stores of the *St. Matthew*.—

or thes wayghty shipp. The Lorde of Heaven send us all well to returne, and send us the good hape to do her Majestie acceptable service; to performe which wee have alreddy suffered miche. For my particuler, I have never dared to rest since my wreacks, and God douth judge that I never for thes 10 dayes came so mich as in to bedd or cabbinn.

In hast, I kiss your hands, and will honor yow ever. Tercera, the 8 of September [1597].

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLLE, Knight, Principall Secritory to her Majesty. Hast, &c.

For Her Majesties especiall affaires. Delivered at Tercera, the 8 of September. W. RALEGH.

Endorsed, by Sir R. Cecil: "9 of September [1597]. *Sir W. Raleigh to me, from the Tercera.*" [It also bears an endorsement of the Postmaster of Crewkerne, dated 7 October.]

LETTER
LXXV.

1597.
Sept. 8.

LXXVI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 17 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

SIR,

THIS bearer will go presently into Spayne and vew all the portes, by whome you shall be ascertained of all

"myler's fingers be limetwigs." (*Cecil Papers*, vol. lv. § 28.) In a subsequent letter he tells Cecil that the size and equipment of the *St. Matthew* excited such astonishment at Rochelle, that during the course of his brief stay in that harbour the ship was visited by more than four thousand persons. (*Ibid.* § 32.) The junction of Raleigh's squadron with the main fleet under Essex took place exactly one week after the date of the letter written from off Terceira.

LETTER
LXXVI.

1597.
Oct. 13.

LETTER
LXXVI.1597.
Oct. 13.To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Durham
House.Proposition
for the
sending of
a secret
emissary
to examine
the Ports
of Spain.

the King's preparations; what is become of this late fleet that was att the Ilands; wher¹ thos, with the rest, be held in reddines or discharged. I will undertake for the honesty of the man. He hath the King's pass wherby he may sauflly look into the ports. Hee only desirs, for the countenance of the matter, a small bulk of wheat or rye. Yow cannot devise a fitter waye to discover all his pretence.

Therefore I pray cummend it, and dispatch it with haste. From Derum House, this xiii of October [1597].

Your asured frinde to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—If I had bynn well, I would have waited on yow my sealf.

Addressed :

To my honorable friend, Sir ROBERT CECILI, Knight.

Endorsed, by Sir R. Cecil :

Syr Walter Raleigh to me. 13 October, 1597.

LXXVII.

SIR WALTER RALEGH, THE LORD THOMAS
HOWARD, AND THE LORD MONTJOY, TO
THE EARL OF ESSEX.

From the Original. Wholly in the hand of Sir WALTER RALEGH
(signatures, of course, excepted). *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 61 (*Hatfield*).
Without date of year.

LETTER
LXXVII.1597.
Oct. 29.

OUR VERY GOOD LORDE,

WEE have this Saterday night received the cumfort-
abell newse of GEORGE SUMMER'S arivall, whos letter
wee have here withall sent your Lordshipp. Wee *do*

¹ So in MS. for 'together.'

only now want the *Andrew*. For other small shippes, we hope they will as well profit by the winde or otherwise to save them sealvs, as the rest have dunn. Thes beinge all well returned; her Majesties kyngdoms defended; the enemy dishonored and made a great looser; and the warr made upon our enimis charge; wee hope,—together with the considerations of our great travells and cares,—her Majestye will receive our service in gratius part.

Wee have not hard of any certayne particular of the Spanishe Fleet since your Lordshipp's departure, other then that sume of ours, in retorning, do discover 10, 12, or more, in a cumpany, of them, as they ar broken. Only I, Sir WALTER RALEGH, received an advertisment this yevening that the Fleet should be 'nire the coast of Cornwale,' and by thos very words, not otherwise fortified by any particuler, nor by what means they who wrat this newse received it.

Notwithstanding, wee have resolved that I, the Vice-admirall,¹ will go of² to the seas with thos few shippes which may be made reddy; and that I, the Levetenant General,³ will attend this port and the country adjoyning; and I, the Levetenant of Cornwale, use all means possebell to defend that country.

Herewithall wee humblie cummend our affections and services to your Lordshippes,⁴ and rest reddy to be cumanded by your Lordshipp,

T. HOWARD.
C. MOUNTJOYE.
W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Captayne RUGWAY, in cumminge by the Lizarde, was mett by on⁵ of the Spanishe

¹ Lord Thomas Howard.

² *off.*

³ Charles Lord Montjoy, Lieutenant-General of the land forces.

⁴ So in MS.—in the plural.

⁵ *etc.*

LETTER
LXXVII.

1597.
Oct. 29.

Sir W.
Ralegh
and others
to the
Earl of
Essex.
From
Plymouth.

Proceed-
ings of the
Fleet; and
news of
the
Spaniards.

LETTER
LXXVII.1597.
Oct. 29.

Fleet nire Falmouth, too of his men kilde, and eyght hurt.

Plymouth, the xxix of October [1597].

Addressed :

To the right honorable our singuler good Lorde, the Earle of ESSEX, Lorde Generall of her Majestis Force and Fleet. Delivered att Plymouth att 12 a clock att night the xxix of October. Hast, post, hast ; hast for life with speed possibell. For her Majesties most important affaires, from the Levetenant of Cornwall, W. RALEGH.

Endorsed :

1597. 29 Oct. Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Walter Raleigh, to my Lord of Essex. Captaine Sommers arryved. Captaine King mett nere Falmouth, and fought withall by some of the Spanishe fleet.

LXXVIII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date of year.

LETTER
LXXVIII.1597.
Oct. 30.To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Plymouth.News of
the
Spanish
Fleet.

SIR,

WEE have written a joynt letter to my Lord Generall, of an advertisment brought by on¹ BOWDEN of Plymouth, who fought with on¹ of the flibots of warr of the Spanishe fleet in 42 degrees, and 30 leaughs of² the Cape. The particularites I send yow here inclosed, though not in that forme as in the Lorde Generall's letter: for this being the first examination wee did afterward marshall it. Other newses ther ar none, butt that this day ther came another small barke in, of SPARK'S of Plymouth, that also mett GEORG CAREW,

¹ *enc.*

² *off.*

and sayth hee had repaired his maynmast ; so as I hope he may better shift bothe with the weather and the enemy. Leving all idle protestations, I am your servant,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I humblie beseich yow to excuse mee to my Lord Admirall, and that this cobby may serve his Lordshipp also, and to my cussen STANHOPE and to my Lorde COBHAME. For we ar here made madd with intricate affaires and want of means. Plymoth, the 30 of October, att night.

This captayne reported unto us of his own voluntary that the Earle our generall hath as mich fame and reputation in Spayne and Italy as ever, and more then, any of our nation had ; and that for an enemy he is the most honored man in Europe. My Lord THOMAS HOWARD was present, my Lord MONTJOYE, my Lord Marshall and my sealf ; and hence¹ . . he shall not take it for flattery on my part. My Lord MONJOY prayeth me to recumend his affection and service unto your Honor.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secritory to her Majesty.

Endorsed :

1597. 30 Oct. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.*

¹ Here a word seems to have been obliterated.

LETTER
LXXVIII.

1597.
Oct. 30.

LXXIX.

SIR W. RALEGH AND LORD THOMAS HOWARD
TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

From the original Draft. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 81 (Hatfield). Wholly in Sir W. RALEGH's hand. Imperfect; the commencement being wanting. Without address, signature, or date.

[See the Letter to Sir ROBERT CECIL which follows.]

LETTER
LXXIX.

1597.
October.

Sir W.
Raleigh
and Lord
T. Howard
to the Earl
of Essex.

Intelli-
gence of
the
Spanish
Fleet.

.
. the Fleet was devided into 4 squadrons: the first,—that of the Adelantado, who had green pendants; the second,—of DIEGO BROCHERON, who had yellow pendants; the thirde,—of BRITENDONA, who had redd; and the 4th,—of CEBURES, who had white. Ther was a 5th squadron, of MARCO ARAMBULL, who was to come with 30 sayle more, and 5,000 men for supply.

The masters of the Camp were Don JOHN DE LOVA,¹ Don FARNANDO BROCHERON Y OROSA, who was expected out of Britayne.²

Some of thes Spanierds examined say ther came out together but 110. Butt the alferes of the Spanish cap- tayne avoweth that they weare 160. They say that they departed the Gwyne³ St. Lucas daye, as they thinck the 10 of October. They do farther confess— severally examined—that this fleet came all within 20 leaughs of the Lisard joyntly and entire; and ther met the storme at east, which severed them. After which, this shipp, taken by BOWDEN, never saw but on⁴ of his consortts, which was sene 20 leags from the coast of Spayne.

¹ Here the word 'and' seems to have been omitted.

² Brittany.

³ Corunna.

⁴ one.

The Spanish captain is called JOHN VIVERES, a Biscaien. He levied the cumpany hyme sealf in his countrey, and hee avoweth that ther weare 40 gallions of the King, of which he knew the names butt of thes:— the *St. Pole*, in which the Adelantado went; the *St. Peter*, admiraute; the *St. Lucas*,—was cast away cuming out of Farroll; the *St. Francis*; and the *St. John*. 15 great Biscaien shippes; 60 great Esterlings; 10 or 12 fibotes, besids freich¹ and carvells.

Ther was also expected 17 sayle of shippes out of the Streys, which fleet another bark of Plymoth of SPARK'S—which arived also this present—saw att the South Cape. Hee sayth that ther weare of infantry, between 10 and 12,000; of horss, 500. And 5,000 foot were expected with MARCO ARAMBULL, a Biscayne.

They all confess that they came six dayes on with good wind, and then taken with the storme. The² brought also feld artillery, with store of moyles³ and oxen. The generall of the artillery was Don PEDRO DE GAVARA. Being axed what Inglishe weare in the fleet, they say, divers; butt they knew name of none butt RICHARD BURLEY. Of Irishe ther was on⁴ cumpany entire.

Being asked what provision of boates to lande⁵ soldiers, they say 20, made of purpose capabell of 200 men apeece, beseds thos of the shippes. Being demanded what vitell, they answeare that the fleet had butt 6 weeks, for it was determined that, as soon as the men weare ashore, the fleet should returne.

They do avow all [to]gather that the place of discent should be Falmouth. This Englishman, BOWDEN, passing by the Lisard the 28 of this moneth of October, saw

LETTER
LXXIX.

1597.
October.

¹ So in MS. ² They. ³ mules. ⁴ one.

⁵ This word is doubtful, being nearly illegible.

LETTER
LXXIX.1597.
October.

12 sayle nire the head-land, but could not make them; and the Spanish prisoners say they thinke these¹ not be of their fleet, because they had no pendants; which wee thinke themsealvs tooke in because they weare so few.

This BOWDEN also reporteth that he saw to² very great shippes of³ Silley as hee came; and, as we gather bothe by the circumstances and by the confesion of the prisoners that this poore man fought verie resolutely, and, having butt 28 men and boyes, tooke this fibote by an entry⁴—who had 40 soldiers besids saylers—and yet slew not one butt att the entrance.⁵ Of whos good service, and the better to incorage others, wee humble pray your Lordship to have consideration.

Endorsed :

1597. Oct. *Advices concerning the Spanish fleet; sent by Sir Walter Raleigh.*

LXXX.

THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, THE LORD MONT-
JOY, SIR WALTER RALEGH, AND SIR FRANCIS
VERE, TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 110 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an amanuensis. Signed.

LETTER
LXXX.1597.
Nov. 6.MAY Y^t PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIPS,

WE thinck y^t oure duties to advertise your Lordships that we have now received knowledg from Sir FRAUNCIS GODOLPHIN⁶ of a Spanish barck putt into

¹ So in MS. Perhaps 'could' omitted. ² two. ³ off.

⁴ *I. e.* in boarding her. ⁵ So in MS., the sentence being left unfinished.

⁶ In letters addressed by Godolphin to Sir Walter Raleigh on the 2nd Nov. One of these letters is in the same volume of *Cecil Papers*, No. 9^s.

in Cornwaile whose captayn, called JUAN as taken in her, and his alferes,¹—about whom I the captayn's commission, signed by the King, a ticket for their rendezvous in Falmouthe, under a patent for reward of the sayed JUAN for taking sondrie fishermen upon this coast ; we send herin unto your Lordships the originating unto your grave judgments such farther as may be made upon them. And this we thought the more necessarie to be presented unto your Lordships, because the sayed Captayn, JUAN BATHURST hath been employed this 2 or 3 yeare upon the service in taking of smale barcks, of which he hath written.

We send herewith unto your Lordships a printed list of the orders to be observed in the Spanish armie.

Now, because out of these and other intelligence hath appeared unto us, and may appear unto your Lordships, under the Adelantadoe's hand, that the place of Pendennis was the place which they proposed first to take, and of, we have thought good to send 200 of the best of the are heere of the old souldiers unto Falmouthe. It shall be no other charge unto her Majestie than the pay of the souldiers; and that place being of so great importance and so ill defended, we have presumed to send the souldiers thither.

Before we conclude, to advertise your Lordships that the fliboates of the Low Cuntries which are sent to transport the souldiers are departed without delay.

Enclosed in Raleigh's hand : " A letter of Sir Francis Godolphin, touching the weakness of Pendennis Castle and the importance of the service, this letter begins with intelligence about the Spanish ship. The bearer, acting as lieutenant.

LETTER
LXXX.

1597.
Nov. 6.

Sir W.
Raleigh
and others
to the
Lords
of the
Council.

Proceed-
ings of the
Fleet.—
News of
the
Spaniards.

LETTER
LXXX.
—
1597.
Nov. 6.

And so, recommending owre selvs humbly to your good Lordships' favors, we rest, readdy to doe your Lordships all humble service,

T. HOWARD.
C. MOUNTJOVE.
W. RALEGH.
F. VERE.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—We humbly desire to have order from your Lordships concerning the Spanish prisoners heere, which stand the Queene in 14 pound aweeke, after 6d. a man. From Plemouth, this 6 of November, 1597.

Addressed :

To the right honorable owre verie good Lords, the Lords and others of her Majesties Privy Counsayle.

Endorsed, by Sir R. Cecil :

6 November, 1597. The Lord Thomas and the Lord Montjoy and others to the Lords ; with the Report of a captaine of the Spanish shypp taken in St. Ives.

LXXXI.

THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, THE LORD MONTJOY, AND SIR WALTER RALEGH, TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, 1597 (formerly numbered '272'). (Rolls House.)* In the hand of an amanuensis. Signed.

LETTER
LXXXI.
—
1597.
Nov. 9.

OUR duties most humbly remembred. We received two letters from your Lordships : the one of the 3d, the other of the 5 of November. By the 5th wee perceave that your Lordships have sent downe Mr. CARMARDEN

e order for the unloading of the prize ; coming us to direct two or three of the shippes of London to transport yt, and some of her Majesties to see it about.

Yt please your Lordships to knowe that there are now, of the shippes of London, left but the *Arcturion* only, which is of good defense ; a verie excellent shippe ; and draweth little water. We doe therefore have her to putt a part into her, and the rest into the *Arcturion* ; which shipp is also of easy drawght, and is to passe by the Thames as conveniently as any of the shippes. And because we would be glad to have the great prize at Dertmouth delivered unto Commissioners well conditioned,—least yt may be that spoyle hath been made while it hath been in the custody of such as my Lord General committed the care of, we have desired Sir GELLI MERICK to be charged with the care of the same, as we have desired my Lord HOWARD to be charged for the rest unladen heere ; and afterward I leave yt to the charge of the sayed Commissioners.

And because Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH hath desired a meeting at Falmouth in Cornewaile to take view of that place and how yt may be defended, I have left the care unto him at his return to ride by the coast, as well to see the *Guiana* and the *Rainbowe* and of all things necessarie, as to conferr with the Commissioners how the goods shalbe bestowed in the shippe, and that bulke-heads be made to devide yt from the shippe, and to payre of the Compagnie. Now, for the Majesties shippes, my Lord THOMAS HAWARD doth in with the first wynde to sett sayle, and by the favor to make all possible speede to conduct the shippe to Chattam.

We have also this day received the Examination of

LETTER
LXXXI.
1597.
Nov. 9.

Joint
letter of
Lord T.
Howard,
Lord
Montjoy,
and Sir W.
Raleigh,
to the
Council.
From
Plymouth.

Conclusion
of Island
Voyage,
and
arrange-
ments
about
Prizes.

LETTER
LXXXI1597.
Nov. 9.

one PEREZ, Captayn of the smale barck putt in at St. Ives, which agreeth with the rest in generality; but he addeth that there are 35 gallies appoynted also to be joyned to this fleete; and delivereth this particularity of the horse: That there were, for certeyn, 500;—whereof 50 died; of oxen, 200; of carrs for draught, 200; of mules, 50.

JUAN TRIGO hath, since owre last, confessed that there were in this fleete 30 captayns of the Low Cuntries; that the Adelantado was appoynted to tarry, and DIEGO BROCHERO to returne with the fleete; and that the next yeare they ment to sett up there rest for this kingdome; hoping, in the meane while, to hold any peece of grownd in England, where soever they should take foote.

And so, humbly recommending our selvs to your good Lordships' favors, we rest readdy to doe your Lordships all humble service,

T. HOWARD.

C. MOUNTJOYE.

W. RALEGH.

From Plimouth, this 9th of November, 1597.

Addressed :

To the right honorable oure verie good Lords, the Lords and others of her Majesties most honorable Privy Counsayle.

Endorsed :

1597. *Vice-Admiralls Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Mountjoye, Sir Walter Raleighe, to the Lords.*

LXXXII.

TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL?

Original. Wholly in the hand of Sir WALTER RALEGH. Cotton, OTHO E ix. fol. 377, formerly numbered '346' (*British Museum*). Mutilated, having been partially burned in the fire at Burnham House. Without date.

.
How this fleet and army of Her Majestye
. . . beinge now with the latest to lande at the
s many dangers and dificultes
: enterprize of Farroll.¹ this course, if
ll like Her Majestye and your Lordships.
. [There have²] past to the Indies this
, in March, Aprill, and Maye, fourscore [ships, with
se²] to returne treasure and marchandize. [In²] the
yeare, 1596, by reason of the sackinge of Calize and
nge [of the²] fleete, ther was made no returne, so
is yeare the treasure which should [have²] cum with
st, and whatsoever is gathered since, is to be trans-
d now. Because ther is no suspition of any
tpt to be made in the Indies [this year ; and also²]
the Spanishe kinge would be in effect utterly
en if this duple returne weare surprised, wee do
ke it a matter very feasibell with the on[e] half of
Majestye's fleet now att Plymouth, and with a third
of the army, to performe the same.
ut of the 16 sayle of shippes of Her Maiesties to
: eyght, and with the vitell of the others to furnishe

¹ We do therefore recommend].
The words within brackets are supplied, either from traces remaining
in the burnt MS., or from the plain necessity of the context.

LETTER
LXXXII.

1597.

To the
Lords
of the
Council ?

Proposed
Enter-
prises
against
Spain.

LETTER
LXXXII.

1597.

the rest for one moneath or six weeks,¹ to that which now remayneth in . . . The vitell provided here for the supply, will make two moneaths vitell more; and with the remaynder of that which shalbe saved out of the fibotes wee shalbe able to [furnish²] the Fleet by us desired for six moneaths. In which tyme, or less, wee shalbe abell by [your Lordships³] favor to go and returne; and sufficient pourfull to master and possess all the King's shippes in the Indies.

The occasion never served so fitly, for hee is no way warned. For whensoever this enterprize shalbe undertaken of purpose, and that ther be any suspect therof, the Spanishe kinge will use so many preventions as the labor and charge on our syde will evermore be loste and made frustrate.

The Spanishe Fleet now att Farroll is not in any estate to cum out, and by that tyme in which wee shalbe reddey to depart it wilbe no tyme of the yeare to make invasions or incursions by sea.

Wee shal only be wantinge in the dead of Winter, and be abell to returne in the Spring, sufficient tymely to aunswere any attempt from Spayne.

In keepinge the seas upon the first pretence of Farroll and the Ilands wee shall spend three moneaths, wherein wee shalbe shaken and weather-beaten, with small hope of profitt. And to possess all his Indian Fleet will require but two moneaths more, and the navigation of less perrill. And the strenght which wee desire to carry shalbe butt too shippes more then that which³ was allotted to Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and Sir JOHN HAWKINGS.

¹ Here the word "added" seems to have been omitted in the haste of writing.

² See note 2 on page 191.

³ In the writer's evident haste this word is, in the MS., repeated.

Her Majesties charge is alreddy past, which wee all desire to convert to Her Maiesties greater profit. To which purpose wee fynde this enterprize to offer it sealf, which wee assure our seelves will returne the greatest profit to Her Maiestye, and the greatest losse to the enemye, then ever any attempt did in Her Maiestye's tyme.

[The rest is wanting.]

LXXXIII.

TO SIR JOHN GILBERT, THE YOUNGER.

From a Transcript¹ made for Dr. THOMAS BIRCH, from the original (but mutilated) letter, then in the possession of Major POMEROY GILBERT, Fort-Major of Plymouth. MS. Addit. 4231, ff. 85, 86 (British Museum). Without date.

[The top of the letter and the corresponding part of the sheet, towards the end, had disappeared, when the transcript was made.]

. . . . met. I had reason discovered your not trusting towards me, both in the witness then hyme sealf, when importuned and vexed in your causes. And you care of you. It is enough that he knows that I scorn otherwise to plead it now. But I knew the contents of your letter by arguments used by him. Comparing those with myne own letter, I also found that somewhat was written that I might not see; because he refused to shew me your's.

¹ I have taken no small pains—without much success—to learn whether or not the original of this letter is still in existence. Sir John Gilbert, to whom it was addressed, is now represented by the present Walter Ralegh¹ Gilbert, Esq. of The Priory, near Bodmin, who has informed me that the letter is not in his possession.

LETTER
LXXXII.
1597.

LETTER
LXXXIII.
1597?

To Sir John Gilbert, the younger.

Participation in the profits of a privateering adventure.— Personal affairs.

LETTER
LXXXIII.

1597?

For this adventure itsealf, there was never any other thinge demanded by mee then a third of the Lord Admirall's forth part. Be the sums more or lesse, all was and ys only that third of a forth. Either I will have it, or you shall have it. And when you were concluded before with a forth part, what was it to you how the rest had byne devided; unless, as it seemed, it was amiss that I had it. For your fear of my threatenings, it was not doubted that you heard them; neather did I threaten anythinge but the recovery of that part, which I will still have, withoute your healpe. And it is trew I labored foolishly to put by your cussen COLE, and others, of whom I could have had as good a part as most of the best adventurers, if I had not respected your profit more then I finde canbe in your ungratefull nature to deserve. Now to the rest.—

Wher you say you followed the worst of my fortunes in despite of envy, I pray forget not your sealf; nor do not so much mistake my fortunes, but that when they were at worst they were better then the best of your owne, and were abell enough to steed my frends, and despise the rest.¹ And for envy, it were a strang consaite to think that a nephew should be envied for going to the warrs with his unkell; you being then of no abilletie; your unkell livinge.

For your command under Sir JOHN NORRICE, it is not unknown to me what it was; or, if it might have been more, in whose respect it had byn. For Sir JOHN NORRICE him selfe ever needed me; I never needed hyme, nor his healpe. And the private journey to Guiana had as much honor as the publick journey of Britayne,² and you was as private in Britayne as in

¹ This word is doubtful.

² *I. e.* the expedition to Brittany, under Norreys.

Guiana. I advise you to be just, as well in Britayne as wheresoever

[See the remark at the beginning of this letter.]

And such
was no shame
the other for spending you
is a riddle to me, for
had no fortune to spend at Cadiz.

Of the reputation that you have, forget not that you had it chiefly with your tittle¹ in those; and from what beginnings hath growne the rest whatsoever. After you had of your owne, yow went for your seaffe; and, if I did not adventure to your liking, yow must know that ther was more land then to discend unto yow, then² to any of myne. And my estate being outwent so farr in debt, I could not neglect a sonne and a wife. Your fortunes had partye and tyme to make them. Myne had neather; and yet be not so forgetfull, or say that I adventured nothing. For if I had £200 of Lorde COBHAM, I adventured £400 worth of ordenance which I could have sold for so mich more; which ordenaunce have been fortunate enough unto yow ever since, though contrary to me, by reason that no man durst buy the sugars³ without warrantize. I left them with SANDERSON, who cussened me of the money. And therfore your passion therin is greater then your allegation.

And because yow repeat these thinges, I pray forget not that first I saved your parsonage³ from CARI,⁴ in your brother's tyme, and next from THYNN, in your tyme. And butt in respect of mee I know how your Aunt⁵

LETTER
LXXXIII.

1597†

¹ Used here obviously in the sense of "interest;" *i.e.* "your interest,—or family ties,—in those already named." ² *than.* ³ So in MS.

⁴ So in MS. Probably the reading should be "Caru," *i.e.* Raleigh's half-brother, Carew Raleigh, afterwards knighted.

⁵ Probably, Lady Gilbert, widow of Sir Humphrey?

LETTER
LXXXIII.
1597¹

had dealt with yow well enough. Again, by your pardon, do not beleve that, how ill soever my fortune was, butt for me and by the healp of my frends, you were discharged in dispight of a stronge opposition. Yow may remember with all the sett¹ wher yow ar,— that it was not alone for your sealf that you had it, and that I have yet so many enemis for it, bothe in court and countrey. And,—howsoever you may aunswer,— the world knowes well enough what I have dun, and will judge you accordingly, both for your father, your unkell, and your sealf; which I ment not to have repeted, but to answeere the ‘good nature’ of your owne.

[See former note.]

. self as
. him as you ar
. in whatsoever valuation
. Mr. Secritory,² that he is
. that you have lost me by shewing
. person desire hyme. Notwithstandinge,
I remayne your good frend. You shall not mesure mee by your own ‘good nature;’ for I do not labor any man agaynst yow. I may rather bee ashamed to have any man know your ingratitude. I will not defile the neast, nor yet seke³ to feed thos that cannot fly so well without mee. Hurt not your sealf. I shall leve you to your owne courses; and holde this of your’s no stranger then the usages of others. It beinge more natural to all men rather to pay wronges then good turnes.

And, for the conclusion: of that you say I dare not offer this dealing but [to] your sealf, I answeere that I dare do as much as your sealf, and have dared; and will ever be found so. And for your fortunes otherwise, fear

¹ *sett*.

² Sir Robert Cecil.

³ So in MS. The reading should probably be ‘*leve*.’

I will labor to lessen them; as I will not here-
k after them. And when myne shalbe at worst,
y shall never neede your healpe, whatsoever
ave dun myne. Your Unkell,

W. RALEGH.

:
my nephew, Sir John Gilbert, Knight.

1598.

LXXXIV.

THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xlvi. § 101 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date of year.

MY GOOD LORDE,

PERAS it hath bynn thought fitt that Sir NICHOLAS
: should be made a Deputy Levètenante in Corn-
do for my sealf excedingly well allow of the
an, and do farther humblie pray your Lordshipp
: BARNARDE GRENVILE may be also admitted,
in all the north parts of Cornwale ther ar none
eputes that have any dwellinge. The gentelman
sufficient, and the rest shall receive great ease
and her Majesties service the better performed.
with remembrance of my humbell dewty, I rest
mmanded by your Lordshipp as your sarvante,

W. RALEGH.

Derum House, this 16 of January [1597-1598].

: "*To the right honorable my singular goode Lorde, the Lorde
Treasorer of Inglande.*"

"*Sir Walter Rayligh. 1597.*"

LETTER
LXXXIII.

1597†

LETTER
LXXXIV.

1597-1598,
Jan. 16.

To Lord
Burghley.
From
Durham
House.

Appoint-
ment of
Deputy-
Lieutenants
for Corn-
wall.

LXXXV.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. Formerly marked "Bundle 226, No. 144." (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date.

* * In a communication—otherwise interesting—read to the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Payne Collier has suggested, from the tenor of this letter, that Raleigh was now again present in Ireland on the Queen's service. But the letter itself—in the absence of other evidence—affords no sufficient foundation for the hypothesis. There is, indeed, somewhat of a blank in Raleigh's recorded career at this period. But it has to be borne in mind that Raleigh, in 1598, could not have served in Ireland, or have visited Ireland, without attracting much attention; nor without leaving many unmistakable traces of his presence there. He was still the owner of a vast, though at that time unproductive, estate in Munster.

LETTER
LXXXV.

1598.
October.

To Sir R.
Cecil.

Concern-
ing a plot
for the
killing of
a rebel in
Ireland.

SIR,

IT can be no disgrace if it weare knowen that the killinge of a rebel weare practised; for you see that the lives of anoynted Princes are daylye sought, and we have always in Ireland geven head money for the killinge of rebels, who ar evermore proclaymed at a price. So was the Earle of DESMONDE, and so have all rebels been practised agaynst. Notwithstandinge, I have written this enclosed to STAFFORD,¹ who only recommended that knave to me upon his credit. Butt, for

¹ Perhaps the Captain, or Colonel, Francis Stafford, whom we meet with as serving in Ireland, and corresponding with Sir Henry Wallop, as early as 1585. (*Irish Correspondence*: Elizabeth, vol. cxviii. § 54.)

your sealf, you ar not to be touched in the matter. And for me, I am more sorrye for beinge deceived than for beinge declared in the practise.

Your Lordship's, ever to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—He hathe nothings under my hand butt a passport.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECIL, Knight, Principall Secretary to Her Maiestie.

LXXXVI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xix. § 66 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

SIR,

I BESEICH you to signefye Her Majesties pleasure to my Lord Deputye of Irland—because his Lordship is ready to depart—concerning this gentelman, on whom Her Majestye hathe bestowed POORE'S¹ companye.

Your Honor's to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed

To the right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secretary to her Majestye.

Endorsed :

1590.² *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.*

¹ Probably Captain Anthony Power, who had served in Munster against the Geraldines contemporaneously with Raleigh himself.

² The endorsement reads as above ; and in the MS. Catalogue of the Hatfield MSS. the letter is placed under "1590." The remark is sub-

LETTER
LXXXV.
—
1598.
October.

LETTER
LXXXVI.
—
1598?

To Sir R.
Cecil.

The
Queen's
appoint-
ment of a
Captain to
serve in
Ireland.

1600.

LXXXVII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxviii. § 103 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis. Subscribed and signed.

* * * The work towards which, on this occasion, Raleigh acts as official Censor of the Press was a translation of the well-known book of Jerome dei Franchi Conestaggio which had been published at Genoa, fourteen years before, under the title:—*Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona de Castiglia, Istoria*. It would have added not a little to the interest of the English translation here spoken of, had Raleigh so mentioned his "corrections" as that we could now identify them. The book was published in the same year with that of Raleigh's present letter, viz. 1600, and was "*printed for Edward Blount*." Cecil's interest in the subject was by no means a literary interest. The "warrs of Africa" here treated of were those in which Sebastian of Portugal fell, drawing after him the temporary fall of his kingdom. They had therefore a close connection with English politics; and especially with that most troublesome of all sections of the politics of Queen

joined that this is "the earliest letter addressed to Robert Cecil" which that collection contains. But as Sir Robert became "Principal Secretary" only in July 1596, the endorsement must obviously be erroneous. Raleigh too, made his first reappearance at Court at the end of May 1597. Possibly the letter may belong to that year. It cannot belong to any earlier year than that. And it is much more probable that it was written in 1597. Its pittance of interest lies in the fact that, either in 1597 or in 1598, it presents to us Raleigh—after five years of Court disgrace—as communicating to the Secretary of State "Her Majesties pleasure" about captaincy in Ireland.

Elizabeth's day, the intrigues of the English refugees abroad. They were also connected, in a very curious way, with some of the undercurrents of that Munster rebellion in the suppression of which Raleigh had won his spurs. The fanatic Stucley, who fell beside Don Sebastian at the bloody battle of Alcazarquivir (22 Sept. 1578), was just about to have led a force into Ireland, under the patronage of the Pope, which was to dethrone Queen Elizabeth and to provide Ireland with an Italian king. Sebastian induced him first to make a little episodal excursion against the Moors. And thus, instead of putting an Italian on the throne of Ireland, Sir Thomas Stucley helped to put Philip the Second on the throne of Portugal.

SIR,

I HAVE perused this translated storie of the Conquest of Portugall and the Warrs of Africa, and have corrected some things therein. For the rest, I see nothing in the booke but what may well passe, if your Honor please to give allowance thereof; which I humblie desire, in favor of the translator. And so do take my leave. From Dirrham House, the xvth of March, 1599 [*legal style*].

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary.

Endorsed :

15 March, '99. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.

LETTER
LXXXVII.

1599-1600.
March 15.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Durham
House.

Report on
the revision
of
Franchi
Conestaggio's
History
of the
Conquest of
Portugal.

LXXXVIII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxviii. § 7 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date of year.

LETTER
LXXXVIII.

1600.
March 27.

To Sir
R. Cecil.
[From
Sher-
borne.]

Account
of the
improved
health of
William
Cecil, then
a visitor at
Sherborne.

SIR,

BECAUSE I know that yow cann receive no pleasinger newse from hence then to here of your beloved cature,¹ I thought good to lett you know of his good health; and whereas I wrat in my last that hee was a littell trobled with a looseness, I thanck God he is no² freed therof; and, I assure yow, better in health and strenght then ever I knew hyme. His stomake, that was heretofore weake, is altogether amended, and he douth now eat well and digest rightly. I hope this aire will agree exceedingly with hyme. He is also better kept to his booke then any wher elce.

¹ William Cecil, eldest son of Sir Robert, and afterwards second Earl of Salisbury. To this nobleman Sir Walter long afterwards dedicated the first (and, as it proved, the only) portion of his intended *Brief History of England* ("I intend, by the help of God and your furtherance, right noble Earl of Salisbury, to write a *Brief History*," &c.)—words which Oldys, by an oversight not usual with him, has spoken of as addressed to Robert Cecil, first Earl. Earl William served King Charles the First as an Ambassador Extraordinary (to the Court of France), and, as is well known, sat—in company with the Earl of Pembroke—in the Long Parliament, during the Interregnum. But he was of a cautious temperament, and seems to have been nearly as fond of retirement as his famous father was of business. He survived, by almost eight years, the restoration of King Charles the Second; enjoying his earldom for the unusual period of fifty-six years. Men who lived far into the 'Georgian era' of our history may well have heard Lord Salisbury's reminiscences of Raleigh from his own lips.

² *nov.*

This is all I can say from this poore place, and that I am ever your poorest and trewest frind and sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

This 27 of March [1600].

Addressed: "To the right honorable Mr. Secretary."

Endorsed: "27 March, 1600. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master."

LETTER
LXXXVIII.
1600.
March 27.

LXXXIX.

TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers.) (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date of year.

I CANNE write your Lordship nothing from hence, butt that wee live. I have written to Master Secritery that I would be gladd that Her Majesty weare butt good for PAWLETT'S matter,¹ though I hope not after it or ought else; butt if ther be neather honor nor profit I must begynn to keep sheep bytyme. Speaking with my cusen BRETT,² a very honest gentelman, hee complayned to me what abuse was offred your Lordship about your wood-sales by CHARDRE. It is certayne that the land will nott be lett for half the valew hereafter, when ther is left no trees uppon it, to build or mend a tenement; and it seems they have sold the very hedgros. Wheruppon I desired my cusen BRETT to enquire more particulerly of the matter, and this day hee sent me this inclosed letter. I thought good to lett your Lordship know of it, for thes hireling officers will undo us all.

LETTER
LXXXIX.
1600.
April 6.

To Lord Cobham.
[From Sherborne.]

Raleigh's desire to have the government of Jersey.—Cobham's sales of timber.—Hope of a meeting at Bath.

¹ Meaning the government of Jersey.

² Sir Alexander Brett; after 1603, one of Lady Raleigh's trustees.

unrecd.
 unrecd.
 unrecd.
 April 6.

God hold your Lordship in the mind to cum to the
 Bath. If your Lordship receive awnswere that BATES'
 house is taken up, it is butt for me; and your Lordship
 may have the on^r half notwithstanding. I am wher^t
 I can do your Lordship no services. I will not, therefore,
 pester you with idell words in which I can butt profess
 what I would more willingly execute; till when, and
 ever, your Lordship's absolutely to comande,

W. RALEGH.

I beseech your Lordship to remember me to the Lord
 THOMAS [HOWARD]. 6 of Aprill, att night.

Addressed:

To the right honorable my very good Lords, the Lord Cobham,

XC.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxviii. § 83 (Hatfield). In the
 hand of an amanuensis. Subscribed and signed.

LETTER
 XC.
 1600.
 April 21.
 To Sir R.
 Cecil
 From
 Sherborne.

IT maie please your Honor, I am much importuned by
 my cosen. Mr. HENRY CAREW, to desire your fauor
 towards his distressed sonne, that his enlargement out
 of prison maie be procured by good bonds, sufficient
 sureties, or by anie other meanes that were possible.¹

¹ *one.*

² *I.e.* at Sherborne.

³ In the issue this business proved to be a difficult and protracted one. Young Carew seems to have remained several years in confinement, or at least under restraint. There are many letters at Hatfield which relate to the long treaty for his liberation. Those of them which I have read do not explain the nature of his offence, but I infer from them that it was of a political sort. In Elizabethan days the need of a *Habeas Corpus* was sometimes much greater than in the worst of the Stuart days. And this branch of the Carews was 'recusant.'

The gentleman offereth £1,000 caution, or a greater sume, if it maie be accepted, to have his sonne out upon anie condicions that shalbe required; and his earnest solicitation importuneth me to move you to direct what course you shall thinke fytt in your honorable wisdom. And so do humblie take my leave. From Sherborn Lodg, the 21th of Aprill, 1600.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary.

Endorsed:

1600. xxith April. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. In favour of Mr. Harry Carye.*

LETTER
XC.

1600.
April 21.

In favour of the son of Henry Carew, then under imprisonment.

XCI.

TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers.) (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date of year.

* * The purposed journey of Lord Cobham to Bath to meet Raleigh, which forms the subject of this brief note, is alluded to more than once in the letters of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, written in the spring of 1600; and he also speaks often of Cobham's great favour with the Queen; of which indeed the proofs, otherwise, are ample. After the wont of courtly favour, it had its partial eclipses. A fortnight later than the date of Raleigh's present letter, Rowland Whyte writes: "My Lord Cobham stays from going to the Bathe, and purposes with all the strength and credit he hath to get an estate in Otford Park." For this park, Sir Robert Sydney was also a suitor; and Whyte adds that the Lord Treasurer

Buckhurst had offered to support Sir Robert's suit,—in opposition to Cobham's,—on condition that Sir Robert should assign to him a life estate in Otford Park.¹

LETTER
XCI.

1600.
April 29.

To Lord
Cobham.
From
Bath.

Disap-
pointment
at Lord
Cobham's
absence.

MY WORTHY LORDE,

HERE we attend you and have don this senight, and . . . mourne your absence ; the rather because wee feare that your m[ind] is changed. I pray lett us here from you att least, for if you cum not wee will go hereby home, and make butt short tariing here. My wyfe will dyspaire ever to see you in thes parts, if your Lordship come not now. Wee can butt longe for you and wyshe you as [our] owne lives whatsoever.

Your Lordship's everest faythfull,
to honour you most,

W. RALEGH.

Bathe, the 29 of Aprill [1600].

Addressed :

To the right honorable my very good Lorde, the Lord Cobham, give this.

XCII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C, b ii. § 14 (Hatfield). The letter is undated, but the MS. Catalogue of the Hatfield Papers assigns to it the date of Oct. 15, 1600, from the endorsement. Holograph.

LETTER
XCII.

1600.
Oct. 15.

MAY it please your Honor to receve knowledg from this bearer, Mr. PAULE JUEY,² what wee have determined for

¹ *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194.

² An eminent military engineer, as will appear presently.

the fort *Isabella Bellissima* in the ilett,¹ where we have left workmen to finishe as mich as this season of the yeare will permitt, and the rest to be dun in March followinge. The charge wherof wilbe exceeding great, as Mr. JUEY uppon his conscienc can wittnes; and the profit of the Iland so farr under the common valuation as, untill your Honor see the King's own Liger Booke, yow will not beleve. But, howsoever it succeed, I hold my sealf unmeasurable bound to her Majestye for her gratius respect to me therin. And I will never thinck of any peny receite till that peece of work be finished and past the recovery of any enemye; be it butt for the name-sake² which I have presumed to christen it by,—being before without any denomination att all.

It had been very happy for mee if PAULE JUY had remayned to finishe what he began ther,—which, I assure your Honor by the livinge God, is as prayse-worthy a woorke, both for his judgment, invention, and industry in saving charge, as ever any man behelde. And I have not seene a devize of that place³ and pride in any place of Europe.

Sir, I do assure yow the poore man hath an excelent gift in thes workes, and—that which is rarely joyned to suche knowledge—as mich trewth and honestye as any man can have. Your Honor, in my poore judgment, shall do her Majestye good service to be a meane for his releife; for such an other will not be had.

¹ *isle.*

² The reader will doubtless call to mind the chronology of "*Isabella Bellissima*," but Raleigh's flattery is not a whit more extravagant than that of his correspondent himself. And it was about this very time that Henry the Fourth, when embracing a miniature of "*Isabella*," expressed his passionate regrets that it was not permitted to him to embrace the original of the sweet picture.

³ So in MS.

LETTER
XCII.

1600.
Oct. 15.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Jersey.

Proceed-
ings in the
fortifica-
tion of the
Island.—
Character
of Juey,
the
engineer.
—Ac-
counts of
the late
Governor.

LETTER
XVII
—
1600.
OCT. 15

For the accompts of the late governor,¹ the² ar strang
to mee; for PAWLE JUY did more with £300 then hee did
afterward for £2.000. And PAWLE JUY is fittest to be
used in the accompts because he can cumpare worke to
worke, and judge of the rest, better then any man can.
For besyds the unmeasurabell reckninge made by Sir A.
PAWLETT of her Majesties monies, they ar not ashamed
to aske £500 debt of her Majestye due to them.

For Mountorguell, I have vewed itt,³ and do not find

¹ Sir A. Pawlett, Raleigh's immediate predecessor.

² *id.*

³ Mont Orgueil Castle, here referred to by Raleigh, is still a place of great interest to the visitor. It derives its attractions, not certainly from its architecture, but from the romantic beauty of its position. It towers above a charming bay, to a height which commands an extensive view of the coast of Normandy. It also possesses many interesting and varied associations with the history of the past. Philip of Valois made an attempt upon it in the hope of diverting Edward the Third from his conquests in France. Bertrand du Guesclin, at the head of a French army worthy of its chivalric leader, forced it to a surrender, the completion of which was prevented by the timely arrival of an English fleet. William Prynne was confined here for three years, as a prisoner of Charles the First; to be presently succeeded by Charles the Second, as a refugee from the victorious Cromwell. The Puritan prisoner here diversified his ponderous labours in controversy and antiquities, with verses in praise of Mont Orgueil, interlaced with "Meditations from its rockie steepe, and loftie situation;" his verses proving to be more ponderous even than his records. The royal exile had a famous attendant who here employed his involuntary leisure in the composition of part of the *History of the Great Rebellion*.

That portion of the structure of which Raleigh particularly speaks as so costly to 'Her Majesties father,' &c. was the work of one of his predecessors, Sir Thomas Auvrey; and, when he visited it, was but about fifty years old. Another adjacent portion still bears the arms of Elizabeth, and the date '1593.' Among the older parts of the Castle is a most curious crypt, the vaulting of which is supported by very short and rude columns. The noble old pile is—or was a few years ago—

"All tenantless, save to the crannyng wind,
Holding but dark communion with the clouds."

But it will long repay a visit and a climb, and, to many visitors, will have an additional interest, as having been one of the last objects of curiosity to Raleigh, in his days of freedom and prosperity.

that I had any cummission to demolishe it; and to say
trew it is a statly fort of great capacetye, both as to
mentenance and cumfort, to all that part of the iland
next unto Normandy, which stands in vew therof; so as,
untill I knew further her Majesties pleasure, I have left
att myne owne charg sume men in it. And, if a small
matter may defend it, it weare pittie to cast it down;
having cost her Majestyes father, brother, and sister,—
without her own charge,—20,000 marks the erecting.

I will leve the rest untill my cumming from Cornewale,
and then lett you know the estate of that poore place,
the importance of it, and how it hathe bynn handled.
Till then, and ever, I rest reddy to do yow all honor and
service.

W. RALEGH.

LETTER
XCII.
—
1600.
Oct. 15.

XCIII.

TO THE LORD TREASURER BUCKHURST AND
SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxxi. § 33 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date of year.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR HONORS,

ACCORDINGE to the order which I had from yow,
I have proceeded in¹ Cornwale and agreed with the
Tynners for a prize² certayne,—twenty shillings in the
thousand less then I had cummission to geve them,
which they desire by petition to have added, and which,
for myne own poore oppinion, I could wishe that her
Majesty, out of her own liberalletye, should bestow on
them.

LETTER
XCIII.
—
1600.
Nov. 4.

To Lord
Buckhurst
and Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Radford.

¹ *into*.

² *price*.

LETTER

XCIII.

—

1600.

Nov. 4.

Affairs
of the
Stannaries.
—Agree-
ment with
the
Cornish
Tinnars.

Mr. BRIGANCE and Mr. CUNNOCKE can informe your Honors how I have proceeded,—who can best judge what my littell credit here hath done in this bussness.

Mr. CUNNOCKE hyme sealf hath taken great paynes herein, and furnisht mee with many good arguments and reasons. Your Honors could not have imployed any man, as I thincke, both for his dillegenc and knowledge, of more sufficiencie. Mr. BULMER'S offer of £29 held us longe upon that prize,¹ and hath dun us mich wronge in this bussness. And had we not caled such a jurey as wee did of the principall gentelmen, wee had had a longe worke of it.

Ther ar yet many things to be done which this gentelman² can better informe your Honors of then my sealf, which your Honors will take care of. For my sealf, I have performed your cummandments, and have littell elce to do butt to see promis kept with thes poore men to whom my faythe is ingaged. And this bearer can informe your Honors trewly wher³ thes Tynners do not more rely thereon, then on all the rest of our argumentts.

I will shortly attend yow my sealf. And, in the meanwhile, I humblie desire to be continewd in your favors, and will remayne ever reddey to do all the honor and service I shall bee abell.

From Radford, by Plymouth, this 4th of November [1600].

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "To the right honorabell the Lorde of BUCKHURST, Lord High Treasorer of Inglande, and Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secritorye, &c."

Endorsed, in Sir R. Cecil's hand: "4 November, 1600. Sir Walter Raleigh," and, in another hand, "To my Lord Threasorer and to my Master. From Radford, by Mr. Connocke."

¹ price. ² Connocke, who brought the letter from Devon. ³ whether.

XCIV.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C, b ii. § 107. (Hatfield.) In the hand of an amanuensis. With autograph subscription and signature.

SIR,

THIS gentleman, Mr. CRYMES, hath erected certain clash-mylls upon Roburghe Down, to worke the tynn which upon that place is gott with extreame labor and charge out of the ground. And because the townsemen of Plymouth seeke to procure all the commoditie thereabouts into their own hands, they alleage that theis mylls are prejudiciall to them, and that the course of their water, which runneth through Plymouth, is diverted, contrary to a Statute.

I tooke the paines to view the river and mylls. I found that,—in my opinion,—they could not disallow the building or using the same : for that there are about 200 works which must be unwrought, without the use of such clash-mylls and the benefytt of that river, and no hindraunce at all to the water-course. Otherwise, her Highness can receive no commodotie therebie, and the poore Tynners wilbe undone.

I had an especiall care to satisfie them ; and the Tynners made an Act that those clash-mylls shold not be prejudiciall to the towne. Notwithstanding, they have procured *sub penas* out of the Starre Chamber, to call the matter in question there ; the matter being tryable and determinable in the Stannery Courts, where it

LETTER
XCIV.

1600.
Nov. 15.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

Tin Mills
on Ro-
borough
Down,
and the
suits about
them
between
Mr.
Crymes
and the
Town of
Plymouth.

LETTER
XCIV.
—
1600.
Nov. 15.

now dependeth. But, if this be suffered to proceed in the Starre Chamber, it will not be avaylable to speake of her Majesties late imposition or encrease of Custome, or to establish good lawes amongst Tynners; when others who can by a great purse, or procuring extraordinary meanes, deminish to their power her Majesties duties and the common benefytt of the people.

I do humblie therefore desire your honorable favour in their behalfe that, when the question shall grow for this matter in the Starre Chamber, that¹ it maie be either respited untill my comming, or dismissed to the place and nature of the proper tryall. And so do humblie take my leave. From my house at Shyrebourne, the 15th of November, 1600.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Her Majestie Principall Secretary.

Endorsed:

15 November, 1600. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master, in favour of Mr. Crymes.

¹ MS. thus repeats 'that.'

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XCV.—*RALEGH'S COUNSEL TO SIR ROBERT CECIL, ON THE TREATMENT, IN THE YEAR 1600, OF THE EARL OF ESSEX.*

ALL that it seems needful here to add to what has been said heretofore [Vol. I. *Life*, pp. 258, 259] as to the true date at which this letter was written, relates to the succession of those events in the life of the Earl of Essex which intervened between his return from Ireland and his fatal insurrection. Essex reached the Court on the 28th of September, 1599. He appeared before the Council on the following day. On the 1st of October he was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper at York House. On the 5th, he was again examined, by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, and Secretary Cecil. On some subsequent day he wrote a letter to the Queen (undated), in which he says: "To redeem this offence and recover your Majesty's gracious favour, I would do, I protest, whatsoever is possible for flesh and blood." The Court letters of these months of October and November 1599 abound in expressions which make two things obvious: first, that growing murmurs, both in the metropolis and beyond it, at the continuance of the Earl's imprisonment—without any open trial or inquiry—excited the Queen's anger, and made the intercession of his friends with her more difficult; secondly, that, this fact notwithstanding, there was amongst the courtiers a fluctuating but general expectation of his speedy release; varied, at intervals, by rumours that he was after all to be sent to the Tower. The letters of Rowland Whyte to Sir Henry Sydney, and those of Chamberlain to Carleton, may be especially referred to in illustration of these statements.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XCV.

1600.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XCV.

1600.

On the 28th of November, the Queen, attended by the Earl of Worcester and the Countess of Warwick, visited Essex at York House, and on the following day a Court of Star Chamber was held, at which a public declaration of the "Causes of the imprisonment of the Earl of Essex" was agreed upon. One of the Earl's officers, William Trew, wrote on that day a letter in which he expresses his hope that the meeting of this Court would turn out well for his master, and connects both its assembling and the Queen's unexpected visit to the Earl with the unknown contents of some mysterious letter which had been laid in the Queen's way, and upon the finding of which, he says, "there was a great stir in the Court that night, and some of the Guard that gave out they must wait upon my Lord to the Tower had their coats plucked off."¹

"The bright sunshine," writes Chamberlain in February 1600, "that seemed so to dazzle the friends of my Lord of Essex was indeed but a glimmering light, that was suddenly overshadowed again. . . . They thought they saw a reconciliation between him and Mr. Secretary; whereupon they built many idle fancies and liberal discoursings, yet either their eyes were not their own, or else they had false spectacles." And he goes on to add that all that Cecil had really done for the Earl (as far as Chamberlain's own information went) was to carry to the Queen "his letter of submission, that kept him from the Star Chamber." Chamberlain's letter is dated,—according to New Style,—"22nd of February, 1600." The evidence that during some part of that month it had been intended to bring the Earl personally before the Star Chamber, and that Cecil had been the means, or the channel, of changing the Queen's intention, appears to be conclusive. This fact, when coupled with the internal evidence of the document itself, leaves little room for doubt that the ensuing letter belongs to the period of the Earl's first imprisonment, and,

¹ Letter now at Blithfield, quoted in *Lives of the Devereux*, ii. 92.

to speak more exactly, to some time during that imprisonment when rumours of a reconciliation between him and Cecil were current; and not to the imprisonment which followed the insurrection of February 1601. For its transfer—recently attempted—to the later date there is no evidence, or shadow of evidence, at all. It is an arbitrary conjecture in the teeth of the evidence.

It was not until the 19th of March, 1600 [N.S.], that the Earl of Essex was permitted to leave York House for Essex House. He was still to remain in strict custody, and to be visited by such persons only as received the Queen's permission. On the 5th of June he was brought before a Special Commission, which met at York House to hear and determine five several accusations of misgovernment in Ireland and of disobedience to the Queen's commands. The decision of the Commissioners was conveyed to the accused Earl and to the auditory by the Lord Keeper Egerton, in these words: "If this cause had been heard in the Star Chamber, my sentence must have been as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that Court, and perpetual imprisonment in that place which belongeth to a man of his quality,—that is, the Tower. But now that we are in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is that he is not to execute the office of a Councillor, nor to hold himself for a Councillor of Estate, nor to execute the office of Earl Marshal of England, nor of Master of the Ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner, as before, till it shall please her Majesty to release both this and all the rest." Of the effect of this proceeding on the Queen's mind Bacon has given a striking account: "The Queen," he says, "willed me to set down in writing all that passed that day. . . . I read the narration to her in two several afternoons; and when I came to that part which set down my Lord's own answer, which was my principal care, I do well bear in mind that she was extraordinarily moved with it, in kindness and relenting towards my Lord. She told me afterwards—speaking how

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XCV.

1600.

1591-
 1592
 1593
 1594
 1595
 1596
 1597
 1598
 1599
 1600

well I had expressed my Lord's part—that she perceived 'old love would not be forgotten.' Whereto I answered, suddenly, that I hope she meant that by herself."¹

Eighteen days after the inquiry at York House, in the course of a charge addressed to the Judges of Assize, the Lord Keeper—when sitting in the Court of Star Chamber—made a digression upon the case of Essex and repeated many of his former observations when passing sentence. He added that the Queen had taken that unusual course "to satisfy the world, and to stop the slanders that gave out that the Earl was condemned '*Causa insanabile*.'" It was in the brief interval between the hearing at York House and the Lord Keeper's speech at the Star Chamber that Rowland Whyte assured Sir Robert Spiney that "Master Secretary continues to do good offices" for the Earl, "and in time will prevail, no doubt: yet," he adds, "is there no reconciliation."²

On the 26th of August the Earl of Essex was summoned again to attend the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, and Secretary Cecil, at York House, and was then informed that it was her Majesty's pleasure he should have his liberty. As is well known, he never received permission to see the Queen or to approach the Court. His latest and ablest biographer, Mr. Devereux, is of opinion that by the advice of Lady Warwick he watched for an opportunity of presenting himself unannounced before the Queen, at Greenwich, and was contemptuously spurned. This opinion is partly based upon an original letter, from the Earl to the Queen, preserved at Hulton, in which occurs this remarkable passage: "I sometimes think of running; and then remember what it will be to come in armour, triumphing, into that presence, out of which both by your own voice I was commanded, and by your hands thrust out." The letter containing these words is undated, and the context offers some difficulty in giving to it even a con-

¹ Bacon to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire,—the *Lord Montjoy* of Raleigh's letters.

² *Sydney Papers*, ii. 210.

jectural date. All that is certain is that, as the hope of regaining the Queen's favour died away, Essex indulged in frequent and furious ebullitions of anger. Sir John Harrington, after an interview with him at this period, wrote thus: "His speeches of the Queen become no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano*." Raleigh, long afterwards, calling to mind those angry speeches and what he had seen of their effects, said: "Undutiful words of a subject do often take deeper root than the memories of ill deeds do. The late Earl of Essex told Queen Elizabeth that her 'conditions' were 'as crooked as her carcass;' but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech."¹

These words of Raleigh are of more weight, perhaps, than the passage which has been quoted from the letter at Hulton, in making it probable that Essex did get within sight and speech of Elizabeth at some time between the close of the imprisonment at York House in 1600, and the insurrection of 1601. The word 'conditions' can scarcely be applicable to anything that had transpired before the year 1600. The terms of the letter preserved amongst the Hulton MSS. are such as may, by possibility, refer to the famous 'box-on-the-ear' interview of 1598.

In the few but pregnant lines which begin with the words "*For after-revenges, fear them not,*" Raleigh has epitomized some of the strangest of the many family vicissitudes that mark the annals of England in Tudor times. He takes his first example from the career of his own comrade-in-arms of Cadiz and the Island Voyage, Lord Thomas Howard, who had already attached himself strongly to the faction and the fortunes of Robert Cecil, in despite of their respective parentage. He was the son of the great feudal Duke who had aspired to the hand of the Queen of Scots, and whose ruin had made no inconsiderable contribution towards broad-

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XCIV.

1600.

¹ *Prerogative of Parliament*, p. 49.

INDEX
 THIS
 BOOK OF
 LETTERS
 XCV.
 —
 1511.

ening and strengthening the fortunes of the Cecils. Lord Thomas was already, when Raleigh's letter was written, Lord Howard of Walden. Almost immediately after James' accession he was created Earl of Suffolk (July 21, 1603) and made Lord Chamberlain. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to try Raleigh on the charge of high treason, a few months afterwards; and it is by his hand that the precept for impugning the jury is signed. It was his sagacity, not the King's, that at the instant put the right interpretation on the mysterious words in the Gunpowder Plot letter which had been addressed to Lord Monteagle, and he was the first to go down into the vaults beneath the Parliament-house. In 1614, he became Lord High Treasurer. Four years later, he was accused of having embezzled a great part of the money received from the Dutch for the cautionary towns; and was deprived of office and fined £30,000,—a fine which the King reduced to £7,000. He was the builder of Audley End, and the father of the notorious Frances Howard, successively Countess of Essex and of Somerset, and the murderess of Overbury. He married his youngest daughter to the "Will Cecil" of this letter (afterwards second Earl of Salisbury), and so verified—in one sense of the words—Raleigh's forecast: "He may also match in a better house than that of Essex."

The "SOMERSET" of the next sentence is Edward Seymour, better known as Earl of Hertford, and the husband of Lady Katherine Grey. He was the eldest son of the Protector Somerset, and was himself Duke of Somerset—though omitted, as such, in all the Peerages—for the brief interval between the 22nd of January, 1552, the day on which the Protector was beheaded, and the day of the passing of that Act of the 5 and 6 Edward VI. which deprived the young Duke both of his dignities and his lands. The Protector had been convicted of felony, but not of treason. His honours and estates passed to his son, until the Duke of Northumberland induced Parliament thus to visit the alleged crimes of the Protector on the offender's son, as well as on himself. Elizabeth restored¹⁰

the deprived Duke his father's earldom of Hertford in January 1559. The terms on which he lived with the Earls of Leicester and Warwick led Raleigh to take his case as an illustration of the doctrine that in the rivalry of political strife hereditary feuds are little to be feared. The Earl of Hertford afterwards served James as Ambassador to the Archdukes, in 1605, with unusual pomp and splendour. He lived until 1621, and was succeeded by his grandson, William Seymour, famous in history both as the timid and self-protecting husband of Arabella Stuart, and as the unwavering and lavish adherent of Charles the First. He, like his grandfather, survived many dark days. He lived to be restored to the dukedom of Somerset, by Charles the Second.

"NORTHUMBERLAND *that now is*"—namely, Henry Percy, ninth of the Percy Earls of Northumberland, and often called the 'Wizard Earl'—was the son of that Earl who had been imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of conspiring on behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots, and who was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets, on the 21st of June, 1585. A servant of Sir Christopher Hatton had been, in some unusual and irregular way, introduced into the Tower to take the immediate custody of the Earl, just before his suspected murder. The rumour that Hatton had some guilty knowledge of that murder—if murder there was—gained much currency with contemporaries; although, upon a coroner's inquest, a verdict of 'suicide' was found. The passage in the text—"thinks *not of Hatton's heirs*"—is sufficiently remarkable when it is remembered that Hatton was Raleigh's predecessor in the Captaincy of the Guard, and that Raleigh himself had, in 1600, already known the then Earl of Northumberland intimately during many years. At the least, it affords proof that the belief in Northumberland's murder existed in the minds of statesmen, as well as on the tongue of popular rumour. And in this case, also, the subsequent history of the person referred to enhances the interest of the allusion. "Northumberland *that now is*" had to suffer an imprisonment in the Tower in his turn, and

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XCV.

1600.

for a longer period than his father, although with a less fatal issue. As fellow-prisoners, Raleigh and he had many opportunities of intercourse in after years. Alike, they sought to surmount confinement by hard study, and to set their minds at liberty, notwithstanding the restraint of their bodies. It is probable, too, that neither of them—after desperate efforts, backed by exalted influence—succeeded in attaining any other kind of liberty, until after the deaths both of Cecil and of Henry Howard.

The reference to Bothwell—"Let the Queen hold 'BOTHWELL' until she hath him,"—is meant, as it seems, to indicate the writer's opinion that Essex, if set free from restraint and permitted to aspire again to power, was likely to become as formidable to the Queen's peace and safety, as Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, had then recently proved to be to the quiet rule of the Scottish king, James the Sixth, his near kinsman; both being grandsons, though in a different fashion, to James the Fifth. This Earl of Bothwell had levied forces more than once against the King of Scots; had been convicted of treason: then pardoned: then declared again to be a traitor. For a time, he had been a fugitive in England. There had been much angry discussion between the Government of James and that of Elizabeth about the "countenance" alleged to have been shown to him, and Robert Cecil's assumed responsibility for such favour as he may at any time have received was one of the causes—additional to the older ones arising out of the death of Queen Mary—which made the very name of 'Cecil' so long ungrateful to the ears of King James. At the date when this letter was written, it is probable that Bothwell was an exile in Spain. For we have, almost contemporaneously with it, another letter addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, by one of his foreign intelligencers, in which, after telling the Secretary that Bothwell was about to enter upon some service against England, the writer proceeds thus: "In particular he hath promised to raise a great army in Scotland, when the King of Spain shall be pleased to com-

mand him."¹ Ultimately, he died in Italy, either in 1612 or in 1613.

As to the evidence on the point of date of the endorsement, it will suffice to remind the reader that another letter of Sir Walter Raleigh, preserved also at Hatfield,—and already printed in the present volume,²—bears, in the hand of a secretary of Cecil, the endorsement "1590;" although, as has been shown, it could not have been written until 1597, at the earliest. There is no need at all to suppose the error—in either instance—to have been designed. Mistakes of this sort are far from being uncommon, in cases where no matter of conflict or controversy is at stake. The papers now at Hatfield afford many instances of them.

Under any view of it, this letter of 1600 is an ungenerous one, as it respects Essex. It is also one of an obviously immoral tendency. It inculcates the doctrine that acts of bitter hostility, and even deeds of open violence, may be committed with the less peril, inasmuch as the dictates of human selfishness will very often suffice to hinder "after-revenges," by the relatives of the sufferer, upon the doer; and it leaves altogether out of view those "after-revenges," of a graver sort, which Raleigh himself, a few years later, expounded³ in words as impressive as ever came from an English pen. None the less is it an essential part of the duty of an Editor to show that this Letter—whatever its other faults—is *not* an incitement to the raising of a political scaffold, in order to avenge personal injuries sustained by its writer, or to remove a stumbling-block from his onward path.

¹ Izod to Cecil; *Cecil Papers* (Hatfield), vol. lxxxiii. § 23.

² Above, p. 199.

³ In his Preface to the *History of the World*.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XCV.

1600.

XCV.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xc. § 150 (*Hatfield*). Holograph.
Undated.

LETTER
XCV.

1500.
Between
February
and
August.
To Sir R.
Cecil.
Against
the return
of the
Earl of
Essex to
office and
power.

SIR,

I AM not wize enough to geve yow advise; butt if yow take it for a good counsell to relent towards this tirant, yow will repent it when it shalbe too late. His mallice is fixt, and will not evaporate by any your mild courses. For he will ascribe the alteration to her Majesties pusillanimitye and not to your good nature; knowing that yow worke but uppon her humor, and not out of any love towards hyme. The less yow make hyme, the less he shalbe able to harme yow and your's. And if her Majesties favor faile hyme, hee will agayne decline to a common parson.

For after-revenges, feare them not; for your own father that¹ was esteemed to be the contriver of NORFOLK'S ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humors of men succeed not;² butt grow by occasions and accidents of tyme and poure. SUMMERSETT made no revendge on the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND'S heares. NORTHUMBERLAND, that now is, thincks not of HATTON'S issew. KELLOWAY lives, that murderd the brother of HORSEY; and HORSEY lett hyme go by, all his lifetime.

I could name yow a thowsand of thos; and therefore after-fears are but profesies—or rather conjectures—from

¹ So in original letter, but the word is superfluous.

² *I. e.* 'are not inherited.'

causes remote. Looke to the present, and yow do wisely. His soonne shalbe the youngest Earle of England butt on,¹ and, if his father be now kept down, WILL CECILI. shalbe abell to keip as many men att his heeles as hee, and more to.² Hee may also mache in a better howse then his; and so that feare is not worth the fearinge. Butt if the father continew, he wilbe able to break the branches, and pull up the tree; root and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I rede your destiny.

Your's to the end,

W. R.

[POSTSCRIPT.]³—Lett the Q. hold BOTHWELL⁴ while she hath hyme. Hee will ever be the canker of her estate and saultye. Princes ar lost by securetye; and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good dayes, and all ours, after his libertye.

Addressed :

To the right honorabell Sir ROBERTE CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secritory to her Majestye.

Embossed, in Sir Robert Cecil's hand: "*Sir Walter Raleigh*;" and, in a later hand, "1601."

¹ *one.*

² *too.*

³ This last paragraph is written *across* the margin of the letter. I therefore print it as a 'Postscript.' The subscription follows immediately after the word "destinye."

⁴ See Prefatory Note.

LETTER
XCV.
—
1600.
[Between
February
and
August.]

XCVI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxiii. § 36 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
XCVI.

1600? or
1601?
Feb. 2.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From
Sher-
borne.]

Local
news of
the
Spanish
Fleet.—
Lord
Cobham.

SIR,

IF my newse be stale, it cost mee butt the labor to write it. A townsman's sonne of Sherborne hath bynn in Spaine, in a French bottome, and is now returned. He departed Lysborne the 15 of January which is late, and reporteth, for certayne, that the fleet of treasor is returned;—all but one great shipp, which is doubted of. Ther had then come sume 17 millions.

Hee spake with divers soldiers att Cascales, wher ther ar assembled 2,000, reddy to be imbarked in 30 sayle of shipp. Thos soldiers know no other butt that they were bound for Flanders:—it may be for Irland, or for some other purpose. They take up our small men of warr very fast; not only with the good-sayling Dunkirks, butt cussen them with French bottomes,—which the Inglish suspect not.

This that I write yow, yow may assure your sealf to be trew.

Yours as your sarvante,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I never receved on word from my Lord COBHAME,—neather of his suite, or of his cumminge or other matter, this 3 weekes. Yow have many letters of myne; I pray returne sume awnswere.

Candelmas day.

Addressed:

To the right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secretary, &c. Hast, hast, post haste. W. RALEGH.

Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil: "*Sir W. Raleigh.*"

1601.

XCVII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. fol. 84 (Hatfield). Holograph. The superscription in the hand of an amanuensis; but signed. Without date of year.

* * In the MS. Catalogue of the Hatfield Papers this letter is stated to belong to the year 1596. The internal evidence is conclusive of the fact that it cannot have been written until long afterwards; but I assign it only upon probable conjecture to the year 1601. Alarms about the fleets of Spain, and news about them, brought from the coast of Britanny, were almost equally rife in the August of 1599, in that of 1601, and again in that of 1602. (Comp. *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, of those dates respectively. Rolls House. Unarranged volumes; formerly marked Bund. '230,' and '235.')

But two circumstances make it probable, that this letter was written in 1601:—(1) The "charge" here spoken of by Raleigh is shown by the context to be that of Jersey—conferred upon him in Sept. 1600. (2) It appears, from a letter of Thomas Phelippes to Sir Robert Cecil (Bund. '235,' No. 227), that in August 1601 Lord Cobham made a journey into Cornwall. Phelippes tells Cecil that Cobham had desired him to obtain some intelligence about the doings of the Spaniards, and understanding, he adds, that "his Lordship is in the West country," he therefore sends it to Cecil, in his stead. This passage seems to refer to the same journey which is mentioned by Raleigh. At all events, the letter belongs either to August 1601, or to August 1602; not, assuredly, to 1596.

LETTER SIR,

X. VII.
 1561
 Aug. 13.
 To Sir R.
 Cecil
 From
 Sherburne
 Cobham's
 Journey
 into Corn-
 wall
 News
 of the
 Spanish
 Fleet —
 Cecil's
 purchase
 of Rush-
 more.

I HUMBLIE thanck yow for your letter which I received this 13th att night, att Sherburne, dated from the Court the 11th; so it was to dayes and too nights comminge. I my sealf went it in half a day less, and if ther weare any danger it would be no otherwise handled.

My Lord COBHAME stayd here butt one night, but went on for Cornwale. I could not by any mean dissuade hyme. I canot beleve that thos 80 sayle ar Spaniards, if they weare seene so high up as St. Mallo's; for no winde could serve them in so farr yt hath blowne. Butt if the[y] hover about the mouth of the Channell, I am here nurer my charg then att London.

I have sent away your letter post to my Lord COBHAME. I humblie thanck yow for VIVIEN. Wee do wishe you more cordially then yow cann wishe your sealf. To morrow I go to Rushmore agayne to take thorrow order. The trees, I thinck, may be released agayne to the first buyers, for they are not so nire as I thought, and farr derer then worthe; and will stand yow, all wayes considered, 900*l*. If yow send me your pleasure, I will leve them. Rushmore will not be fitt for yow to cum to this yeare. It is so ruined as I canott lodge yow or my sealf therin.

I pray beleve that when all harts ar open and all desires tried, that I am your poorest and your faythfullest frind, to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburn, the 13th of August at night, when I receive your's.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—BESS¹ returns yow her best wishes, notwithstanding all quarrells.

Addressed :

For her Majesties speciall affaires. To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secretary to her Majesty, at the Court. From Sherborne, the 13th of August, at 12 in the night. Post, haste. Hast, post, haste with all speede. W. RALEGH.

Endorsed: "13th of August. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master;" and also with the dates of receipt at Salisbury, Andover, and Basing.

LETTER
XCVII.

1601?
Aug. 13.

XCVIII.

TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date.

I HAVE sent your Lordship such news as came to me, from above, and your Lordship's letter to my Lord Treasurer agayne; it was brought me by the post, att midnight, and I opened it in a badd light and half asleep, thincking it had byn to my sealf. I hope your Lordship will be here tomorrow or a' Saterdag, or elce my wife sayes her oysters wilbe all spilt² and her partrig stale; if your Lordship cannot cum Friday, I will wait on yow wher yow ar. I praye send mee word if yow go to lyve in Melplashe,³ that I may attend yow; or a' Friday, I shall dispatch my busyness with the Justices here about those roggs the MEERS,⁴ whereof the elder hath byn att Court to complayne, and brought the Lord THOMAS [HOWARD] to Mr. Secritory to deale for hym.

LETTER
XCVIII.

[1601.
August.]

To Lord
Cobham.
From
Sherborne.

Hopes of a
visit from
Cobham.
—Lawsuit
with the
Meeres. —
News of a
Dutch
ship.

¹ Lady Raleigh.

² *spoiled*.

³ Perhaps Malpas, near Truro.

⁴ See Vol. I., chap. xxi.

LETTER
XCVIII
—
1501.
August.

The younger, Master Secritory hath now sent for by pursevant, and if it had not byn to have sent informations against hym I had byn with your Lordship this morninge. I feare that my Cornishe men did not repaire to your Lordship to do yow service, because your passage was so suddayne; butt I am sure yow have had an ill jurny. I pray your Lordship to send us word whether yow have taken up the howse att Bath or no; that wee may send thither.

Your Lordship's ever, and wholly, to command,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—BESS¹ remembers hersealf to your Lordship, and sayes your breach of promise shall make yow fare accordingly.

The shipp of the South Sea . . . of Hollande is past by—and none of owers stayd her,—with a lantern of clean gold in her sterne, and arrived att Amsterdame infinit riche. Master MANSFIELD hath been abroad to great purpose. The Queen is removed to WARD'S² howse on Friday, and from thence to KNOWLSES in Reddinge.³ Wher farther, it is not resolved.

Addressed:

To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lorde Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Her Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor of Kent.

¹ Lady Raleigh.

² Or WARDER'S? See the Prefatory Note to Letters XCIX. and C.

³ "Knowlses in Reddinge" is, I suppose, either Caversham Park, Oxfordshire, or else the fine old baronial seat of one branch of the Grey family of Grey,—Rotherfield Greys, also in Oxfordshire. Both of the were, at this time, seats belonging to "Knowls," and both are near Reading. Until very recently, the pious reverence of the late Miss Catherine Stapleton for her ancestors—among whom were many who did their stroke of work for England in their day and generation—withstood much miscalled "modern improvements," and kept up the old house:

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XCIX. AND C.—*RALEGH
AND THE DUKE OF BIRON.*

THE date of the preceding letter, No. XCVIII., is fixed by a comparison of the allusions in its postscript to the Queen's progress, with the following passages in two letters of John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton written in September 1601: "On the 13th of August, the Queen came to Windsor, and is expected shortly at Mr. Comptroller's at Causham."¹ And again: "The Queen's first remove from Windsor was to Mr. Warder's. Then to Reading. During her abode there she went to Mr. Comptroller's at Causham." Afterwards she went to Basing, the seat of the Marquess of Winchester, in Hampshire.

Of the visit to Basing, during this royal progress, of the Duke of Biron and his numerous companions, to which Raleigh refers so amusingly in the second of the letters which follow, Stow, in his *Annals*, gives this account:—"The fourth day after the Queen's coming to Basing, the Sheriff was commanded to attend the Duke of Biron at his coming into that country. Whereupon, the next day (10th of

the older park as historical places should be kept up. All that is now quickly suffering change.

The "Knowls" of this letter was Sir William Knollys, son of Elizabeth's faithful and plain-speaking old counsellor and cousin-german, Sir Francis. William Knollys was, at the time when Raleigh attended the Queen in this Progress, Comptroller of the Queen's Household. By James, he was successively created Baron Knollys of Greys (1603), and Viscount Wallingford (1616); and by Charles the First, Earl of Banbury (1626). He followed Robert Cecil, after an interval, in the Mastership of the Court of Wards. He lies, under a sumptuous tomb, in the Stapleton chapel of the village church of Greys,—a church which has lately been very needlessly "improved" (after the too-prevailing fashion of the day), into unmeaning smartness. The tomb and chapel, however, have escaped the fate of the church itself.

¹ See preceding footnote.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XCIX.
AND C.

1601.

PRE-
FACE
TO
LETTERS
XCIX.
AND C.
—
VICE.

September) he went towards Blackwater, and there met the said Duke, accompanied with above twenty of the nobility of France and attended with about four hundred Frenchmen, who were met by George, Earl of Cumberland, and by him conducted from London into Hampshire. The said Duke was that night brought to the Vine, a fair and large house of the Lord Sondes, which house was furnished with hangings and plate from the Tower and Hampton Court, and with seven score beds and furniture which the willing and obedient people of the county of Southampton, upon two days' warning, had brought thither to lend the Queen. The Duke abode there four or five days, all at the Queen's charges, and spent her more at the Vine than her own Court spent, for that time, at Basing. During his abode there, Her Majesty went to him at the Vine, and he to her at Basing. And one day he attended her at Basing Park in hunting; where the Duke stayed her coming, and did there see her in such royalty and so attended by the nobility, so costly furnished and mounted, as the like had seldom been seen. But, when she came to the place where the Duke stayed, the said Sheriff (as the manner is) bare-headed and riding next before her, stayed his horse, thinking the Queen would then have saluted the Duke: whereat the Queen being much offended, commanded the Sheriff to go on. The Duke followed her very humbly, bowing low . . . with his cap off, about twenty yards. Her Majesty on the sudden took off her mask, looked back upon him, and most graciously and courteously saluted him." She tarried at Basing, continues the chronicler, thirteen days; "being very well contented with all things there done; affirming she had done that in Hampshire that none of her ancestors ever did, neither that any Prince in Christendom could do;—that was, she lived in her Progress in her subjects' houses; entertained a royal ambassador, and had royally entertained him." Such entertainment gratified the Queen's vanity and displayed the lavish magnificence of the English nobility. But it had its inconveniences. Even the wealthy

Marquess of Winchester was, in some degree, impoverished by his enormous expenditure on this occasion. It was probably the most costly of all the royal visits ever made during a Progress. And Basing had very frequently been so favoured before.

That neglect of due attention to Henry's ambassador, on his arrival, of which Raleigh speaks so strongly, arose, it would seem, from no lack of instructions on the subject by the Lords of the Council. Ten days before the date of Letter XCIX. the Council sent its letters to the Earls of Sussex, Derby, and Hertford, and to the Lords Bindon, Compton, and Windsor, desiring them to give their attendance, "for the solemn reception of Marshal Biron, sent hither from the French king."¹ A like letter gave special instructions to the Earl of Cumberland to escort the Duke to Basing.²

In the course of the visit of September 1601, occurred one of the most curious conversations that have been recorded between a sovereign and an ambassador. Sully tells us in his *Memoirs* that the Duke of Biron had the boldness to question Elizabeth about her treatment of the Earl of Essex. He went so far as to express both his own compassion for the Earl, and his surprise that so much faithful service should have been followed by so tragical an end. Elizabeth, says Sully, was complaisant enough to state to the ambassador—who at that moment was certainly speaking, not for his master, but for himself—the reasons by which she justified her course. She told him that Essex had flung himself headlong into projects far above his strength, and that when,—notwithstanding that the evidence of his treason had become incontestable,—submission would still have brought pardon, no entreaties of friends or relatives could lead him to proffer it. "I know not," adds the great statesman who has recorded the conversation, and who had considerable knowledge of both interlocutors, "whether the Queen saw in the French ambassador certain

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XCIX.
AND C.

1601.

¹ *Registers of Privy Council: Elizabeth*, vol. xvii. p. 364. (Council Misc.)

² *Ibid.* p. 372.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTERS
XCIX.
AND C.

1601.

points of resemblance with the English favourite. The just reflections on the functions of crowned heads and on the duties of subjects with which she wound up her recital leads one to think so. But Biron turned the conversation to no profit.¹ It adds to the striking character of the incident to observe that he was, at the moment when Elizabeth thus addressed him, already known at the French Court to have been plotting against his royal master. Henry had hoped that new trust, and the diversion from a career of arms to a career of diplomacy—the course which Bacon had recommended to Essex—would wean his old favourite from the food which had nourished an unwise ambition. Soon after his return from England, Biron was sent on a more serious embassy into Switzerland. But in less than ten months after the interview at Basing, he too came to the scaffold. Before any judicial procedure was begun, Henry addressed to him, in person, almost the very words which (according to Sully) Elizabeth had told him she, in a less direct way, had addressed, or had caused to be suggested, to Essex.

The French historian—or romancer on history—Eudes de Mezerai has improved upon the Duke of Sully's account of the intercourse between Biron and Queen Elizabeth by stating, for the information of his compatriots on our domestic manners, that when the Queen returned to London, Biron accompanied her; that they passed together through the Temple Gate of the City; and that when they came within sight of it, Elizabeth pointed out to the ambassador the gory head of Essex, there exposed as the head of a traitor.

When Raleigh was on his last journey from Devonshire to London, in 1618, some of the latest incidents of Biron's career came to his memory, and he conversed about them with his companions. Some of those incidents had first come to his ears, not long before the trials of 1603, in the vague form in which they had travelled to the French coast, and had been brought thence to Jersey by the Norman fishermen.

¹ Sully, *Mémoires* (edit. of 1814), tom. iii. p. 57.

XCIX.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 22 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SIR,

I AM gladd I came hither, for I never saw so great a person so neglected. He hathe bynn here now left ; not on¹ nobelman nor gentelman to accompany them nor to gwyde them. And it is so long er they hard of my Lord of CUMBERLAND as they thought they weare neglected. Wee have caried them to Westmister to see the monuments ; and this Monnday we enter-tayned them at the Bear Garden, which they had great pleasure to see.

Here hathe bynn with them Sir A. SAVAGE² and Sir ARTHUR GORGES, who hathe bynn their guides,³— without whom they had byn left alone. Their horses will not be provided till Wensday morninge. The posts say they cannot take up horses without cummission from the Lords of the Concell.

I sent to and fro, and have labored like a moyle⁴ to fashion things so as on Wensday night they wilbe att Bagshoot, and Thursday at the Vine.

It weare good that A. SAVAGE and A. GORGES weare

LETTER
XCIX.

1601.
Sept. 7.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Crosby
House.

Attend-
ance on
the Duke
of Biron
at West-
minster
and the
Bear
Garden. -
Arrange-
ments for
the Duke's
journey to
Basing.

¹ *one*.

² See the Prefatory Note to Letter LXVIII. p. 136.

³ This reading is doubtful ; the word being indistinctly written.

⁴ *mule*.

LETTER
XCIX.1601.
Sept. 7.

cummanded to cum, because they speak French well,
and ar familiiar with them.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. R.

Crosby Howse, this Monday att 6 a'Clock.

Addressed :

*To the right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall
Secritory. For Her Majesties most especiall service.*

W. RALEGH.

London, vii September, att ix a'clock att night.

Endorsed :

*6¹ Sept. 1601. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. The enterlay-
ment given to the Duke of Byron.*

C.

TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged
Papers. (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date.

LETTER
C.1601.
Sept. 12.

To Lord
Cobham.
From
Basing.

Desire for
his attend-
ance on
the Queen.
— Pre-
sence of
the Duke
of Biron
and his
suite at
Court.

I THAT know your Lordshipp's resolution when wee
parted cannot take on mee to perswade yow, I will only
say this muche ; it is but a day and half jurney hither,
the Queen will take it exceeding kyndly and take her-
sealf more beholdinge unto yow then yow thinke. They
French tarry butt 2 or 3 dayes att most. I will pre-
sently returne to the Bathe with your Lordship agayne
The French weare all black and no kind of bravery at
all, so as I have only made mee a black taffeta sute to be
in ; and leave all my other sutes. This is all I can say,
saving I only wished yow a littell to beare, and make

¹ So in MS. The date of the year is in a later hand.

he Queen so much the more in your debt. It will be Thursday er they have adience. It were to long to tell the Queens discourse with me of your Lordship, and finding it, I dust not say that I knew yow weare resolved not to cum, butt left it to the estate of your boddy. I need not doubt butt that your Lordship will be here; yet I wishe yow to hold such a cource as may best fitt your honor and your humour together. If yow cum, shee will take it most kyndly. If yow cum not, it shalbe handled as yow will have it; and herein and all elce, I will remayne your's before all the worlde,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Basing, this Saterdag night, late [12 Sept. 1601]. I am yeven now going att night to London to provide me a playne taffeta sute and a playne black saddell, and wil be here agayne Twesday night; and if your French jurney holde, it will mucche stand you for them to know what yow ar here, for I am resolved that the Queen will most esteeme yow here and use you.

Addressed :

To the Rt. Honbell. my very good Lorde Cobham.

CI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 53 (Hatfield).
Holograph. Without date of year.

SIR,

I RECEVED a letter from Jersey, dated the 12th of this September, by which I was advertised that a barke of St. Malo's, cumminge from Lysbone the first of Sep-

LETTER
C.
—
1601.
Sept. 12.

LETTER
CI.
—
1601.
Sept. 19.

ember, reporteth for certayne that the Spanishe fleet
 is ~~well~~ helde ther, together with some 6, or 7,000 soldier
 yeven then redde to depart, ether for Irland or the Low
 Countres. Ther weare among them of shippes of war
 some 25, the rest weare of all sortts for transportation
 only. The Frenche man is helde to be an honest man
 and as wee beleve in Jersey, will reportt no untrewth
 If they be att sea this weather, they ar hardly bestede
 The rest I leave to your judgementt.

I ment to have gone to the Bathe the day after my
 returne, but I fell sick, and so continew; wherby I shall
 not be abell this yeare to help my sealf therby. That
 rogue MEERKS continews his knavery as violently as ever,
 and sent¹ down seven writts out of the Exchequer—on²
 to me and six more to divers poore men here, to vex
 them only, and to shew bravery. I must in this matter
 refer my reputation to your favorabell regard of mee.
 For nothinge ever concerned mee more.

I have by this bearer sent yow the gloves, but it is in-
 dented that if the³ serve not your own hands, yow must
 of your grace return them agayne.

Your's ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, this 19th of September [1601].

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall
 Secretary, &c.

Endorsed:

19 September, 1601. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.

¹ So in MS. ; 'hath' omitted.

² one.

³ they.

CII.

SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Cecil Papers, vol. lxxxviii. § 62 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.
Without date of year.

v that MEERES¹ is bounde to the good
ir GEORGE TRENCHARD and Sir RAUFE
three or foure other Justices of this shire.
nisence is not above £40. The rest that
hyme ar too or thre roggs of the country,
nceler's cummandment is layde it serveth
supersedeas; and did it not, yet by mee no
lbe taken. That his wife is a kynswoman
ESSEX it is trew. She was a poore mans
untry, butt to² good for such a knave;
broken piece that, I thincke, few or none
ad, this knave,—hopinge therby to have
y the Earle of ESSEX,—tooke her. Butt
not make shew to like MEERES, nor admitt
esence. Butt it was thought that secreatly
ive used hyme for sume mischeif agaynst
ESSEX had prevayled, he had bynn used
rfeter. For he writes my hande so per-
not any way decerne the difference.
ite unto my Lady WALSINGAME towching
he tooke into hys howse a sister of his
d sume 200 markes' portion, which the
ssned her of and turned her of³ a-begginge.
er being as deere to my Lady as MEERS'
atters; and also Vol. I., chap. xxi. ² *too*. ³ *off*.

LETTER
CII.

1601.
Sept. 25.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From
Sher-
borne.]

Lawsuits
with
Meeres,
and other
personal
affairs.

LETTER
CII.
—
1601.
Sept. 25.

wife, she cannot esteeme such a knave who, if he respected her,¹ would not so abuse her sister as he hathe, who being unmarried and begotten with childe in his howse is now by hyme,—thus undun,—cussned and cast of.²

Besyds, I hope that my Lady of ESSEX cannot say butt, in matters of more importance, it hath pleased yow and your frinds to do her service since her Lord's death. Butt, howsoever it bee, if yow shall not thinck it fitt that hee submitt hym sealf—having used towards mee many more cussnegnes and villanes then ever DANIELL³ did to my Lady of ESSEX—I shalbe contente with your

¹ Meaning, it would seem, 'if he respected *his wife*.'

² *of*.

³ John Daniel, of Danesbury or Dewsbury in Cheshire, who may possibly claim the distinction of having been the most thorough-paced and accomplished scoundrel known to the London of James the First. Raleigh's allusion is to his forgery of a series of letters entrusted by the Earl of Essex to the Countess' keeping. Daniel had married a Huguenot French-woman, who had been in the service of Lady Essex, and had obtained that lady's confidence. When the Earl's troubles grew serious, Lady Essex feared, it seems, to keep the letters in her own house, and entrusted them to the charge of Daniel's wife. By her, they were shown to her husband, who stole them, and employed Peter Bales, a famous writing-master of the day, to make fac-similes. He then worked on Lady Essex' fears for her husband, by a series of villanies and threats which there is no need to narrate, until he had obtained an enormous sum of money as the condition of his returning to her the Earl's letters,—given in charge to her waiting-woman. The money obtained, he gave up the forgeries, and retained the originals; and then began to work upon the poor Countess' fears and love for her husband again. When the villany came at length to light, after the Earl's death, he was tried in the Star Chamber; sentenced to repay the money he had obtained from the Countess of Essex; and to pay a heavy fine to the Queen. The Queen compounded with him for the fine. He then set Lady Essex at defiance, and found one or more lawyers to support his plea that a pardon from the Crown, in such a case, disabled a meaner claimant from prosecuting her claim. His narrative of his own "Sufferings"—addressed to King James the First—was long kept in the Chapter House at Westminster (among the Records of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer), and is now in the new Rolls House. It is entitled *Danyell's Disasters*, and is a curiosity in the literature of knavery. The letters of Lady Essex on this strange affair are among the Papers at Hatfield. They are both touching and admirably written.

in, and dare make my Lady of ESSEX judge
se.

hath sent down 26 subpœnas, to mee and
men, since he was cummitted.

Spanierds be now att sea, they ar in great dis-
r Lord COBHAME is now with yow. I am sure
must be a godmother and my Lord Admirall
tye. I beseich yow lett us know what becumes
and my Lord of NORTHUMBERLAND, to whom
tten of your carefull respect of hyme.

conclude with MEERS, if ther be any nobell
celer, or gentelman that would be contented
provoked by a sarvant, and thinck it fitt to
many indignites from a villayne raysed by
f, I wilbe contented to be ordered in this cause
one.¹

yes that she must envy any fingers whosoever
weare her gloves, butt your owne.

Your's ever as your sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

September [1601].

*right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knighte, Principall
Secritory, &c.*

*September 25. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master, concerninge
Meeres.*

ys later than the date of this letter from Sir W. Raleigh,
s wrote to Sir R. Cecil a letter dated from Sherborne, and
superscription Viscount Bindon's signature,—dated from
losing certain "advertisements" which had been received
ship, who, says the writer, "commanded me in haste to
to the packet-bearer of Sherborne, which I performed this
' &c. (*Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 69. Hatfield.) On the
ber *John Meeres*, the person specially complained of in

LETTER
CII.

1601.
Sept. 25.

CIII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL

From the Original *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, marked '261 A.' (Rolls House.) Holograph.

LETTER
CIII.

1601.
Sept. 25.

To Sir
Robert
Cecil.
[From
Sher-
borne.]

Arrival of
Scottish-
men at
Wey-
mouth.—
News
of the
Spanish
Fleet.

SIR.

THER arived att Weimouth on Friday, the xxvth of this September, to Skottishmen, the on called ROBERT BLANSHILL, the other ROBERT PERISON, marchants of Aburdene:—they departed Lysbone the thirde of this present;—who affirme, on their oathes, that they weare stayde att Lysbone and St. Uvall¹ eyghteen weekes; and that ther deputed from Lysbone, some dayes before their cuminge from thence, a fleet of greate Spanish shippes, to the number of thirty-six, and with them three Irishe shippes, one Irishe byshoppe, with many preists, and other Irishe men. They all gave out that they intended to land either att Cork or Lymbrike. The number of men weare 8,000, wherof 6,000 soldiers; the other 2,000 weare to bringe back the shippes. They weare well furnished with vittell, munition, and mony; and had also with them many women.

Sir Walter's letter printed above, thus addressed Cecil from his confinement in the Gatehouse: "I do hereby acknowledge my violent speeches used by [*i. e.* about] Sir Walter Raleigh, as formerlie I have done, and that they were spoken furiouslye and foolishhelie; hoping that your Honor will have a mercyfull consideracion thereof, and waigh the tyme when I uttered them; the rather for that I am verie sorry for the same, and wilbe readye to make such satisfaction to him for the same as your Honor shall thinck meete, nothing doubting but that your Honor wilbe respective of my other causes that they may not [be] hereby impeached," &c.

¹ *St. Uvall.*] San Juan de Ullon?

It seemeth by this report that a Plantation is ment. The Skottishe seem to be very honest men, and this intelligenc differeth littell from that I sent yow from Jersey. All which I leve to your better judgment, and rest your most assured to do yow service.

W. RALEGH.

Weimouthe, this 26 of September [1601].

Addressed :

For Her Maiesties service. To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Principal Secretary to Her Maiestic. Shirburne, the 26 of September. att 10 o'clock the forenoure.

Endorsed :

Sir W. Raleigh to my Master. From Shirburne.

LETTER
CIII.
1601.
Sept. 26.

CIV.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers; formerly marked '263.' (Rolls House.) Holograph.

I WROTE unto yow the 26 of this present what I received from certayne Skottishe marchants. It is now manefest that bothe thos advertisements ar trew, for thos three pinneses which brought in the great prize att Plymouth of 900 chests of suger were chased by the Spanish fleet, seven dayes before their arivall; and they arived on Tuesday last,¹ the second of this moneath, and weare therfore chased of² the mouth of the Channell, which was about the 25 of August, and so must needs

LETTER
CIV.
1601.
Sept. 27.

To Sir
Robert
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

¹ So in MS., but evidently by a slip of the pen.

² *off.*

LETTER
CIV.1601.
Sept. 27.News of
the
Spanish
Fleet.—
Occur-
rences on
the Irish
coast.

be in Ireland or perished ; from whence it seemeth yow
canot hear by reason of this esterly winde.

Thos of Munster had some warninge of ther being
on the coast, for one Captayne LOVE or Capt. LANE,
being on the Irishe coast, forsooke his shipp, and went
into a bote and tooke horse uppon the shore, and gave
warninge to the next adjoyninge about the coast of
Dungarvan, between Yoholl¹ and Waterforde. From
there he tooke his shipp agayne and arived att Ply-
moth. Thes pinneses tolde 60 sayle. A Fleming also,
cuming from Lysbone, confirmeth the former intelli-
gence, and addeth therunto, either out of conjecture, or
knowledge, or fame, affirming that the soldiers ar 6,000;
that they have twelvemoneths pay, and like vittell,
beforehande ; that he saw many with chaynes of golde;
and that generally the army was very brave, and well
provided of all things ; that certayne cannons were
imbarcked in some gallions, with all other things answer-
abell.

Sir, I beseich [you] to acquaynt my Lord Admirall
herewith, and that yow will vouchsaif to excuse me
for not writing to his L[ordship], knowing that yow are
of one mind and fortune, of one love and on² indevor
for Her Majesties service.

Yours ever as your sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

Shirb[orne], the 27 of Sept. [1601].

Addressed :

*For Her Majesties speciall affaires. To the right honorabell Sir ROBERT
CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secretary, &c. Hast, &c.*

¹ Youghal.

² one.

CV.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 128 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SIR,

If I cum not to¹ late, I would be an humbell sutor unto yow for a cumpany in Irland for a gentelman, Mr. STUCKLY, who hath served with good reputation bothe by sea and lande. Hee was wounded with Sir RICHARD GRENVILE in the *Revendge*, and hath since served longue in Irland and elcewhere. For the rest, I will not trobell yow, but I will hope for your favor towards hyme, and rest your Honors to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburn, this 13 of October [1601].

[POSTSCRIPT.]—This bearer hath brought an Englishman which came in the Spanish fleet. Hee will tell yow that they imbarcked 4,000 men, but want ij great shipps and almost a 2,000 of their men. They ar riche in mony. The cummanders have brought their wives and children, which proveth that they mean to abide it, and make us a warr ther. They look for great supplies. They have broken down the wall, man's hight. They have intrenched without the towne; out of which they have bynn beaten twice in a day by Captain FLOWRE.² The Inglishe serve with invincibell currage agaynst them. Many Spanierds ar alreddy taken. They have too carvells uppon the entrance. The Deputy is not yet cum

¹ *to*.

² This reading is doubtful.

LETTER
CV.

1601.
Oct. 13.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

Recom-
mendation
of Mr.
Stucley,
for service
in Ireland.
—Invasion
of Ireland
by the
Spaniards.

LETTER
CVI.
1601.
Oct. 13.

to beseege them, but will shortly. DIEGO BROCHERO is
admirall: SEBUNO, vice-admirall. BROCHERO is thot
dead. They had 6 great shippes of 900 toon, and on¹ of
1,200: all mannd, for the most, with strangers. The
most of the shippes ar gone. The rest tarry yet.

I had thought that this bearer had been STUCKLY,
which made me write as I did. Butt he is still in
Irelande, and therefore I do not miche desire anything in
his behalf.

Your's ever to do yow service,

W. R.

Sherburne this Wensday night.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall
Secretary, &c.*

Endorsed:

14 October, 1601. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.*

CVI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxix. § 41 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CVI.
1601.
Oct.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
[From
Sher-
borne.]

SIR,

I AM of oppinion that ether Kynsale was not the
place purposed to be undertaken, or elce FLORENCE²
was the cause therof, for the port bordereth his country.
The towne is of small reseate, mastered by hills, and cum-
passed with a weake wall. Butt wher as I herd that the
Deputy and Presedent have written that they will make

¹ *one.*

² Florence MacCarthy. See Vol. I., chapter xvi.

work of it, I am not altogether of that minde,
t I do not thinck that Spayne will supply them

Neather will thos Spanierds alreddy ther finde
party as they hoped,—which may be some cause
governours' hopes. Butt, after a few dayes, yow
re more; for, if the country stand sounde, then the
ilbe the easier. Butt sure I am if thes Spanierds
m in the begining of the warrs, the kingdome had
once lost. Yow shall finde, I warrant yow, that
NE will bestire hyme sealf in the north, and every
n his quarter. For this is the last of all hopes.

MEERES, I thinck by this tyme yow finde the
it of his villanous spirrite, and yet a more noto-
wardly brute never lived. Butt if hee do not
t hyme sealfe, hee will triumph that hee hath
d mee and my greatest frinds. All which I leve
r favorabell care, and rest your ever most fayth-
do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[SCRIPT.]—My wife sayes that yow came hither
unseasonabell tyme, and had no leasure to looke
; and that every day this place amends, and
n, to her, groes worss and worss. I have sent
her Majestie's letters and your Honor's with all
nce; not doubting butt the soldiers, butt¹ first
ted and thes, shalbe reddy. My deputes have
1 to mee that they will arme the first 50 men.
they will do for thes, I know not.

ed:

*The right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knighte, Principall
Secretorye, &c.*

d: "*Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. Without date;*" and, in
another hand, "*Oct. 1601.*"

¹ So in MS., probably written for 'both.'

LETTER
CVL
—
1601.
Oct.

Invasion
of Ireland
by the
Spaniards.
—Knavery
of John
Meeres

CVII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxxvi. § 131 (Hatfield).
Without date.

LETTER
CVII.

1601?

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Jersey?

Remit-
tance of
money
to Jersey.
—Particu-
lars of a
privateer-
ing adven-
ture.

SIR,

I HAVE now receved of Mr. THOMAS FREAKE full summe of foure hundred poundes, according to your former letter, which I hope will sett all the next, I will send a particuler, easier to stoothe. Mr. FREAKE had not so much mony offered at the present, but hath taken it up of his friends, who was exceeding willinge to do yow service therein, as wilbe in any thinge that yow shall please to require, for which I pray yow to returne hyme thankes, as is a hard matter in this country¹ to make privateer mony.

By the next, I hope yow shall here that the matter is gonn, that now staves butt for the winde; and no other matter of importance, I rest your's in service,

W. R

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I will returne the last letter in the next packett.

Addressed :

*To the right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight,
Secretarye, &c.*

Endorsed : "*Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.*" Without date.

¹ Jersey!

1602.

CVIII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xciv. § 56 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date of year.

SIR,

Yow will, I hope, geve me leve to salute my Lord COBHAME and yow, both in a letter. I can send no newse from hence. I here not from any part of the world as yet. I cannot send away a barke for Spayne, the winde blowing continewally att west and north west. From France I have hard nothing, butt that a bark of Granvile told me that the master was offred a hundred crowns to be pilot for this place by SPINOLA. Butt he concluded with a sute for the transporting of sea cole;— to which, I suppose, his silee¹ tale¹ tended.

I feare the cumming of many Norman gentelmen. Butt I cannot prevent it. I shalbe mich pesterd with them. I beseich yow bestow a line on me, that leve in desolation. And, if yow find no cause to staye me here, I would willingly returne.

The newses here of EPERNON'S flight from Court, the Constabell's² disgrading, and such other Rochell advertismentts, I beleve not. Yow best know what hathe pastc.

I shall ever rest to do yow bothe service with all I have, and my life to boote,

W. RALEGH.

¹ These two words have been hurriedly written, and the reading is a little doubtful. The word "tended" is plain.

² *i.e.* the Marshal Duke of Biron.

LETTER
CVIII.

1602.
July 20.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Jersey.

Greetings.
—Foreign
news and
rumours.
—Ex-
pected
arrival of
Normans
in Jersey.

LETTER
CIX.
—
1602.
Aug 12

ingly. I beseech your Lordship that I may here from
yow. From hence I can present yow with nothinge butt
my fast love and trew affection, which shall never part
from studiing to honor yow, till I be in the grave,

W. RALEGH.

Weimouth, this 12 of August [1602].

[POSTSCRIPT.]—My Lord Vicount [BINDON] hath
so exalted MEERE'S sutes agaynst mee, in my absence,
as neather Master Serjent HEALE nor any elce could be
hard for mee to stay trialls while I was out of the land
in Her Majesties service ;—a right and curtesy afforded
to every begger. I never busied mysealf with the
Vicont's wealth; [nor] of his extortions, or poysoninge
of his wife, as it is here avowed, have I spoken. I
have forborne here, in respect of the Lord THOMAS
[HOWARD], and cheifly because of Master Secritory
who, in his love to my Lord THOMAS, hathe wisht mee
to it. Butt I will not indure wrong att so pevishe a
foole's hands any longer. I will rather loose my life
And I thinck that my Lord Puritan PERIAM¹ doeth
thincke that the Queen shall have more use of roggs
and villayns then of men, or els hee would not, att
BYNDON'S instances, have yeilded to try actions agaynst
mee, being out of the lande.

Addressed :

*To the right honorabell my singular good Lorde, the Lord COBHAME,
Lord Warden of the Five Portts, &c.*

¹ Sir William Peryam, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, from
Feb. 1581 until Hilary Term of 1593 ; and Chief Baron of the Exchequer,
from the latter date until Oct. 1604.

CX.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xciv. § 160 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

SIR,

WHERAS as I wrate unto yow in my last that I was gonn to Weymouth, to speake with a pinnes of myne arived from Virginia, I found this bearer, Captayne GILBERT, ther also, who went on the same voyage. Butt myne fell 40 leauges to the west of it, and this bearer as much to the east ; so as neather of them spake with the peopell. Butt I do sende both the barks away agayne, having saved the charg in sarsephraze¹ woode; butt this bearer bringing sume 2200 waight² to Hampton,³ his Adventurers have taken away their parts, and brought it to London.

I do therefore humblie pray yow to deale withe my Lord Admirall for a letter to make seasure of all that which is come to London, ether by his Lordships octo- retye or by the Judge : because I have a patent that all shippes and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther, without my leve. And wheras sarsephraze was worth 10s., 12s., and 20s. a pound before GILBERT returned, his cloying of the market will overthrow all myne, and his owne also. Hee is contented to have all stayde ; not only for this present : butt, being to go agayne, others will also go and distroy the trade, which, other-

LETTER
CX.
1602.
Aug. 21.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Wey-
mouth.

Continued
efforts for
coloni-
zation of
Virginia,
and
foundation
of a trade
therewith.
—Arrival
of some
cargoes of
sassefras
wood, &c.

¹ *Sassafras*.

² 2200 lb. or 22 cwt., as then computed.

³ Southampton.

LETTER
CX.
1602.
Aug. 21.

wize, would yeild 8 or 10 for on,¹ in certenty, and a returne in xx weekes.

I desire butt right herein; and my Lord Admirall, I hope, will not be a hinderance to a matter of trade graunted by the Great Seale of Inglande; his Lordship havinge also freedome and an interest in the countrye. A man of my Lord's, of Hampton, arested part of GILBERT'S, for the tenths. I hope my Lord will not take it; belonging not unto hyme; having also hyme sealf poure to trade ther² by his interest. And it were pittie to overthrow the enterprize; for I shall yet live to sec it an Inglishe nation.

Ther was also brought 26 sedar trees by GILBERT, which one STAPLYNE of Dartmouth hath. If my Lord will vouchsaf to write to C. HARRIS³ to seaze them, we will part them in three parts,—to seele⁴ cabineats, and make bords⁵ and many other delicate things. I beseech yow vouchsaf to speak to my Lord. I know his Lordship will do mee right herein. I, for hast, have not written. For, if a stay be not made, it wilbe spent, and sold into many hands.

This bearer, Captayne GILBERT—who is my Lord COBHAME'S man—will find out wher it is. Hee came to mee with your post letter. It is he,—by a good token,—that had the great diamonde.

I beseech yow, favor our right; and yow shall see what a prety, honorabell, and sauf trade wee will make.

Your's ever to serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I hope yow will excuse my cumbersome letters and sutes. It is your destney to be troubled

¹ *one*.

² *I. e.* to Virginia.

³ Christopher Harris, an officer of the Admiralty.

⁴ *cid.*

⁵ 'bords' is probably here used in the sense of 'tables.'

our frinds, and so must all men bee. Butt what
inck unfitt to be dun for mee shall never be a
, ether internall or externall. I thanck yow ever
r the good, and what cannot be effected, farewell
f wee cannot have what we would, methincks it is
bonde to finde a frinde that will strayne hym
his frind's cause in whatsoever,—as this world

outh, this 21 of August [1602].

OND POSTSCRIPT.]—GILBERT went without my
nd therfore *all* is confiscate; and he shall have
: agayne.

l:

*right honorabell Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall
Secritorye, &c.*

:

August 21. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.

CXI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

: Original. *Domestic Correspondence*: Elizabeth. Unarranged
, 1602; formerly numbered '174.' (Rolls House.) Holograph.
ut date of year.

RECEVED thes inclosed from my levetenant this
: morninge, and have dispatched the bearer which
om Jersey unto yow. It seemes to be trew. All
nn be don is to lay for them carefully, and thoughe
les slipp by the shore, the flibotts cannot. They
of galleasses, butt I understand it not. I am at

LETTER
CX.
1602.
Aug. 21.

LETTER
CXI.
1602.
Sept. 15.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Bath.

LETTER
CXI.1602.
Sept. 15.News
of the
Spanish
Fleet, sent
from
Jersey.

this instant in payne and cannot writ miche. I beseeche
you be good to this poore man that hath taken paynes
and come with speed, in his own barck.

Your's as your sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I beseech you remember me to my
Lord COBHAME.

Bath, the xvth [September, 1602].

Addressed :

*For Her Majesties especiall service. To the right honorable Sir ROBERT
CECYLL, Principall Secritorye to Her Majestye, &c. Hast, post,
hast. Hast for life. W. RALEGH.*

Bathe, the 15 of September, att after nowne.

Endorsed :

*1602. September xv. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. With some
advertisements from Jersey.*

[ENCLOSURE IN LETTER CXI.]

SIR G. POULET TO SIR W. RALEGH.

It maye please your Honor to receive here enclosed a letter sent from a
Englysh gentleman lying at Rhenes,¹ certyfing the arryvall of the Spannysh
galleys at Blauett, which advyse being of great importance I have thought
yt my dewtye with all hast possybell to acquaint your Lordship therewith;
and to that purpose have dyspatched this bearer, PHYLLYP ROCKYER, pur-
posely unto you, with expresse charge to use all dyllygence possybell,
which I dowt not but he wyll performe. And yet, fearing what may
happen, I doo send the licke packet by JOHN CROSSE in another passage.
And whereas Mr. HOWRYLL's letter maketh mensyon of a letter to Mr.
Secretarye, the same ys not come to my hands. This letter came by the
waye of St. Malloos this mornynge. From whence, belecke, the letter for
Mr. Secretarye ys sent dyrectlye. And so, wysching that these advertys-
ments may have a speedy passage unto your Honour, I wyll humbly take
my leave. Jersey, the xiiith of September, 1602.

Your Honour's in all dewtye to command,

G. POULET.

Addressed :

*To his honorable Governour, Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight, Lord
Warden of the Stannerys, Captayn of Her Majesties Gard, and
Governour of Jersey. Hast, &c.*

¹ Rennes, in Brittany.

CXII.

TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

*e Original. Domestic Correspondence: Elizabeth. Unarranged
ers. (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date of year.*

ST LORDE,

DO only write yow thes to salute yow, and to
to here from yow how your particular, and our
ll, worlde movethe; and withall that yow will
afe to lett me know how the Queen accepted the

For the littell comonwealth whence I came, I
ve to trobell your Lordship withall till God send
meet. I am now preparing my miserable jurney
ornwall. From thence I will hast towards yow,
ewher I will ever remayne

Your most trew frinde and sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

[SCRIPT.]—BESS¹ remembers herself to your
lip, with a challengd that shee never hard from
I beseich your Lordship to favor this poore man,
worthy estimation.

borne, this 14th of October [1602?].

sd:

*my honorable good Lord, the Lord COBHAM, Lord Warden of the
Cinque Portes.*

¹ Lady Raleigh.

LETTER
CXII.

1602?
Oct. 14.

To Lord
Cobham
From
Sherborne.

Greetings.
—Raleigh
is about to
go into
Cornwall.

CXIII.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C, b ii. § 102 (Holograph). Without date of year.

LETTER
CXIII.
—
1602.
Nov. 3.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

Regulation
of the
Mines of
Cornwall.
—Deten-
tion by
private
affairs at
Sherborne.

SIR,

SINCE I wrate unto yow, out of Cornwale, agreement with the Tynners, I have not hard fro: I miche desire to know how our labors ar accep and how the world farethe.

I linger here as longe as I cann, to dispa private affaires; except ther be cause to hasten I will herein be directed by yow, and in all thin disposed att your pleasure. I can write yow from no other newse, butt that we ar all—littell and § in good health, and ever yours faythfully to cum wherinsoever,

W. RALEIGH

Sherburne, the 3 of November [1602].

CXIV.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcvi. § 104 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER
CXIV.
—
1602.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From the
Court?

Business of
the Wine
Office.—

SIR,

I HAVE perswaded all the poore Tavern Englende that I would not depart the Court unti were assured to enjoy their estates and free ther the Promoter. If I shalbe sent away¹ before finished, I shall not only be thought a cussener; b my absence, I know ther wilbe a thowsand famy

¹ *I. e.* be sent to his government of Jersey.

ourt. The matter is nothinge to her Majestye. that hath justified all her actions, words, and s, to all the yearth, will not finde me out to make ple of the contrary. The Queen may take advantage of the acts of her awncestors; but neather prince nor private man denieth hyme sealf. Her Majestye sheweth his grace to Sir HENRY LEG for £400 lande, and the gift of her Majesties gift.

reves mee to find with what difficulty and torment sealf I obtayne the smailest favor. Her Majestye sheweth that I am reddey to spend all I have, and my life, in a day; and that I have but the keeping of that . For all I have I will sell for her in an howre, and send it in her service.

: the Queen, then, break their harts that ar none s. Ther is littell gayne in losinge her own. Thes should not torment mee if I were as other ar. is trewe,—‘*Ubi dolor, ibi amor; exue amorem.*’

er as it pleaseth her Majesty to promis to do it er, although it may be certayne that ‘*Miser est futurus pendet,*’ yet I protest, before God, for my never care to have it other wize. Butt I cannot or shew my face out of my doores, without it, nor de thorow the townes wher thes Tavernerss dwell. seich yow to offre it. I hope her Majestye will use it; or thinck it a gayne to send mee away shen and disgraced.¹ Your’s to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

d: “*To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secritorye, &c.*”

, in Sir Robert Cecil’s hand: “*Sir Walter Ralegh;*” and, in another hand, “*To my Master.* 1602.”

. at present, unable to explain the precise suit to which this letter siness of the Wine-licensing Patent directly relates. It is probable

II.

S

LETTER
CXIV.

1602.

The
Queen’s
disfavour.

CXV.

TO THE QUEEN.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxiii. § 35 (Hatfield). Holograph.

* * * The scription of this letter, like its style, bears the characteristic marks and stamp of Raleigh; but its extreme precision and neatness of hand—so entirely unusual with the writer at this period of his life—are such as might excite at least a momentary misgiving as to its genuineness. They appear, at the first glance, to exceed that natural amount of care and deliberation which would mark a courtly subject's deference to his Sovereign. On the whole, however, there seems to be no ground for questioning its authenticity, as an original letter in Sir Walter's autograph.

In subsequent years, careful—almost elaborated—penmanship became characteristic of Raleigh's letters, whenever the subject was important. I regret that I am not, at present, able to put before the reader a fac-simile of this later style of scription, as well as of those early scrawls of which he has already seen a specimen in the Letter to the Earl of Leicester, of October 1587.

that some technical irregularity in the terms of the Patent had been discovered, and that an attempt had been made—during Raleigh's passing cloud of disfavour with the Queen—to injure him, and, through him, the “poor Taverners” or Vintners, by disturbing in some way the licences he had granted. [See the Letter of the Solicitor-General Egerton, quoted above, p. 41.] It would also appear that the thing proposed to be done was expected, in some degree, to benefit the Queen's Exchequer; and of course it was also expected not to injure that of the promoters, who—under such circumstances—would much rather have heard of Raleigh's banishment to his command at Jersey than have continued to see him at Court.

RESUMED to present your Majestyc with a
ontayninge the dangers which might groe by
ish faction in Skotland. How it pleased your
to accept therof I know not. I have since
at divers ill-disposed have a purpose to speak
ssion. If the same be suppresst, I am gladd of
earinge the worst, I sett down sume reasons to
e motive meerly vayne, dangerus, and unnescs-
And because I durst not my sealf speak, in any
without warrant, I have sent your Majestyc thes
ts, which may perchance put others in minde of
it not impertinent; and who, beinge graced by
ajesties favor, may, if need require, use them
others more worthy. Without glory I speake
durst ether by writinge or speach satisfye the
that poynct, and in every part of their foolish
s which, for shortnes of time, I could not so
insert. This beinge, after one hour's warninge,
houre's worke, I humblic beseich your Majestyc
cquaynt any withall, unles occasion be offred
em.

Majestyc may, perchance, speake hereof to thos
: my great frinds, but I finde poore effects
or any other supposed ametye. For, your
havinge left mee, I am left all alone in the
and am sorry that ever I was att all. What
lonn is out of zcale and love, and not by any
ment: for I am only forgotten in all rights, and
fares; and myne enemis have their wills and
over mee. Ther ar many other things con-
your Majesty's present service, which, mee-
are not, as the¹ ought, remembred; and the

LETTER
CXV.

[1602?]

To Queen
Elizabeth.

On pro-
posals for
the decla-
ration of a
Successor
to the
Crown. —
Regrets at
his exclu-
sion from
the
Queen's
presence.

1 //g.

LETTER
CXV.
[1602?]

tymes pass away, unmesured, of which more profit might be taken. But I feare I have alreddy presumed to¹ mich, which Love stronger then Reason hath incoraged; for my errors ar eternal, and those of other mortall, and my labors thanckless, I mean unacceptable, for thancks belongeth not to vassalls. If your Majestye pardon it, it is more then to¹ great a reward. And so most humblie imbracing and admiringe the memory of thos celestial bewtyes, which with the people is denied mee to review, I pray God your Majestie may be eternall in joyes and happines.

Your Majesty's most humble slave,

W. R.

Addressed: "*For the Queen's most excellent Majestye.*"

CXVI.

TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxxvi. § 132 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER
CXVI.
[1600?]

To Sir R.
Cecil.

Embarka-
tion of the
Duke
Orsini.

SIR,

THER came unto mee a gentelman from Flushing who saw the Duke DON VIRGINIA² URSINI ther. It is trew that hee was imbarcked in a Fleminge att Dovor; the winde not servinge for her Majesties shipp to cum about.

Now wher³ this Zelande did carry hym thither perforce, or whether hee desired it, hearing of the Peace of

¹ *too.*

² So in MS.

³ *whether.*

know not. For I remember hee told me that
d see Holland and Zeland, if that peace weare
d. How hee shalbe welcume to the Archduke
e not. I thought good to lett yow know this

Your's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

"To the right honorabell Mr. Secritorye."

"Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master."

able conclusively to identify the "Virginio Orsini," here spoken
ly, he was the same Italian nobleman who is mentioned by
Historia sui Temporis, under A.D. 1591, as leading a crusade
fits in the States of the Church, but there is no proof. In the
x of De Thou's French translators (edit. of 1734), that noble-
red as Virginio degli Orsini, 'son of the Marquess of Lamem-
nothing can safely be inferred from Ralegh's use of the title
I do not think that Virginio degli Orsini occurs in De Thou

allusion to "the Peace of Savoy" I had overlooked. It shows
ter should have been placed at the end of the letters of '1600,'
12.' The treaty between Henry IV. and Charles Emanuel of
which either the marquisate of Saluzzo, or the territory of
large appurtenances, was to be ceded by Savoy to France), was
t Paris on the 27th of February, 1600.

LETTER
CXVI.

[1600?]

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

DURHAM HOUSE, to the surrender of
Walter Raleigh the following letter rela-
be the mansion of the Bishops of Durham dur-
ance in Parliament, by Thomas de Hatfield,
King Edward the Third as his Secretary, and
Durham from the year 1345 until 1381. The
to have been commenced soon after this Bisho-
It continued to be the town residence of
Durham until nearly the close of the reign of
Eighth, when Bishop Cuthbert Tonstal had to
King, in the form of an 'exchange'—after th
times. By Edward the Sixth it was given
Elizabeth for her life. During Mary's reign, T
Durham House as well as his dissolved bi
was again deprived of both on Elizabeth's acce-
De Quadra, the Spanish ambassador whom
made famous, lived here; and hence were
his very curious contributions towards our
Other temporary residents inhabited the old
time to time, by the Queen's favour. In 158
lease of the greater part of it to Sir Walter Ral-
by a letter from Lady Raleigh to Sir Robert C

Immediately on King James' accession, Bishop Tobias then claimed the house of his ancient predecessors in the and within a few days of the King's arrival at Greenwich issued a royal warrant in the following terms :—

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

our trusty and well beloved Counsellors, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale, &c.

JAMES R.—Right trusty and well beloved Counsellors, we greet you well. Forasmuch as upon examination before you of the matter between the Bishop of Duresme and those that now dwell in his house, touching the right of the House called *Duresme Place*, it appeareth that neither the said dwellers have any right therein, nor we, whome they sought to entytile to it ; and that thereof we are certyfyed by you, we think it reasonable the said Bishop should have quiet possession of his house. Wherefore we require you to give order to our Attorney Generall, or some other of our learned Counsell, to give warning and commandment in our name to Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, and Sir Edward Darcy, to delyver quyet possession of the said house to the said Bishop of Duresme, or to such as he shall appoint to receive it in his name. And that they and all others there abyding do, within such tyme as you shall think good to lymit, avoid the house, removing thence themselves and all their goods within that tyme which you shall appoint, with indifferent consideration as well of the Bishop's necessary use of the place as also of their convenyency for removing from thence. Gyven under our Sygnet at our Manor of Greenwich, the last day of May, 1603, in the first yeare of our rayne."

The Bishop, as it seems, was prevented from attending the Commissioners, in person, and wrote to the Lord Keeper a letter, of which the following is a copy :—

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

*"To the Rt. Hon. my very good Lord, Sir THOMAS EGERTON,
Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England.*

MAIE IT PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIP,

Whereas yesterdaie morning, when I should have attended your Lordship, and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners, for the possession of my house in the Strand, I received a message from his Highness, by Sir Roger Ashton and Mr. Hudson, that it was his Majesties good pleasure and direction that I should forthwith repaire to the Queene our Sovreigne, and give myne attendance on her Highness in her journey from Duresme to the Court (which his Majesty would vouchsafe to take in very good part of his princely benignitie), I had no tyme to take my leave of your Lordship, being the same afternoone to depart the Cittie northward, much lesse to sollicite your Lordship and the rest as aforesaid. Wherein as necessitie itself will, I trust, pleade myne excuse, notwithstanding I thought meete to acquaint your Lordship with this sodaine occasion of my absence, and to intreate that this bearer, my servant Francis Berty, maie have accesse to your good Lordship to receive your honorable and favorable answer, together with the possession of that house to my use with what celeritie conveniently may be graunted; the supposed tenaunts seeking nothing els but to gaine tyme to deface the house more then is justyfiabie by lawe, or to shuffle in some noble or otherwise gracious person thereinto (yf not moe then one), whome to remove it may be harder for me than I am willing to assaie. I heare that Sir Walter Raleigh doth earnestly labour to contynue his habitation there untill Michaelmas, a desyne nothing reasonable, considering that thereby the commoditie of the summer will be lost. a tyme most fit for me to repaire the delapidations and decayes which he by so many yeres space hath made of

suffered, and which I would forthwith sett in hande with all my workmen of all sorts, whatsoever it cost me.

Humbly beseaching your Lordship that, as hitherto, so to the ende of this my suite, I maie finde your especiall favour, whereupon I depende, and must acknowledge the same with all dutie and thankfulnes at my returne at her Majesties repaire to London. By which tyme all these wranglers maie have removed their stuffe, especially sithe they were not ignorant that none but myself could clayme any just title, interest, or occupation, and that I had made the same known unto them all before Easter last, which they cannot denie.

Thus being sorie but that there is no remedie to be so troublesome to your Lordship, I humbly take my leave.

At Ware, this vijth of June, 1603.

Your Lordship's humble, bounden and assured,
more and more to be commanded,

TOBIE DURESME."

The Bishop was very timely—as it proved—in his application. He had taken advantage of his northern proximity to among the first to welcome King James on his crossing border, and he obtained permission to preach a congratulatory sermon before him at Berwick. James, probably, knew nothing of the very unfavourable view of his own character which the now courtly Bishop had formed and expressed in some years. As recently as in 1594, Matthew had written Lord Burghley that King James "is a deeper dissembler than is thought possible for his years." "I pray God," he adds, "the King's protestations be not too well believed." This precaution grew out of a then-pending negotiation between Queen Elizabeth and the King of Scots touching the 'protection' of that Scottish exile, Lord Bothwell,¹ who is mentioned,

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

¹ See Prefatory Note to Letter XCV.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

so significantly, in Raleigh's letter to Cecil on the treatment of the Earl of Essex in 1600. The Bishop, it is plain, had now, in some degree, made a favourable impression on James, and his present request came on the eve of Raleigh's fatal implication in some of the schemes of Cobham—whatever may have been their real object or extent.

The Bishop won his suit. But his direct interest in Durham House was to be brief. I doubt that he himself lived in it for more than a few weeks. And within three years, he was transferred to the Archbishopric of York. There, he found occasion and motive to do with the London mansion of the Archbishops of York precisely—but under aggravated circumstances—what, in 1603, he condemned Queen Elizabeth for having done with its near neighbour, that of the Bishops of Durham. He alienated it from the See (of course, under the illusive form of an 'exchange') to the King's all-powerful favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. Nor were his dealings with Durham House itself during his short tenure much to the credit of his honesty.

A well-known apophthegm has kept alive the memory of Bishop Matthew's domestic infelicities:—"One of my sons has wit and no grace; the other, grace but no wit; and the third has neither grace nor wit." The scapegrace first named in this pleasant trio proved his wit by getting, in some way or other, from his father—with whom, nevertheless, he was almost always at variance—an interest in certain outlying portions of Durham House and its purlieus which was valuable enough to be purchased by Robert Cecil (by that time Earl of Salisbury), in the year following the Bishop's translation to York, for the sum of 1200*l*.¹ The plunder of the Church, and of its pastors, went on—in substance—just as prosperously under James as it had done under Elizabeth. But it then became the fashion to cloke the theft with somewhat of outward sanctimoniousness in phrase and profession,—a disguise which before had commonly been deemed superfluous. Two years

¹ T. Matthew to F. of Salisbury; in *Civil Papers*, vol. cxx. f. 94 (Hatfield).

after his purchase, Lord Salisbury obtained, from Bishop Matthew's successor, a lease of the "courtyard of Durham House." Bishop James, on this occasion, spends no time in useless remonstrance, but, with the simple rhetoric of cumulative figures, sums up to the Lord Treasurer¹ the onerous deductions claimed from the revenues of Durham—for very secular purposes—under the rule of the royal theologian. The total, thus stated, is certainly expressive.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

Not the least curious incident in the history of 'Durham House' is the fact that its temporary restoration to the ancient owners was contemplated by Sir Robert Cecil, before the Queen's death. He it was who instigated the application by Bishop Matthew, and who paved the way for its success.² Whatever else had happened to Sir Walter Raleigh, on the accession of King James, there had been a foregone determination that he should lose his town residence. When part of the outbuildings had been burnt—in the October of 1600—Lady Raleigh had written to Sir Robert: "It is time for you to get an interest in this rotten house." The context suggests—but it is suggestion only—the probability that there had already been some talk between Raleigh and Cecil about the subtraction of a part of the large purlieu of the old episcopal palace,—either as an addition to Cecil's own house and grounds, or for some ulterior purpose. Whether or not Sir Robert had, at that date, formed his plan of building a vast bazaar or 'exchange' on the site, there is nothing, I think, to show. The first idea of such a novel scheme would seem more consonant with Raleigh's mind than with Cecil's. Be that as it may, the 'NEW EXCHANGE'—so often mentioned in the dramas and other popular literature of the Stuart reigns—rose, eventually, on the site of the offices belonging to Durham House.

¹ William James, Bishop of Durham, to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, June, 1609; *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxvii. f. 83 (Hatfield).

² Letter of Bishop Matthew, written from Berwick, 7 April, 1603; *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcix. § 98 (Hatfield).

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

Sir Robert Cecil's innovation was eagerly welcomed by expectant occupiers of the shops and stalls, who besieged him with applications to become his tenants there ; and it was just as eagerly opposed by the established traders of the City. The Corporation of London tried to induce the powerful minister of James to abandon his purpose. In his reply to the Lord Mayor, Cecil protested his strong affection to the citizens,—whom he had loved, he said, from his cradle by an hereditary obligation. No man, he told them, could in his opinion be a good servant to the King “that should go about to weaken London ;” adding, “If I labour against London, I labour against my own thoughts and affections.” But, then (he reminded the Londoners), their old neighbour, Westminster, had also claims upon him and them. The Londoners, he thought, “should be contented to contribute some small portion of commodity for such a neighbour, even though it were drawn directly from themselves,”—a condition which he was scarcely inclined to admit. “I have now found,” he continued, “this opportunity to leave unto the inhabitants and unto posterity some such monument as may adorn the place, and haply derive some effect of present benefit and future charity to the whole Liberty.”¹

During the occupancy of Salisbury House by the second Earl, its new neighbour the ‘Exchange’ attracted, for a few weeks, almost universal attention. Its name was on men's lips, both at home and abroad. One day, it was the scene of the wanton murder committed on an inoffensive bystander by the Portuguese Ambassador's brother, Don Pantaleon de Sa. On another day, it was the scene of the execution—before a crowd such as London had then rarely collected, and with circumstances of unusual parade—of the offender, a few hours before the signature of Cromwell's treaty with Portugal.

A century later, there remained of the old episcopal mansion

¹ Earl of Salisbury to the Lord Mayor of London, 10 July, 1608. (Draft, with numerous corrections in Lord Salisbury's hand ; *Civil Papers*, vol. cxcv. §§ 26, 30. Hatfield.)

self only a ruined river-front; and, behind it, a confused mass of sheds and vaults, with a tottering house or two. Here mediæval bishops and Tudor statesmen had once dwelt in splendour, the outcasts and roughs of London found a valid shelter. But, presently, the stately buildings of the Adelphi' rose on the site of Durham House. On the spot here Raleigh had sat in council,—at one time with Essex and Cecil; at another, with Cobham and Northumberland,—David Garrick dispensed his gay hospitalities to the poets, wits, and scholars, and to the miscellaneous crowd of 'men about town,' in the early years of King George the Third. Now,—in 1867,—new changes are in rapid progress which will make it as hard a task, by and by, to find traces of the home of Garrick as of the home of Raleigh.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXVII.

1603.

CXVII.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY KING
JAMES TO INQUIRE INTO THE TENURE OF
DURHAM HOUSE.

As printed from the Original, in the Collection of the EARL of ELLENBOROUGH, by Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER; *Egerton Papers* (Camden Society's Series).

RECEIVED a warrant from your Lordshippes, my Lord Keeper and my Lorde Chiefe Justice, and signed also by Mr. Atorney Generall, requireinge me to deliver the possession of Deram Howse to the Byshop of Derum, or to his atorney, before the xxiiiijth day of June next ensuinge, and that the stabells and garden should be presently putt into his hands; and that I should not remove any selinge, glass, iron, &c. without warrant from your Lordships or any two of you. This letter semeth

LETTER
CXVII.

1603.
May.

To the
Lord
Keeper
Egerton,
and others

LETTER

CXVII.

1603.
May.

Claim
made for
the de-
livery of
Durham
House to
the Bishop
of Dur-
ham.

to mee very strange, seinge I have had possession of the howse almost xx yearese. and have bestowed well nire £2,000 uppon the same out of myne own purse. I am of oppinion that if the Kings Majestye had recovered this howse, or the like, from the meanest gentleman and sarvant hee had in Inglande, that his Majestye would have given six monethes tyme for the avoydance, and I do not know butt that the poorest artificer in London hath a quarter's warninge given hym by his land lord. I have made my provisions for 40 persons in the springe, and I have a¹ of no less number¹ and the like for allmost xx horse. Now to cast out my hay and oates into the streats, att an howeres warninge, and to remove my famyly and stuff in 14 dayes after, is such a seveare expulcion as hath not bynn offred to any man before this daye. But this I would have written to any that had not bynn of your Lordships plase and respect, that the course taken with mee is both contrary to honor, to custome, and to civillity, and therefore I pray your Lordships to pardon me till I have acquaynted the Kings Majestye with this letter; and then, if his Majestye shall thinck it reasonabell, I will obey it. But for the commandment sent mee for the wenscote and other things, I do not finde that it pleased his Majestye to give your Lordships any suche direction, and if I do any thing contrary to law the Byshope may take his remedy, and I percave cannot want good frindes. And so I humblie take my leve, and rest your Lordships to cummande,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell my good Lords, the Lorde Kapr of the Great Seale, and my Lorde Chief Justice of Inglande, and my very good frinde his Majesties Atorney Generall.*"

¹ Blank in MS.

CXVIII.

TO THE EARLS OF NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLK, AND
DEVONSHIRE, AND TO THE LORD CECIL,
LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, AND COMMISSIONERS
FOR THE EXAMINATION AND TRIAL OF THE ALLEGED
CONSPIRATORS OF 1603.

As printed in Raleigh's collective *Works*.

I DO not know whether your Lordships have seen
my answers to all the matters which my Lord HENRY
HOWARD, my Lord WOTTON, and Sir EDWARD COOKE
have examined me on, upon Saturday the 14th of this
present, which makes me bold to write unto your Lord-
ships at this time: the two principal accusations being
these; the first, that money was offered me, with a pre-
tence to maintain the amity; but the intent was to have
assisted his Majesty's Surprise: the other, that I was
privy to my Lord COBHAM'S Spanish journey.

For the first, I beseech your Lordships to weigh it
seriously, before there be any further proceedings; for to
leave me to the cruelty of the law of England, and to
that *summum jus*, before both your understandings and
consciences be thoroughly informed, were but carelessly
to destroy the father and fatherless; and you may be
assured that there is no glory, nor any reward, that can
compensate the shedding of innocent blood.

And whereas it seemeth to appear that this money
was offered to others long after it was offered to me,
and upon some other considerations than it was unto
me; for myself, I avow, upon my allegiance, that I

LETTER
CXVIII.
1603.
August.

To the
Lords
Commis-
sioners
appointed
to exa-
mine into
the alleged
conspira-
cies
against the
King.

Denial
of the
charges
brought
against
him.—
Origin of
Cobham's
accusation.

LETTER
CXVII.
—
1605.
August.

never either knew or suspected either the man or the new intention.

To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any commission to offer it, as the everlasting God doth witness. For, if that word 'amity' had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted with the true end for which it should have been given, which it seemeth was for the Surprise; but of any such horrible and fearful purpose if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse your Lordships' favours and the King's mercy.

I know that your Lordships have omitted nothing to find out the truth hereof. But as you have not erred, like ill surgeons, to pay on plaisters too narrow for so great wounds, so I trust that you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medicines more cruel than the disease itself.

For the journey into Spain, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto; but I know your Lordships have a reputation of conscience, as well as of industry. By what means that revengeful accusation was stirred, you, my Lord CECIL, know right well, that it was my letter about KEMISH; and your Lordships all know whether it be maintained; or whether, out of truth and out of a Christian consideration, it be revoked. I know that to have spoken it once is enough for the law, if we lived under a cruel Prince: but I know that the King is too merciful to have or suffer his subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian advantage, unless he be resolved, or can persuade his religious heart, of the equity: I know that the King thinks (with all good princes) *satius est favere in alteram partem*. God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent forty thousand

pounds of mine own against that King and nation ; that I never reserved so much of all my fortune as to purchase forty pounds *per ann.* land ; that I have been a violent persecutor and furtherer of all enterprises against that nation. I have served against them in person ; and how, my Lord Admiral and my Lord of SUFFOLK can witness. I discovered, myself, the richest part of all his Indies : I have planted in his territories : I offered his Majesty, at my uncle CAREW'S, to carry two thousand men to invade him, without the King's charge. Alas ! to what end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown off with one blast of breath, or be prevented by one man's word ; and in this time when we have a generous Prince, from whom to purchase honour and good opinion I had no other hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent nation. Think therefore, I most humbly beseech you, on my great affliction with compassion, who have lost my estate and the King's favour upon one man's word ; and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me. You all know that the law of England hath need of a merciful Prince ; and if you put me to shame, you take from me all hope ever to receive his Majesty's least grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those things of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true honour, and as you would yourselves be used in the like, forget all particular mistakes ; '*multos clementia honestavit, alio nullum.*' Your Lordships know that I am guiltless of the ' Surprise ' intended. Your Lordships know, or may know, that I never accepted of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill. And of the Spanish journey I trust your consciences are resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my answers and humble

LETTER
CXVIII.
—
1603.
August.

LETTER
CXVIII.1603.
August.

desires from my sovereign lord, '*qui est rex pius et misericors, et non leo coronatus.*' Thus humbly beseeching your Lordships to have a merciful regard of me, I rest,

Your Lordships' humble and miserable suppliant,

W. RALEGH.

CXIX.

TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE,
THE LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON, LORD HENRY
HOWARD (AFTERWARDS EARL OF NORTHAMPTON), AND
THE LORD WOTTON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 25 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CXIX.1603.
[October?]

To the
Lords
Commis-
sioners the
Earls of
Suffolk
and De-
vonshire,
and others.
[From
the
Tower.]

Answer to
a new
accusation
made by
Cobham.—

IT was so late er your Lordships came, as I could not in good manners, beseech yow of longer tyme. It was your pleasures to tell me of a new accusation—of the landing of Spanierds att Milford Haven. I beseech yow, for the love of God, as your Lordships will looke ether for mercy or justice at God's hands, to consider and way the likelode hereof; and trewly and charitable to thinck butt of this one circumstance: First, I was accused to have perswaded the Lord COBHAME to have gon into Spayn, and to have brought mee 600,000 crowns to Jersey. I was strongly suspected that the mony offered mee for the *Peace* was for the *Surprise*, or for some other ill intent. The first accusation—for which I was committed, indyted, and arreynd—your Lordships do know to be falce, and yet it was by your Lordships most constantly beleved. And my Lord Cheif Justice avowed

that it could not be otherwise, because the Lord COBHAME accused hyme sealf, also, therin.

Then, my Lords, if I had perished therefore,¹ yow all finde that I had perished innocent; and that the presumption of the mony was also inferred agaynst mee, and would have strenghtned my condemnation; *and yet neither trew*. And, for a third: The letter delevered by REXSEY² in my presence—being unknown to be the Count ARRAMBERGH'S by mee—was yet a third presumption agaynst mee. But now for this other.

I do beseich yow, for His sake that shedd His bloud for us, do thinck of this one argument: Your Lordships see that from the beginninge that³ the Lord COBHAME hath had a crewell descir to destroy mee; hoping therby to extenuate his owne offences. How he hath bynn therto perswaded, I have seene. Hyme sealf sent me the letter. And, if this matter of Milford had bynn trew, what needed the Lord COBHAME have invented a treason agaynst me which was not trew?

Secondly, It had been easier to have remembered that which was, then that which was not.

And, thirdly, In this accusation, he might have indangered me, and spared hyme sealf. And this was also as great a treason as the other; and this—if it had bynn trew—he might have justefied, and bynn confident therin.

Thes considered, good my Lords, judg as yow would be judged. And remember his letter which he ment no creature should see but mysealf. A man can have butt one sowle, and one faythe. And therefore, if your Lordships will every day receave new inventions against nice, then it is veyne for mee to contend.

¹ 'therefore,' i. e. 'on that charge.'

² Matthew La Renzi or Laurenci? See Vol. I., chap. xvii.

³ 'that'—so repeated in MS.

LETTER
CXIX.

1603.
[October?]

Protest
against the
unfairness
of the
mode of
examina-
tion.—
Contrasts
between
God's law
and Eng-
lish law.

LETTER
CXIX.
—
1603.
[October?]

Your Lordships also saw that the night *before my arraynment he spake not a word of this*; ¹ when he then studied all he could to distroy me. It was not therefore without cause that the most wize and mercifull God gave thes cummandments touchinge the sheding of bludd; and His lawes are the trew lawes to Christian men and Christian kings. God sayd, in the 35 of Numbers:—‘*Non poterit testis unus testari contra aliquem ut moriatur.*’ God renewed His cummandment, in the 17 and 19 of Detronomy: ‘*Ex sermone duorum aut trium testium morte afficitur is qui meretur, nec morte afficitur ex sermone testius unius.*’ And agayne: ‘*Ne surgite testis unius in quenquam pro ulla iniquitate aut pro ullo peccato ex omnibus peccatis quibus quis peccat.*’ The same also is confirmed by Christ in Matthew ² and in John. ³ And as St. Augustine sayes: ‘*Non divina humanis sed humana divinis sunt judicanda.*’ And, good my Lords, beleve, ‘*Nemo potest melius, aut aliud, fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus.*’ ⁴

But the law is past agaynst mee. The mercy of my Soverayne is all that remaynethe for my cumfort. And I know that this law of God wilbe an argument of remorce to my Soverayne Lorde, howsoever mens lawes take place.

And I desire your Lordships, for the mercy of God not to doubt to move so mercifull a prince to compassion; and that the extremety of all extremeties be not layd on mee. Lett the offence be esteemed as your Lordships shall pleas in charety to beleve it and valed it, yet it is butt the first offence; and my service to my country, and my love so many years to my supreme

¹ Here the MS. looks as if the writer himself had underlined the words: but as many sentences in these Letters have been underlined at Hatfield, I mention the fact with some doubt.

² Matt. xviii. 16.

³ John viii. 17.

⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

I trust may move so great and good a Kinge, who ever esteemed cruell; and I trust will never prove so.

I, if I may not begg a pardon or a life, yet lett me tyme at the King's mercifull hands. Lett me one yeare to geve to God in a prison and to serve . I trust his pitifull nature will have cumpassion and sowe; and it is my sowe that beggeth a tyme Kinge.

There is no prejudice cum to the Kinge, nor never could prejudice have cum, by that supposed horid intent, the Lord of Heven knowes I never imagined. If the Kinge, my mercifull Lord, pleas to withdrawe his grace from me, it must be the last breathe that I draw in the worlde that I dy his trew vassall, and do love, his very person. Although, I confess yt, I am most worthy of this hevy affliction by the neglect of my dewty in geving eare to sume, and in taking on me to harken to the offer of . Butt his mercy, I trust, is greater. And the Lord that hath made hyme a lord of many nations, will geve me his royall hart.

Askeich your Lordships, as ever yow tendred the desires of a penitent hart, that yow will present the same to His Majesties knowledg, and afford me your favors and cumpassion.

Your Lordships' most humblie,

W. RALEGH.

Delivered:

the right honorabell my singuler good Lords, the Earles of SUFFOLKE and DEVON, the Lorde CECILI, the Lord HENRY HOWARD, and the Lorde WUTTON.

Delivered, in the hand of Sir R. Cecil: "*Sir Walter Raleigh.*"

¹ So in original: '*loved*' omitted.

LETTER
CXIX.

1603.
[October?]

CXX.

TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGHAM

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 67, B (Hatfield).
Without date.

LETTER
CXX.

1603.
[November?]

To Lord
Cecil.
[From
Win-
chester.]

Assertion
of the
injustice
of his
arraign-
ment of
treason.—
Entreaty
for Cecil's
interces-
sion with
the King,
should he
fall within
the meshes
of the law.

SIR,

To speake of former tymes, it were needle
Lordshipe knowes what I have byn towards y
and how long I have loved yow and have byn
by yow; but chang of tymes and myne own er
worren out thos remembrances (I feare), and if c
remayn, yet in the state wherin I stand the
no frindshipe; cumpassion ther may be, for it
seperat from honor and vertu.

If the poure of law be not greater then the
trewth, I may justly beseich yow to releve me in
affliction. If it be, then your Lordship shall ha
(as a just man) to bewaile my undeserved n
estate. I cannot dispaire but that sume wa
mayneth in cynders to move yow to the first.
second, I may assure my sealf that even God H
and your Lordship's love to justice will parswad

Your Lordship knowes my accuser; and h
known my affection to that nation for whic
accused. A hevvy burden of God to be in d
perishinge for a Prince which I have so long
and to suffer thes miseres under a Prince whoi
so long loved.

Sir, what mallice may do agaynst me, I k
My cause hath byn handled by strong enemysc

ever I so mich as suspected this practize layd to my charge, leve me to death; if the same by any equety shalbe proved agaynst me. And *equitas* is sayd to be '*Juris legitimi emendatio et justitiæ directio.*'

Your Lordship is now a counseller to a mercifull and just Kinge, if ever we had any. Yow have ever dealt, in matter of justice, as knowing no man's face; yet vouchsaf now so to use the powre which God and the King hath geven yow, as to defend me from undeserved crewelty. '*Potentia non est, nisi ad bonum.*' The law ought not to overrule piety, but piety the law. The law doth warrant all actions before men; but God hath sayde, '*Innocentem non interficiis.*' Your Lordship hath known in your tyme one in this place condemned,—and in this place he perished,—who at the houre of his death received the Sacriment that he was innocent. How therefore I shalbe judged, I know not. How I have deserved to be judged, I know; and I desire nothinge but '*secundum meritum meum.*'

If I should say unto the Kinge that my love so longe born hyme might hope for sume grace, it would perchance be taken for presumption, because he is a Kinge, and my Soveraygne. But as the Kinge is a trew gentleman, and a just man, besyds his being a Kinge, so he oweth unto me such a mercifull respect as the resolution most willingly to have hasarded my life and fortune for hyme agaynst all men may deserve.

For yoursealf, my Lord CECILL, and for me, sumtyme your trew frind, and now a miserabell forsaken man, I know that affections ar nether taught nor perswaded. But, if ought remayn of good, of love, or of cumpassion towards me, your Lordship will now shew it when I am now most unworthy of your love, and most unabell to deserve it. For even then is love, trew honor, and

LETTER
CXX.
—
1603.
[Novem-
ber?]

LETTER
CXX
—
1603.
[November?]

traw vertu expressed. And what I shall leve¹ to pay of
so great a debt, God will perform to your Lordship and
to yours.

Your Lordship's wretched poore frinde and sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Your Lordship will finde that I have
bynn strangly practised agaynst, and that others have
their lives promised to accuse me.

I can say no more, but beseich yow to use charety.
'Charitas est quædam participatio Spiritus Sancti.'

Addressed: "To the right honourabll the Lord CECYLL, &c."

Endorsed in Lord Cecil's hand: "Sir W. Raleigh."

CXXI.

TO THE KING.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 67 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date, and without superscription.

LETTER
CXXL

—
1603.
[November?]

To King
James.
[From
Win-
chester.]

Protest of
the in-
justice of
his con-
viction of
treason.—
Appeals to
the King's
justice and
mercy.

MOST DREAD SOVERAYNE,

It is on² part of the office of a just and worthy
prince to here the cumplaynts of his vassalls—especially
suche as ar in grettest missery. I know that, among many
other presumtions gathered agaynst mee, your Majesty
hath bynn parswaded that I was one of them who were
gretly discontented, and therfore the more likely to be
disloyall. But the great God so releive me and myne
in both worlds, as I was the contrary; and as I tooke
no greter cumfort then to behold your Majesty, and
always lerninge some good, and betteringe my know-
ledg by your Majesties discourse.

¹ 'leave to pay;' i. e. 'leave unpaid.'

² *one*.

I do therefore most humblie beseich my soverayne Lord not to beleve any of thos, in my particuler, who, under pretence of offences to kings, doe easely work heir particuler revenges. I trust that no man (under the culler of making examples) shall parswade your Majesty to leve the word 'mercifull' out of your stile; for it will noe less profite your Majesty, and become your gretnes, than the word 'invincibell.'

It is true that the lawes of England ar no less jelous of the Kinge, then CÆSAR was of POMPEIA, his wife; for, notwithstanding that she was clered of the accusation for CLAUDIUS, yett, for being suspected, he condemned her. For my sealf I protest, before the everlasting God, and I speak it to my master and soverayne, that I never invented treason, consented to treason, or parformed treason, against hyme; and yet I know that I shall fall *in manus eorum a quibus non possum exurgere,* unless by your Majesties great cumpassion I be sustayned.

Our law therefore, most mercifull Prince, knowing her owne cruelty, and knoweing that she is wonnt to cumfound treasons out of presumtions and circumstances, hath geve this charetabell advice to the King her superior: *Von solum enim sapiens debet esse rex, sed et misericors, cum sapientia misericorditer sit justus; cum tutius sit addere rationem misericordiæ quam iudicii.*

I do therefore, on the knees of my hart, beseich your Majesty to take councell from your own sweet and mercifull disposition, and to remember that I have loved your Majesty now twenty yeares, for which your Majesty hath yett geven me no reward. And it is better that I should be indebted to my soverayne Lord, then the King to his poore vassall.

Save me, therefore, most mercifull Prince, that I may live your Majesty my life itt sealf; then which ther

LETTER
CXXI.
—
1603.
[November?]

LETTER
CXXI.1603.
[November?]

cannot bee a greter debt. Lend it me att lest, my soverayne Lord, that I may pay it agayne for your service when your Majesty shall pleas. If the law distroy me, your Majesty shall put me out of your poure ; and I shall have then none to feare, none to reverence, but the King of kings.

Your Majesties most humble and penitent vassall,

W. R.

Endorsed, in Lord Cecil's hand : "S^r W. R."

CXXII.

TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE,
THE LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON, AND OTHERS,
COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXAMINATION AND TRIAL OF
THE ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS OF 1603.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. 111, B (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CXXII.[1603.
December
10.]

To the
Lords
Commis-
sioners the
Earls of
Suffolk
and
Devon-
shire, and
others.
[From
Win-
chester.]

WE have this day beheld a worke of so great mercy, and for so great offences, as the like hath byne seldome if ever known ; not after the manner of men, or of kings, '*sed cœlestis judicis, eternique regis more.*' And although my sealf have not yet byn brought so nire the very brinck of the grave, yet I trust that so great a cumpassion will extend it sealf towards mee also,—every way being as hopeless as the rest, and who shall as trewly pay that most great debt of a borrowed life, as any that ever hath or ever shalbe therto bound. Only the memory of mync own unworthinis made mee to dispayre of so great grace,

who otherwise beheld Piety in the face, the voyce, the writinge, and life of my Soverayne.

I did feare that it would be sayde that I, beinge now poore, would live but a discontented life. But the Lord of Heaven doth know that, if it shall pleas my most good and gracious Lord the King to geve mee that poore life, that I shall as faythfully and thanckfully serve hym, eating but bread and drinkinge water, as whosoever that hath received even the greatest honor or the greatest profyte. For a greater gift none can geve, none receive, then life.

What the Lord COBHAME hath confest, and how mich it differeth from the received oppinion, I leve to their reportts who know it. I will not in charety condemne his fayth; because he was nurer death, though not nurer the expectation, then I was. But will only, for this tyme, accuse his memory or mistakinge.

Good my Lords, do me this grace to beleve and vouchsaufe to say it for mee to my soverayne Lorde, that the loss of my estate (which I have deservedly lost) cannot make mee less faythfull or less lovinge his Estat and parson. For as I have to this day loved both his Estate and parson, so have I, in my prayers, besought God to inclyne his mercifull hart towards mee.

I will leve your Lordships' farther trobell,—remembre this gratefull oppinion:—'*Non hostiliter sæviit, qui omnia cum possit, fortunas abstulit, spem vitamque reliquit.*'

Your Lordships' most humbell to cummaunde,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable my singular good Lords of His Majesties most honorabell Privy Councell, Cummissioners for the Triall of the late Treasons.

Endorsed by Cecil : " *Sir W. Raleigh.*"

LETTER
CXXII.

[1603.
December
10.]

The scene on the scaffold at Winchester Castle. — Entreaties for his life. — Cobham's confession and accusations.

CXXIII.

TO LADY RALEGH.

From a contemporaneous Transcript. *Domestic Correspondence*: James I., vol. xcvi. § 71 (**Rolls House**). Collated with another Transcript in MS. Sloane, 3520, ff. 14-17 (**British Museum**); and with another (also contemporaneous) among the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield.

LETTER
CXXIII.

1603.
[Decem-
ber.]

To Lady
Raleigh.
[From
Win-
chester.]

A letter of
farewell
and conso-
lation.
Written on
the eve of
his ex-
pected
execution.

YOU shall receive, deare wief, my last words in these my last lynes. My love I send you, that you may keepe it when I am dead; and my councell, that you may remember it when I am noe more. I would not, with my last Will,¹ present you with sorrowes, deare Besse. Lett them goe to the grave with me, and be buried² in the dust. And, seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you in this lief, beare my destruccion gentlie³ and with a hart like yourself.

First, I send you all the thanks my hart cann conceive, or my penn⁴ expresse, for your many troubles and cares taken for me, which—though they have not taken effect as you wished—yet my debt is to you never⁵ the lesse; but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondlie, I beseich you, for the love you bare me living, that you doe not hide yourself many dayes, but by your travell seeke to helpe your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poore childe. Your mourning cannot avayle me that am but dust.

You shall understand that my lands were conveyed to my child, *bonâ fide*. The wrightings were drawn at Mid-

¹ MS. Cecil omits "last." MS. Sloane reads "by my will."

² MS. Cecil inserts "with me."

³ MSS. Cecil and Sloane read "patiently."

⁴ Ib. "words."

⁵ MS. Cecil reads "not."

was twelvemonethes, as divers¹ can wittnesse. Next cosen BRETT can testifie so much, and DAL- too, cann remember somewhat therein. | And I praye my blood will quench their mallice that desire my death;² and that they will not alsoe seeke to kill me with yours with extreame poverty. | ³To what frind of thees I knowe not, for all mine have left mee in this tyme of triall: and I plainly perceive that my estate is as determyned from the first day. | Most sorry I am (God knoweth) that, being thus surprised with death, I can leave you noe better estate. ⁴I meant you should have had the office of wyne, or that ⁵I could purchase more of it; half my stuffe, and jewells,⁶ but some few, for the boy. But God hath prevented all my determinations; the great God that worketh all in all. If I may live free from want, care for no more; for the world is but vanity. Love God, and beginne betymes to relye your self on Him; therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endles comfort. For the rest, when you have travelled and wearied your thoughts on⁷ all these worldly cogitacions, you shall sit downe by and by in the end. Teach your sonne alsoe to serve and love God, while he is young; that the feare of God may

LETTER
CXXIII.

1603.
[Decem-
ber.]

The word is not legible in the copy preserved amongst the State Papers, and the two lines which follow are in that copy wholly wanting, and so are in MS. Cecil. They are found in MS. Sloane, where the words "as . . . can wittnesse" do not occur.

MS. Sloane reads "that have thus cruelly murdered mee." MS. Cecil, "read my slaughter."

The clause is entirely wanting in the copy in *Domestic Correspondence*,

In MS. Sloane the reading is as in the text.

MS. Cecil reads, "God knowes I meant," &c.

MS. Sloane reads, "all that I could have purchased," &c.

MS. Cecil reads, "half my stuffe, and half my jewells, and some," &c. MS. Sloane, "all my jewells; but some on't for the boy."

MS. Sloane reads "over;" and so, also, MS. Cecil.

grow up in him. Then will God² be a husband unto you, and a father unto him: a husband and a father which can never be taken from you.

FRANCIS OWETH ME TWO HUNDRED POUNDS, and ADRION⁴ SIX HUNDRED POUNDS. In Gersey, alsoe, I have much owinge me. The arranges of the wyne will pay my debts. And howsoever, for my soull's health,⁵ I beseech you pay all poore men. When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought unto by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich: but take heed of the pretences of men and of their affections: for they laste but in honest and worthy men. And no greater misery can befall you in this life then to become a pray, and after to be despised. I speak it God knowes, not⁶ to disswad you from marriage—for that wilbe best for you—both in respect of God and the world.⁷ As for me, I am no more your's nor you myne. Death hath cutt us asunder: and God hath devided me from the world, and you from me.

Remember your poore childe for his father's sake, that comforted you and loved you in his happiest tymes.

⁸ Gett these letters (if it bee possible) which I writt to the Lords,⁹ wherein I sued for my lief, but God knoweth that itt was for you and yours that I desired itt. ¹⁰ but itt is true that I disdain myself for begging itt. ¹¹ And know itt deare wief) that your sonne is

² MS. Cecil, "our." ³ MS. Sloane, "And th: same God will," &c.

⁴ MS. Cecil, "drion."

⁵ Adrian Gilbert, his half-brother. In MS. Sloane, the name is given in full. ⁶ MSS. Cecil and Sloane, "sake." ⁷ MS. Cecil omits "not."

⁸ Here I follow MS. Cecil. MS. Sloane reads, "both in respect of the world and of God." The Rolls House copy omits the latter words.

⁹ MSS. Sloane and Cecil, and many other MS. copies, read "know you."

¹⁰ These clauses are wanting in *Dom. Corr.* xcvi. 71, and also in MS. Cecil at Hatfield. They are taken from MS. Sloane.

¹¹ See Letters CXIX., CXX., and CXXII. ¹² MS. Cecil, "For."

de of a true man, and who, in his own respect,
h Death, and all his misshapen and ouglie

not wright much. God knowes howe hardlie I
is tyme, when all sleep; and it is tyme² to
: my thoughts from the world. Begg my dead
hich living was denyed you; and either lay itt
borne |³ if the land continue, | or in Exiter
by my father and mother. | I can wright⁴ noe
Tyme and Death call me awaye.

everlasting, infinite powerfull, and inscrutable⁵
at Almightye God that is goodnes itself, mercy⁶
ie true lief and light, keep you and yours, and
ercy on me, and | teach⁷ me to | forgeve my
ors and false accusers; and send us to meete in
rious kingdome. My true wief, farewell. Blesse
re boye; pray for me. My true God hold you
His armes.

ritten with the dyeing hand of sometyme thy
l, but now (alasse!) overthrowne.

Your's that was; but nowe not my owne, |

W. RALEGH.

Sloane, "shaper."

² Ib. "itt is alsoe high tyme."

ote ³ on preceding page.

Sloane, "say."

⁶ Ib. "omnipotent."

words "mercy itself" do not occur in MS. Sloane.

words do not occur in MS. Cecil, which reads, "have mercy on
rgive," &c.

at follows is wanting in the copy in *Domestic Correspondence*,
and also in MS. Cecil at Hatfield. In MS. Sloane the words
at was, but nowe not my owne," follow the signature, and are
"W. R." In MS. Cecil the "W. R." follows the word

LETTER
CXXIII.

1603.
[Decem-
ber.]

CXXIV.

TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 112 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CXXIV.

1603.
[Decem-
ber.]

To Lord
Cecil.
[From
Win-
chester.]

Thanks
for his
friendly
offices.—
Promises
of unalter-
able affec-
tion.

MY LORD CECYLL,

To geve yow thancks, to promis gratefullnis, to
returne words, is all I can do; but that your Lordship
will esteeme them I cannot promis my sealf; no, not so
mich as hope it.

To use defences for the errors of former tymes, I
cannot. For I have sayled, bothe in frindshipe and in
judgment. Therefore this is all that I can now say for my
sealf: Vouchsaufe to esteeme me as a man rayseed from
the dead, though not in body, yet in mind. For neather
Fortune, which sumetyme guyded me,—or rather Vanety,
for with the other I was never in love,—shall turne myne
eyes from yow toward her, while I have beinge; nor the
World, with all the cares or intisements belonging unto
it, shall ever way down (though it be of the greatest
wayght to mortall men) the memory alone of your
Lordship's trew respects had of mee; respects tried by
the touch; tried by the fier; trew wittnises, in trew
tymes; and then only, when only availabell.

And although I must first attribute unto God, who
inclined; and secoundly and essentially, after God, to
my deere Soverayne, who had goodnes apt to be in-
clyned;—goodness and mercy without cumparison and
exampell;—yet I must never forgett what I find was in
your Lordship's desire, what in your will, what in your

It works, so farr as coulde become yow as a
and farr beyonnd all dew¹ to me, as an
Thes I have fixed to my hart inseperably.
s, neather tyme, nor perswation, or ought elce,
chang affections or to wast them, shall beat
; or make old in mee; who will acknowledg
dship with a love without maske or cover, and
w to the end.

LETTER
CXXIV.
—
1603.
December.

W. RALEGH.

SCRIPT.]—All the rest have written to His
since the receving of his grace. I hope I may
to do the like.

Right honorabell the Lorde CECYLL, Principall Secritorye, &c.

CXXV.

TO THE KING.

Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 109 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

RIGHTY AND MOST MERCIFULL KINGE,
SINCE it hath pleased your Majestye to breathe
my yearth a new life, I among others do presume
my humblest thancks and acknowledgments,
god knowes) can neather in words be exprest
ted. For wheras your Majestye hath reason to
see among thos who have foolishly imagined
; who have wickedly intended the greatest ill
the greatest goodnes, and yet have pleased to

LETTER
CXXV.
—
1603.
December.

To the
King.
[From
Win-
chester.

Thanks
for the
sparing of
his life.

¹ *due.*

spare the blowe which both exampell hath taught and
 my hath warranted your Majestye to strike, alas!—what
 might have words, or vowes, or protestations, or wher-
 with may so unworthy a creature make payment of so
 unpayable a debt?

To promise my fydellity, I know that I am bound by
 God both to promise and performe it, though I had never
 receivd any such great grace as this. To vow my
 service in what sort soever, I know it to be the dewty
 of every vassall towards his Soverayne. To say that I
 will hazard my life for your Majestye,—I have done it
 for my friends: for my country: or even sumetyme for
 myne glory. And if I should directly yeilde it up for
 your Majestye, what thancks can be deserved therby,
 seeing I shall but offer that which is none of myne, and
 in which I have neither right nor property?

What therefore to promise, or what to pay, I know not.
 God only, who doth wittnes my thoughts what they have
 byne and as must speake for mee. It is trew that I
 have already suffred diversly, but deservedly. I have
 byn beaten with Sorrow, *sed mea culpa*, for it was myne
 own error that opened the passage to that passion. I
 have been beaten by Fortune, but it was myne own
 unthankfullnis, who would not know when shee had
 dealt liberally with mee. And I have bynn beaten by
 God Hymesealf, but with a souft hand in respect of my
 greatest offences to Hym. Only my soverayne Lorde,
 who might justly have beaten mee and justly have dis-
 troyde mee, have vouchsafed to spare mee; and hath
 pleased to geve mee every dropp of bludd in my body;
 to hold mee back from shame; and to stopp his ears
 from the voyce of publick law, and private hatred.

For thes works of mercy, of manly gentelnes, of
 kingly magnanimity, what deeds to be performde by

Hope itsealf flatter mee withall? No; in
 eds would to God I could but in my very
 tribute what I ought; what is dew. Here is
 ort which remayneth,—that as your Majestye
 ed God the celestiall Kinge in gevinge, that
 tye wilbe pleased to do the like in receyvinge.
 bution then acknowledgment and love God
 for; nether can your Majestye have other of
iserationum tuarum nunquam obliviscar, but
 ur Majesties most humblest and most bound
 d vassall,

W. R.

ys most excellent Majestye, my soverayne Lorde.
 ord Cecil's hand : "Sir W. Raleigh to the King."

CXXVI.

LETTER LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

inal. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 22 (Hatfield). Holograph.
 Without date.

ers come out of tyme to your Lordshipe, I
 to lay them asyde and to pardon mee. It
 : Kinge to promis my wife her goods and
 have willed her to sew for them. She
 littell purpose untill she have a Bill drawn
 That, she cannot have, without a Warrant to
 y or Sollicitor.
 s are trebell to my goods; the ever-living
 now it to be trew. And therefore the King's
 all ease hyme sealf both of charg and trobell

LETTER
 CXXV
 —
 1603.
 December.

LETTER
 CXXVI.
 —
 1603.
 Decem-
 ber?

To Lord
 Cecil.
 [From the
 Tower?]

Personal
 and landed
 estate.—
 Debts.—

LETTER
CXXVI.1603.
Decem-
ber?Desire for
a royal re-
grant of
Sherborne.
—Other
personal
affairs.

by refusing to meddell with ether. I speak it not, to have a reason for the King's charety—for it hath respect but to it sealf and to God—but to deliver trewly my miserabell estat. And thos small debts which ar owing to me I cannot recover, untill it pleas the Kinge to inable mee, or sume body for mee.

My lands ar tied uppon my child and my brother. If I plead that conveyance, I cannot use the poure of revocation in the conveyance, who have lost all poure. Then, can I never satisfy my creditors. And besyds, I shall live a ward to my child and to my brother. If I take my land from the Kinge, I may then dispose of sume part of it, to free me from clamor. That the conveyance was made att Midsomer was twelvemoneth,¹ DODRIGE² can witnes, and, if he have law or honesty, it is good.

Yet I do humblie desire that as I hold my life, so I may that littell land that I have, of the King's gift; that nothing may be myne but what his mercy hath geven mee. The trew valew of my land I have delivered this bearer; all but xii^l a yeare, in Devon. I protest uppon my alleagence that this is the trew state of it to my knowledge; and God doth know that it will not geve mee and myne bread and cloaths. I pay here four pounds³ a week, for my dict. I must pay it, if the Kinge geve me my poore estate agaync. And, my

¹ *I. e.* Midsummer 1602.

² Sir John Doddridge was at this time an eminent lawyer, and a member of the Society of the Middle Temple. Born at Barnstaple, in 1555, he was almost exactly Sir Walter's contemporary, as well as his fellow-Devonian. The "if" in this sentence is very memorable, read in the light of the events of Raleigh's life in 1607 and 1608. Sir John was, in the special sense of the term, a *Crown* lawyer, and was made a Judge of the King's Bench in 1613. He died in 1628, and his tomb is amongst the most conspicuous monuments—not the most beautiful—of Exeter Cathedral.

³ Equal, it will be remembered, to about £20 of these days.

CECIL, the Lord in Heaven doth witnis that I,
 wife and child, must proportion our sealvs
 famely as we must all live att four pounds a
 or all our dietts, or elce we must all go naked.
 takes too parts of all the rent I have in the world.
 your goodnis, thes things might cum to sume
 or end, I shalbe most bound unto yow.
 tenants refuse to pay my wife her rent. I hold
 eases uppon forfeiture, in that mannor,¹ of myne
 tenants. Alas! all goes to ruin of that littell
 remaynethe. My woods ar cutt down; my
 wast; my stock—which made up my rent—
 And except sume end be had, by your good
 the Kinge, I perishe every waye.
 I leve to your tyme and charetabell care, and
 ur Lordship's miserabell poore frind, ever to be
 ided by yow,

W. RALEGH.

[SCRIPT.]—Of £3,000² a yeare ther remayns but
 and uppon that £3,000 debt.³

:
the right honorabell my singular good Lord, the Lord CECYL,
Principall Secritory, &c.

in Sir R. Cecil's hand:
Walter Raleigh.

ofne. ² Equal, substantially, to £15,000, now.
³ See Letter CXXX., p. 299.

LETTER
 CXXVI.
 —
 1603.
 Decem-
 ber!

CXXVII.

TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 10 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CXXVII.

1603-1604?
[December? or
January.]

To Lord
Cecil.
[From the
Tower.]

Message
sent by the
Earl of
Pembroke
for the
Seals of the
Duchy of
Cornwall.
—Expression
of his
desire to
write to
the King.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR LORDSHIPE,

THER came a sarvant unto mee of the Earle of
PEMBROOKS for the Seal of the Duchy of Cornwall,
having a letter of your Lordship to Mr. Levetenant for
his access unto mee. I beseich your Lordship to excuse
mee in that I did not deliver the Seale unto his man.
For I received it from her Majesty, uppon the death of
the Earle of BEDFORD. And I thinck, when your
Lordship gave up the Duchy, yow delivered the Seales
by warrant from her.

I had thought to have taken this good occasion to
have written to his Majesty, which I never did, since
my returne from Winchester, although all others have
don. If your Lordship do not thinck it unfitting mee,
I would willingly do it. But, if your Lordship thinck
it not best for mee, I will forbear it; and then write
unto your Lordship and send yow the Seale to deliver
the King.

I do not desire to offend the Earle, but I hope yow
will thinck it reasonabell that I deliver it by order, as
I receaved it, and not uppon a message by his man.
I humblie beseich your Lordship, by SHELbury or
some elce, to vouchsaufe your favorabell advice,—whose
I shall ever remayne to the end of my life, to do yow
service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord CECYLL

Endorsed: "1604. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Lord.*"

1604.

CXXVIII.

SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 12 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.
Without date.

sent your Lordshipe herewith the Duchy Seale,
re writen to the King's Majesty that I have
t your Lordship to deliver the same unto his
s hands, to whom only it apparteyneth to
therof.

nblie beseich your Lordship also to deliver for
s inclosed, wherin I have humblie prayed his
to continew and perfait his mercies begun.

my Lord, remember your poore, awncient, and
ad, that I perish not here, where health weres
and whose short tymes run fast on in misery

: which plotted to surprize and assaile the per-
he Kinge,—thos that ar Papists, ar att liberty.
forgett mee, nor doubt mee. For as God liveth
ever forgett your trew honor and remorse of mee.
remayne, as your thought, to serve yow,

W. R.

:
right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord CECYL.

Sir Walter Raleigh to my Lord.

LETTER
CXXVIII.

1603-1604?
January?

To Lord
Cecil.
[From the
Tower.]

With the
Seals of the
Duchy.—
Enclosure
of a letter
to the
King.

CXXIX.

TO THE KING.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 111 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CXXIX.
1603-1604
Jan. 20.
To King
James
From the
Tower.
Assertion
of his per-
sonal
loyalty—
Appeal to
the King's
justice and
mercy.

THE Kef which I had, most mighty Prince, the law hath taken from mee, and I am now but the same earth and dust out of which I was made. If my offence had proportion with your Majesties mercy, I might dyspaire; or if my deserving had anye quantety with your Majesties unmeasurabell goodnes, I might hope. But your great Majesty, and not I, must judg of both. Name, blood, gentillety or estate, I have none; no, not so much as a beeing; no, not so much as *vita planta*. I have only a penitent sowle, in a body of iron, which moveth towards the loadstone of Death, and cannot bee withheld from towching it, unles your Majesties mercy turne the poynt towards it which répelleth.¹

Lost I am, for heringe a vayne man; for heringe only; but never belevinge or acceptinge. And, soe littell accompt I made of that speach of his (which was now my condemnation), as the livinge God doth trewly wittnis—that I never remembred any such thinge till it was, att my triall, objected agaynst mee. So did hee repay my care who cared to make hyme good, which I see no care of man can effect.

But God, for my offences to Hyme, hath layd this hevy burden on mee, misserabell and unfortunate

¹ MS. reads, "*which re-expelleth*," but it is probable that '*expelleth*' was first written, and then imperfectly altered with the pen. The allusion is obvious.

wrech. For not lovinge yow, my Sovereigne, God hath not layde this sorrow on mee; for the same God knows, with whom I may not dissembell, that I have trewly honored your Majesty by fame; and trewly loved and admired your Majesty by knowledge: so as wher I live or dy, your Majesties trew and humbell sarvant I will live or dy.

If I nowe write what doth not now become me, most mighty Kinge, vouchsaufe to ascribe it to the councill of a dead hart, and to a minde which sorrow hath broken. But the more my misery is, the more is your Majesties mercy, if yow pleas to behold it; and the less I can deserve, the more liberall your Majesties gift. God only herein your Majestie shall imitate, both in gevinge frely and by gevinge to such a one from whom ther can be no retribution; savinge only a desire to pay agayne a lent lief; and to repay it with the same great love which the same great goodness shall pleas to lend it.

This beinge the first letter which ever your Majestie receved from a dead man,¹ I humblie submyt my sealf to the will of my supreme Lorde, and shall willingly and patiently suffer what his great and generus hart shall determyne by that humbell vassell which yet breatheth by your Majesties permission and meere mercy,

W. R.

Addressed: "*To the Kinges most excellent Majesty, my Soverayne Lorde.*"

Endorsed, by Sir Robert Cecil: "*S. W. Raleigh.*" A copy, exactly contemporaneous, now preserved in MS. Lansdowne, clvii. fol. 155 (British Museum), is endorsed, in the hand of Sir Julius Cæsar, in these words: "*A copy of the letter written by Sir Walter Raleigh to the Kings Majesty, 21 Januarii, 1603*" [*legal style*].

¹ The reader will have doubtless noticed that if this expression, "the first letter" is to be taken quite literally, it follows that Letter CXXXV. has been

LETTER
CXXIX.
1603-1604.
Jan. 21.

CXXX.

TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Earl Papers*, vol. cii. § 23. **Hatfield**. Holograph.
Written: date.

My duty ~~now~~ humble remembered. Wheras it pleased your Lordships to write your letters for the stay of the sale of such poore stuff as [re]¹ mayneth in my house at Sherburne, I understande that notwithstanding² your Lordships' letters that³ the Commissioners do go on for the finding³ of my lands. And because my conveyance of thos lands is here in [London] in the custody of my sarvant **JOHNE WOOD**, Writer for the Province of Munster, and that he is now at the Bathes⁴ so as I cannot gett [my]¹ writings out of his hands, I do most humble beseich your Lordships to be pleased to write your letters to Mr. Sargent **PHILLIPS**, and the rest, to putt of the execution of their Commission for some eyght or ten dayes.

And, although I had rather be altogether bound unto the Kings Majesty for thos lands, then to hold

replaced. It would also seem to follow that Sir Julius Caesar's date so expressly assigned to the present letter is erroneous. But I incline to the opinion that Raleigh now—i. e. at the time of writing this letter—first realized to his own mind his position as a man 'dead in law,' and so his present letter was really the first written to the King, under that circumstance.

¹ The words or syllables within brackets have been torn away from the margin of the original letter.

² So repeated in MS.

³ A 'finding by office,' or inquisition of a jury.

⁴ Bath.

hem by any other strenght of law, yet, that it may
 pere that the conveyance by me made was drawn in
 our late Queen's tyme, as Mr. DODREG¹ can witnis, who
 drew it, and that I had never any ill intent therin, I do
 reseich your Lordships that the same may be perused
 by the Cummissioners before they proceed to finde the
 lands by Jury, on² way or other.

The whole reecat of thos lands, with the parke and a
 tock of £400 in sheep [in]³ the sayd parke, is but on²
 thowsand marke,⁴ out of which I pay unto the Byshops
 of Sallisbury for ever to⁵ hundred and sixty pound a
 yeare; and in fees and pensions wherwith the land is
 charged, and towards the provision of the Kings howse,
 to maymed soldiers, and to the poore, above fifty
 pound a yeare more. So as the clere valew is not four
 hondred pound, with a stock. My charges in this
 place,⁶ for diet only, is £208 a yeare; and if his Majesty
 shal allow the rest of this sume—to make it £300, unto
 me, for all other necessares—ther remaynethe not above
 on² hundred mark⁷ a yeare for my poore wife and
 childe, and their sarvants, which, God knowes, will not
 geve them bread and cloaths.

My debts ar above £3,000. All my goods that I
 have left in the world—I protest before the majesty
 of God—ar not worth on thowsand markes.⁴ All my
 rich hangins I sold my Lorde Admirall for £500. I
 had but on² riche bedd, which I solde the Lorde
 COBHAME. All my plate—which was very fayre—is
 now lost, or eaten out with interest att on² CHENES'⁸
 in Lumbard Street. That which I have alreddy lost

LETTER
 CXXX.

1603-1604¹

¹ See the note on p. 292.

² *one.*

³ See note ¹ in the preceding page.

⁴ £666 13s. 4d. (= £3,333, 1867).

⁵ *two.*

⁶ The Tower.

⁷ £66 13s. 4d.

⁸ Cheynes, a London goldsmith.

LETTER
CXXX.
—
1603-1604?

by Jersey, the Wine Office, the Stannerys, Gillingam,¹ and Portland,² is at least £3,000 a yeare. So as I trust that his Majesty will be mercifull unto me for the rest; which, after the payment of my debts, wilbe but a miserabell estat, God knowes.

Herein I humblie beseich your Lordships' favors, that I may not be left to utter beggery; and that your Lordships wilbe pleased, in the mean while, to write thos your letters for the stay of this Cummission; and I shall ever rest your Lordships' most humble

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell the Lords, and others, of his Majesty most honorabell Privy Councell.*"

Endorsed, in the hand of Lord Cecil: "*Sir Walter Raleigh to the Lords.*"

CXXXI.

TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 17 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CXXXI.
—
1604.

To Lord
Cecil.
[From the
Tower.]

Renewed
protesta-
tion of the
injustice of
his con-
demnation.
— Assur-
ances of
affection to
Cecil.—

MY LORD,

IF all Christian and lawfull poure directs itsealf equally by the counsell of Reason and of Charity,—the on teaching us humane pollecy; the other, celestially,—your Lordship, whose mind hath bynn ever moderat doth witnes that yow have received this grace from God, and light from vertu to know that cumpassion hath ever bynn repayd with cumpassion, and cruelty with cruelty. And, if ever this rule have fayled in the life of man (which is rare), it hath bynn performed everlastingly elcwher.

¹ The rangership of Gillingham Forest.

² The lieutenancy of Portland Castle.

I do therefore humblie pray your Lordship that yow will looke into that Justice which is never separte from Mercy, by which, and in which, whosoever useth it, hee douth both pleas and imitate God. And therin, first, but to consider thes too:¹ what my offences have bynn to my Soverayn, and what my errors were towards my frinds; and then, laying both in the balance, together with my losses and affixions, to consider and way the fault with the payn; and the counterperjures, and person, by whom I have perished.

To be equall herein is the office of a just magistrat. To respect the trewth, and not the law, is celestiaall policy: by which wee must all hope to be judged, and shalbe judged as wee judge; and bee dealt withall, as wee deal with others in this life;—if we beleve God Hyme sealf.

To be cumpassionat and moderating is an effect of Piety for which God was never debtor to any man. And if God have moved others to preserve mee from the worst of evells, I may trust that the thoughts of my sowle have found grace with Hym, in which Hee never beheld any desire of mans ruin or distruction, mallic, or revendge.

Lastly, to undertake the cause of any man in misery is ether out of trew honor and generosety, which geveth freely and out of no other respect then sealf vertu; or out of Love, which beholds the ill a farr of, and the good att hand. Now your Lordship hath used the first and second to all; and, for Affection,—if nothing be left, it hath cast all his leves of late, and withereth in the spring,—which I cannot beleve; seeing in my darck and dead winter it made that most trew and adventurus proof of it sealf, which I could not hope for, and can

LETTER
CXXXI.

1604.

Entreaties
for the
preserva-
tion to his
family of
his landed
estates.

¹ *two.*

LETTER
CXXXI.

1604.

never repay. For thos lines, writen in another hand, of which I knew the phraze, ar also writen on my hart; which my sowle can never leve to repeat while it liveth in my body. And if any cunning toong of man, or if an angell, tell your Lordship the contrary, do not beleve hym. Neither shall I ever distinguish¹ that demonstration of my lives care which the effect sealed, while I have being, or know ther is a God which hath ever hated that ingratetud to the ministers of His goodness.

A secound effect of your Lordship's great favor was the preservation of my moveabells, which the ravenus Sherifs were in hand to have seised, and att my gates to have rifled, if your Lordship's letters had not then cum to have countermanded it; which it also pleased yow, soon after, to procure mee.

The last is now humblie desired of mee and myne,—which is the obtayning of that poore estate which remayns, that the life which your Lordship hath stayed at the grave's brinck may have wherwith to releve it, and that my poore childe may be your poore creature for ever as I am; which being doon I protest, before the living God, I shall take my loss for a gayne; nothing being lost, that could have bettered any of myne, but the Lease of the Wines, which was desperat before my trobells.

And, for conclusion, I beseich your Lordship from my hart, which shall ever devise how to honor yow, that yow will resolve, and do me right therin, to beleve that my thoughts and my love can never be seperat from yow, and that I may be of sume use to yow, if yow pleas to finishe the worck for me, which yow have begun, which I shall imprint in the harts of all myne; and

¹ So in MS.

emayne for ever so tied unto your Lordship as, if there be any life and body your's which you may accompt of to expire to what yow pleas, it is my sealf, your Lordship's trew poore frind and trew sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord CECYL.

Endorsed :

1604. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Lord.

LETTER
CXXXI.
—
1604.

CXXXII.

TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. cix. § 16 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

My wife told mee that shee spake with your Lordshipe yesterday, about my poore estate and hers, and that it pleased your Lordship to tell her that yow would be pleased to deale for the assurance of my land unto some Feoffees, of trust to the use of her and my childe; but that for my pardon, it could not yet be dunn.

Whatsoever your Lordship shall do herein, it is of your great goodness, and beyonnd my poure to deserve. And, if my pardon may not be had, then I most humblie beseich yow that the land may be so obtayned, in the mean while, which to the end of my life I shall acknowledg.

But wheras it pleased your Lordship to add that yow would be contented that somebody elce should hereafter procure mee a pardon, I do rather desire to attend your

LETTER
CXXXII.
—
1604.

To Lord Cecil.
[From the Tower.]

Assurance of his Dorsetshire estates.— His expectation of a pardon.

Lordship's leisure therein, then to ingage my sealf to
 any man living for so great a benefyte, but to your
 Lordship, who hath first saved my life and estate; and
 kept mee and myne from utter ruin. For it cannot
 bee but a great debt from mee to any man, and a
 great end of my service and love to hyme for ever, that
 shall procure it.

And good my Lord, lett mee bee your trew and only
 maner without any other dependency. I may yet do
 your Lordship some kind of service, ether by word,
 deed, or writing; all which God douth know I will
 my self to do your Lordship honor for ever.

If I had a garden, I may notwithstanding be
 restrained or confined. If I may not be here about
 London (which God cast my sowle into hell if I desire,
 but to do your Lordship some kind of sarvice), I shalbe
 most contented to be confined within the Hundred of
 Shropshire; or if I cannot be allowed so much, I shalbe
 contented to live in Holland, wher I shall, perchance,
 gett some employment uppon the Indies; or elce, if I
 be appointed to any bishope or other gentelman or
 noble man, or that your Lordship would lett me keep
 out a park of yours—which I will buy from some one
 that hath it—your Lordship shalbe sure that I will never
 break the order which yow shall pleas to undertake for
 me. And if I bee any wher nire yow, yow shall find
 that in some kind or other I shall do your Lordship
 service. For God douth know that if I cannot go to
 the North this fall I am undun, for my health; and
 shalbe dead, or disabled for ever.

Good my Lord, make an end of mee, one way or
 other; that I may witness to the world the great debt
 I owe yow. And your Lordship shall find it from
 God, and with men in some proportion,—to your

ip's advantage; to whom I will remayne your
ost thanckfullest man that ever received good
our Lordship or ever shall.

W. RALEGH.

l:

the right honorabell my singular good Lord, the Lord CECYLL.

in Lord Cecil's hand: "*Sir Walter Ralegh. 1604;*" and, in
another hand, "*To my Lord. From the Tower.*"

CXXXIII.

EVINUS MUNCKE, SECRETARY TO LORD
CRANBORNE.

Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 21 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

EVINUS,

necessitie were not impudent, or if povertie
eall it sealf, I would not take this boldness to
my Lorde, who hath alreddy putt many debts
yme that is abell to repay nothing, and every
s then other; forsaken of frinds, and of health,
all but God.

le of late to¹ peeces of ordenance to one Mr.
ASTER, a marchant, whome yow know. Hee that
ie bargayne between us was one THOMAS SCOTT,
r,—one that I have done much for in my tyme,
that, since I came back from Winchester, offred
his howse for me, if I wanted, with protestations
less to be dissembled. But, having gotten my
to his hands which Mr. ALOBLASTER sent mee,

¹ *two.*

II.

X

LETTER
CXXXII.
—
1604.

LETTER
CXXXIII.
—
1604?

To
Levinus
Muncke.
[From the
Tower.]

Fraudulent
dealings
of one
Thomas
Scott, a
merchant.

LETTER
CXXXIII.

1604?

and five pound waight of tobacco promised, hath sold the tobacco and reteyneth my mony; finding mee now fitt for all men to tread on. Hee hath goods in a shipp of Mr. ALOBLASTER'S, which Mr. ALOBLASTER advised mee to attach, but he hath cunningly shippt them in other men's names, so as I have lost a charge. Arrest hyme I cannot, nor sew hyme, because the law knowes me but for dead.

My humble sute is to have a pursevant, and my Lord's letter to take hyme. Hee meanes to go away for Spayne in Mr. ALOBLASTER'S shipp; so as, if the pursevant find hyme not this Sunday, he will imbarck one¹ Munday, onless it would pleas my Lorde to write a cummandment to the master of Mr. ALOBLASTER'S shipp, called *The Prudence*, of London, to command the master not to take hyme aboard, here or elcewher, till hee have payd me the mony.

If yow thinck it not offensive, good Mr. LEVINUS, procure it; if yow do, I must have patience, till God geve end to my miseres or to mee.

Your poore frinde assured,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

To my loving frinde, Mr. LEVINUS; or, in his absence, to Mr. BRUERTON, Secritore to my Lord of CRANBORN.

Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Ralegh;*" and, in a later hand, "*To Mr. BRUERTON, Secretary to Lord CRANBORN.*"

CXXXIV.

ORD TREASURER BUCKHURST, TO
Y LORD CRANBORNE, AND OTHERS,
HE COUNCIL.

Cecil Papers, vol. cix. § 14 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

ly more rents then thes,¹ to my know-
herbage of the Parks, which was never in
ased in my child's name, tenn year since,
f Pinford grounds in Mr. HERIOT, for 58
refuse all grace of and from His Majesty,
y miscast a matter of foure or five pound
or leve out sume five or six akers of
re quillet.

he substance of all, uppon my alleagence ;
if it pleas your Honors to make further
mit my sealf unto it ; and I beseich your
t a copy hereof may be delivered to the
s. All that greevs mee herein is that so
detested a wrech as MEERE² is made a
—as hee hath vaunted and sent me worde,
res not, otherwise, shew his face, having
itions agaynst hyme ; and hath not forty
of ground in the world, but of my gift,
rooteth up my copps-woods and promiseth
reditors with the part promised hyme out
—spreding it abrod that sume one of your

¹z, hereafter.

CVIII. CII. and CVI., heretofore ; pp. 227, 237, 245.

X 2 *

LETTER
CXXXIV.

1604.

To Lord
Buckhurst
and others.
[From the
Tower.]

Particulars
of his
Estates at
Sherborne,
&c.

Brought forward . . . £200 14 9½
*The Manner of Yetminster is of the old
 rent of assyze* 012 5 11
 But this Manner is a kind of Fee simpell in the
 Tenants, and the Lord hath but a small
 fine att every death or alienation.
 Summ totall of the old rent ¹ £207 8 0½

LETTER
 CXXXIV.
 1604.

*The Farm of Sherburn is worth by im-
 provement, besyds all reprises, if it do
 not decay* £250 0 0
*There ar also certayn demayn grounds in
 Whitfeild which are let to farm for
 the yearly rent of* 060 0 0
*There ar other grounds, redeemed out of the
 Tenants' hands, in Caundell Byshope,
 or Doton, worth by the year* 040 0 0
*do also rent sume pasture grounds of a
 Tenant of myne called SWETNAM,
 and do make profite of them, besyds
 the rent which I pay hyme by the year* 012 0 0
*There ar other grounds and closes about
 Sherburn which may be worth about
 £30 or £40 a yeare; so as all these
 demayns and farms and feilds ar
 worth, by the year, in the totall, £400.*
*There is also a rent charg which Sir
 ROBERT MILLER douth pay unto
 mee, out of Up Cern, and other his
 lands, in consideration of the fee farm
 of them which I procured hyme . . .* 022 10 3½
 Carried forward . . . £384 10 3½

¹ So in MS., instead of £213 p. 8½d.

LETTER
CXXXIV.
—
1604.

Brought forward . . . £384 10 3

*I have also half of a demayns¹ in Pinford,
called Pinford Manner, of the yearly
old rent of 005 0 0*

*I have also the moyty of the Manner of
Prunsley, of the yearly old rent of . 007 2 7½*

*I have also a Mill in Sherburn which I
purchased of her late Majestie, which
was in leas to ARTHUR SWAYN for
3 lives, of the old rent of 006 4 10*

*I have also a Close behind the Castell of five
akers, and too or three other littell closes
which, to bee lett, ar worth by the year 006 5 0*

The total of the rent charg. £22 10 3½

The total of the old rent . 18 7 0½

The rackt rent of the closes is 6 5 0

Sum total of all together is 629 8 4 or nire therabout

Reprises which go out of this sum :—

To the Bishop, for ever . . . £260 0 0

To one Edmond Lane, for 25

years or 30 years 030 0 0

In fees dew to Officers and others 044 13 0

Besyds payments to the King for the Hous-
hold and other small charges.

Butt wheras in this deduction of fees the
Bayly is to have £8. a yeare, and the
Receiver sune £7. a year, I do not
pay the Baylife, because he is myne
enemy, and hath abused mee; and
the Receiver, being my sarvant, douth
not exact it of mee. Butt yet all thes
be dew, and have ever bynn payd. } 334 13 0

So remayneth clere, £295 0 0

¹ demesne.

ow the reason why, by the Office, ther is found but
fourscore pound to the Kings Majesty is because
the Farm, valued at £240 or £250, being in lease
and the Assignment not found, ther is but the old
rent found for the King. As also because it hath
pleased his Majesty to geve too of my sarvants all
my goods, leases, and chattells. And then, if the
rackt rent of the Farm—which is £240 or £250—
bee deducted, ther remayneth, according to the
Office, about fourscore and odd pounds.

Addressed :

*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lords, the Lord Treasurer of
England, the Lord CECYLL, and the Lord HUMES, Chancelor of
his Majesties Exchequer, &c.*

Dorsed :

1604. *Sir Walter Ralegh to the Lords.*

CXXXV.

TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 24 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

HAT life, which cann be of no use to others, and is
ow also weery of mee, at parting putts mee in mind of
os whom Nature and Charetie commands me not to
eglect,—a wife and a childe, and a wife with childe,
hom, God knowes, have nothing elce to inherite then
y shame and ther own misery. How to healp it, or to
hom to cumplayn, I know not, whose fortune is over
arck for the reason of the world to peirce. And I who
n never pay old debts, nor deserve new trust, cannot
so partiall to my sealf but to know that to press your
ordshipp (who have alreddy cast back unto mee all
have) were ether foolishness or impudency.

LETTER
CXXXIV.

1604.

LETTER
CXXXV.

1604.

To Lord
Cranborne.
[From the
Tower.]

Estates
and other
personal
affairs.

LETTER
CXXXV.
1604.

And while I know that the best of men are but the spoyles of Tyme and certayne images wherwith childish Fortune useth to play,—kisse them to-day and break them to-morrow,—and therefore can lament in my sealf but a common destiney, yet the pitifull estate of thos who ar altogether healpless, and who dayly wound my soule with the memory of their miseries, force mee, in dispiht of all resolvedness, bothe to bewayle them and labor for them. Not that I wish them, God knowes, the least proportion of plenty, having forgotten that happiness which found to mich to littell; but my thoughts are now guyled by thos affections which Povertie hath begotten, who contemplate it to be a sufficient felicitie for them but to be able to eat of their own bread.

Now if it shall please your Lordship to pardon the necessitie of my presumption, I most humblie besich you to receve the opinions of my Lord Cheif Justice and Mr. Atorney for the Conveyance. Mr. DODRICE knows that it had bynn sealed almost to years ere the Queen died, if the feoffes had not bynn so farr asunder; and God doth witness with mee that att that tyme when it was dun Sir A. BRETT was the sole cause, in respect of my quarells with GORGE¹ and PRESTON.² If they shall judg fraud herein, God judg them with more grace then they have judged of it, and mee.

Howsoever it bee, it seemes to mee that His Majestye (by your Lordshipp moved to compassion) promised to leve me what was left; and that the more it appeered in valew that His Majestie would then more willingly graunt it. This mich I had cause to hope for; the rather because your Lordship tolde mee att Winchester that yow were sorry that I had resigned Jersey,—words which, God knowes, peirced my hart to the center, as witnessing

¹ Sir Ferdinando Gorges. See Vol. I. p. 256. ² Sir Amias Preston.

of his adversetie whom yow had once loved. And other things of the greatest debts layd on kes mee still presume that your Lordship's hart, od for goodness hath blest, being ether moved past, or by the compassion of my present, et vouchsaf to save this quarter which re- from the ravens of this tyme, which feed ings. For, as it is, so ar my tenants made ; I protest, before God, ether I must spoyle all ve 20s. for £20, or elce want altogether. And, mean tyme, can neither pay debts, releeve my assure bread to my children.

My own tyme, good my Lord, consider that it e calde a life, but only misery drawn out and nto a long thride, without all hope of other end ath shall provide for mee; who, without the kings or frinds, will deliver mee out of prison. ur Lordshipp shalbe pleased to do any thinge shall but offer my sealf for recumpence who as a broken reed. But I shall hope that God y your Lordship all my debts. If your Lord- rsake mee herein, all I can do is to lett them at I cannot healp them,—that they may try usealvs, while, by my life, they have yet a on of their birthright.

In the rest, lett the pollecy of the world be what it ther is a God, I know my sealf bound unto rdshipp, and which I would pay agayne, if I ith a gratetud never surmounted.

W. R.

*The right honorabell my singuler good Lord, the Lord CECILL,
Viscount CRANBORNE, &c.*

In the hand of Lord Cranborne: "*St. W. Raleigh.*"

LETTER
CXXXV.
—
1604.

CXXXVI.

TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 13 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CRANBORNE
1604
To Lord
Cranborne
From the
Tower.
Change in
Cran-
borne's
behaviour
towards
him.—
Injustice
of his con-
demnation.
—Pers. and
affairs.—
Appear-
ance of the
Plague in
the Tower.
—Desire of
removal.

SINCE the tyme that my wife was last with your Lord-
shipe I have withered in body and mind. By whom I
perceived a sad chang in your Lordship's favor towards
mee, on which all my hopes have ever lived, and made
mee live. Not for the discumfort of liberty only, but
in that it pleased your Lordship to thinck that I had
dealt ungratfully with yow since my trobels; which, as
ther is a God, I never did, nor could so mich as thinck
to do.

For the tymes past, whatsoever your Lordship hath
conceived, I cannot thinck my sealf to have bynn ether
an enemy, or such a viper, but that this great downfall
of myne; this shame, loss, and sorrow; may seem to
your Lordship's hart and sowle a sufficient punishment
and revendg. And, if ther bee nothings of so many
years love and familiarety to lay in the other scale,
O my God! how have my thoughts betrayd mee in¹
your Lordship's nature, compassion, and piety. For to
dy in perpetuall prison I did not thinck that your Lord-
ship could have wished to your strongest and most
mallicious enemies.

I know that Law, and Condemnation, ar formal²
arguments to men of iron harts. But God, that must
judg us all,—and extend infinit compassion towards all.

¹ 'of' first written, and erased.

² Evidently used in the sense of "formidable."

or elce wee must all perish in the never ending sorrows to cum,—that God, when the sorrowfull night of death shall cum uppon us, will remember the cries and grones of the miserabell whom wee have suffred to perishe, not relieved.

I have presumed at this tyme to remember your Lordship of my miserabell estate,—dayly, in danger of death by the palsey ; nightly, of suffocation, by wasted and obstructed lungs. And now, the plaug being cum att the next dore unto mee, only the narrow passage of the way between. My poore child having lien this 14 dayes next to a wooman with a running plaug sore, and but a paper wall betwen,—and whose childe is also this Thursday dead of the plauge. So as now my wife and child, and others in whom I had cumfort, have abandoned me ; and in what fearfull estate, the Lord knowes.

My most humble desire is to be removed elcewher, even to what place which God's goodness, and Charitey, shall move your Lordship's hart ; that I be not left alone and remedeless, as well for this visitation as for other as lamentabell deseases which possess mee.

That I shall not ever acknowledg your Lordship's great and cumfortabell favors, God make yow know the contrary,—the same God that knowes that I was never farther from my Lord CECYLL, but that I would have sett my life between hyme and harme. God geve me cumfort as it is trew, and as I shall evermore be found gratfull in the highest degree ; and remayne your Lordship's poore disconsolate

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable my singular good Lord, the Lord CECYLL,
Viscount CRANBORN, &c.*

Embraced by Lord Cecil : " 1604. *Sir Walter Raleigh.*"

LETTER
CXXXVI.
1604.

CXXXVII.

TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cv. § 50 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER
CXXXVII.

1604.

To Lord
Cranborne.
[From the
Tower?]

Entreaty
for the
restoration
of his
landed
estates.

I MIGHT feare that this my importunety might offend your Lordshipp, if I did not withall hope that the proportion of your Lordship's favor sett by for me cannot, by any weakness of this nature, be recalde, or cast back into that heape, out of which your Lordship taketh out,¹ to releive all men.

Thos seasons which honor and good fortune accompany seeme but short, and steale from us unwares. But their tymes, whose days run out in misery only, appeare exceedinge longe and draw sloely to their end. Sorrow rydds the ass; Prosperitie the eagell.

That which makes me adventure to beseich your Lordship herein is the nireness of the terme, att which tyme the Kinges counsell-in-law wilbe more busied and mich deerer; the bussness intricate and therefore dangerous in a careless hand. For my sealf, being unpardoned, I must wholly trust other mens consciences; wherin, howsoever the fathers deale, God knowes how the soonns may.

Besides, I have kept my Steward² here ever since your Lordship's first cumfort geven mee,—a man whom I can better intreat then know how to reward. His

¹ 'out' is thus repeated in original MS.

² John Shelbury (of whom, in relation to the conduct of the "intricate business" referred to in this letter, there is a curious anecdote recorded in Manningham's *Diary*, MS. Harl. 5353, fol. 43, verso. B. M.).

estate requiring his presence more then it doth my
-as it hath pleased God to order it. All which I
o your Lordship's goodness to valew, for whom
ie only must finde out frinds.

Your Lordship's ever to serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

nd: "To the right honorabell my singuler good Lord, the Vicount
CRANBORN, &c."

id: "1604;" then, in Lord Cranborne's hand, "Sir Waller
Ralcigh;" and in another hand, "To my Lord."

LETTER
CXXXVII.

1604.

1605.

CXXXVIII.

SECRETARY THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

Original. Cecil Papers, vol. cix. § 9 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

Lordshipp being now reddey to depart hence (and
otherwise imboldned by your Lordship's cum-
ell promises) makes me adventure once agayne
weich yow to remember my long sute. I do not
your Lordship as doubtinge your Lordship's favor
. My life had sauftie without your worde; and
re no cause for me to doubt my land with it.

it is trew: 'Dant animum ad loquendum liberè
e miseria,' and being into such estate brought, I
efore your Lordship the trew cause of my impor-
s. The on is (which I speake in the presence and
of God) that I am every second or third night in

LETTER
CXXXVIII.

1605.

To the
Earl of
Salisbury.
[From the
Tower!]

Renewed
entreaty
for the
preserva-
tion of his
landed
estates.

LETTER
CXXXVIII.

1605.

danger ether of suddayne death or of the loss of my lymes¹ and sense, being sune tyme two howres without feeling or motion of my hand and whole arm. I complayn not of it. I know it vayne, for ther is none that hath compassion therof. The other, that I shalbe made more then weary of my life by her crijng and bewayling who will return in post when shee heares of your Lordship's departure, and nothing don. Shee hath alreddy brought her eldest sonne in one hand and her sucking child in another, crijng out of her and their destruction; charging mee with unnaturall negligence,² and that having provided for myne own life I am without sense and compassion of theirs.

Thes torments, added to my desolate life,—receiving nothing but torments and wher I should look for sune cumfort, together with the consideration of my cruell destiney, my dayes and tymes worn out in sorrow and imprisonment,—is sufficient ether utterly to distract mee or to make mee curss the tyme that ever I was born into the world, and had a being; did I not hope that God wilbe pleased to accept thos misires of myne in this world for thos eternall sorrowes which my neglect of Hyme and offences agaynst Hyme have deserved.

I beseich your Lordship, even as you must one day begg cumfort from God and cry unto Hyme for His abundant mercie, that yow wilbe pleased to spare the tyme, and to finishe and effect, in sune sort, your hart's intents toward me. If I could ether healp or blame their cries and impatience, I would, for my sealf, leve all to God and your Lordship. But, if your Lordship spare one thought toward this estate of myne, I cannot

¹ *limbs.*

² The allusion here is to the inadequate conveyance (for technical error) of the Sherborne estates. See Vol. I. chap. xxi.

hope for some happie end ; which I leve to your
hip's goodness to resolve of, and rest your most
ble creture to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

ed :

*the right honorable my singuler good Lorde, the Lord Vicount
CRANBORN, Earle of SALLISBURY, &c.*

d :

605. *Sir Walter Raleigh ;*" and, in another hand, "*To my Lord.*"

LETTER
CXXXVIII.
—
1605.

CXXXIX.

THE EARL OF SALISBURY, LORD HIGH
TREASURER.

the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 11 (Hatfield). Holograph.

I my cumforts and sorrowes are in your Lord-
poure, so it pleaseth your Lordship to mixe them,
with a gentell hand.

My wife tolde mee that your Lordship had pleased to
is Majestie for Sherburne, and that his Majestie
ciously disposed toward the releife of her and
re children. My thanckfullness I know your
cannot valem. Thos bonds of debts are only
wher payment may be hoped for. But all dew
I must leve to the world, to pay your Lordship
reat part of the honor it hath to geve ; and to
ow for satisfied in your great accompt towards
compassion yow shew towards others. All
one entrance into life, and a like going out.
orld, we live by glorie ; in the heavens,
' *Prudentia humana mortalis, misericordia*

LETTER
CXXXIX.
—
1605.

To the
Earl of
Salisbury.
[From the
Tower.]

Restora-
tion of the
Dorset-
shire
estates.—
Terms of
the re-
grant in
trust.

LETTER
CXXXIX.

1605.

Ther is nothing more trew then that the greatest prosperitie hath the greatest envie. And though wise men do not therefore neglect the blessings of God in this world, yet they carefully distinguish her two natures: the one, biting at Prosperitie it sealf, att what prise soever Vertue hath bought it; the other, at that poure¹ accompanied with severitie, especially agaynst thos whom it hath sometyme loved, and are afterward become miserabell. *'Ea prosperitas maximè invidiosa est, in qua est asperitas; præcipuè in amicos afflictos ac miseros, ac in nostram potestatem redactos.'* For the plentie of happines is never decreased by imparting cumfort to others, wher God hath geven sufficient for both. How your Lordship may thinck that I acknowledg your Lordship's liberalitie to my sealf, I can no otherwise gess then by the continewance of your favor. To geve your Lordship farther assurance of my desire to honor your Lordship with all the pouers of my sowle, I find no other argument then trewth in my sealf, and uttered by thes emptie voyces which your Lordship's charitie pleaseth to accept.

For the sute it sealf, with which I have so often troubled your Lordship, as I must take most tranckfully what soever your Lordship shall vouchsaf to procure mee,—so, if the land be tied with a remaynder, a third of the valew is therby lost. Besids that neither can I have means to pay my debts (owing to Mr. VANLOR² and Sir J. SPILMAN £1300; and, as God liveth, as mich more elcewher; and the debt of the Wines alreddy assigned). Agayne, the Church of Sallisburie, which

¹ *power.*

² Peter Vanlore of London, an eminent Flemish merchant, who at this date had long been domiciled in England, and to whom one of Sir Walter's latest letters (on the fatal Guiana expedition) is addressed. See under '1616,' hercafter; Letter CLI.

hath no great estate, might therby loose £260 a yeere which I pay. For the King can be no man's tenant nor hold land of any vassall.

I did desire it free the rather, in hope to bargayn with your Lordship for it. For ther is no seat within the cumpass of your titells so fitt for your Lordship as that. And I will make it appere that your Lordship may save £10,000, in respect of building, imparking, and setling, elcewher.

It was once entayled uppon my brother's children. But I might have revoked it agayn, and ment it. I beseich your Lordship do me that grace as I may be therin no less free then heretofore. And if your Lordship do not find reason in my offer towards your sealf (my debts being payd), I protest before God I will then tie it, as your Lordship shall advise me or command mee. And, howsoever, I shall remayne your Lordships faithfull sarvant to the end,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord Vicount CRANBORN, Earl of SALLYSBURIE, &c.

Endorsed : "1605. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Lord.*"

LETTER
CXXXIX.
1605.

CXL.

TO SIR ROBERT COTTON, BART.

From the Original. MS. COTTON, Julius C iii. fol. 311 (British Museum). Holograph. Mutilated.¹ Without date. Written during his imprisonment in the Tower; probably between the years 1605 and 1612.

* * The learned biographer of Cotton, Dr. Thomas Smith, has taken it for granted that Sir Walter Raleigh's object in

¹ The words printed within brackets I supply from a copy of the letter, which was made anterior to the fire at Ashburnham House.

addressing this letter to Sir R. Cotton was to obtain materials for the continuation of the *History of the World*. This may well have been so. It is, however, matter rather of conjecture than of proof. Sir Walter's object may have been that '*Brief History of England*' in particular, on which we know that he was also employed, whilst in the Tower. ". . . *Quorum hinc,*" writes Dr. Smith, when speaking of the great scholars whose studies Cotton had helped to promote,—"*carceris in Turri Londinensi pœnam luens, in Secunda Universalis Historiæ parte antiquitates Britannicas indagaturus, ut quosdam Codices tum typis impressos, tum manu exaratos, sibi utendos dare vellet Cottonus, literis petit.*" Cotton's answer is not extant. But his character is a sufficient assurance of its nature.

LETTER
CXL.

After
1605?

To Sir
Robert
Cotton.
[From the
Tower.]

Requests
the loan of
various
books of
History.

SIR ROBERT COTTON,

IF yow have any of thes old books, or any manuscripts, wherin I cann reade any of our written antiquites, if yow pleas to lend them mee [¹for a little while, I will s]wifly restore them; and thinck my sealf miche [beholding unto yow; or, if yow have any old French hist]ory wherin our nation is mentioned, or any [else, in what language so]ever.

Your poore frind,

W. RALEGH.

Sigebert's *Cronikells*.²

Vincent's *Speculum historiale*.

Gervasius Tilesberius.³

Phillip: Bergomus.⁴

¹ See note on the preceding page.

² Sigeberti Gemblacensis Cœnobitæ *Chronicon, ab anno 381 ad annum 1131.*

³ Gervasii Tilberiensis *De Imperio Romano, et Gottorum, Lombardorum, Brittonum, Francorum, Anglorumque regnis, Commentatio*; known also as *Otia Imperialia ad Ottonem IV. Imperatorem.*

⁴ *Supplementum Chronicorum Orbis, ab initio Mundi ad annum 1485*; by James Philip Foresti, of Bergamo.

Natalis Talipes.¹
 Amand : Zirescens.
 Caius Hondinius.
 John Major, *De gestis Scotorum*.²
 Lessabius of Herault.³
 Alex. Evesham.⁴
Brute Booke.
Cronikell of Teuxberry.⁵
 Peter de Icham.⁶

LETTER
 CXL.
 —
 After
 1605?

1608.

CXLI.

TO THE LORD TREASURER SALISBURY.

Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxx. § 36 (Hatfield). Holograph.
 Without date.

WING that something may be sayde unto your
 ripe of my proceeding towching Sherburne, I
 ie pray your Lordshipe to judg of me herein by
 me goodnes and charitie which hath hitherto
 d all your actions. For, that the graunt required
 : and others is indeed fearfull unto us, I cannot

LETTER
 CXLI.
 —

1607-1608.
 Jan. 29.

To the
 Lord
 Treasurer
 Salisbury.
 [From the
 Tower.]

aire de l'estat et république des Druides, &c. Par Noël Taillepied.
 at Paris in 1585.)

ably but another title for the well-known *Historia Majoris*
ie, tam Anglia quam Scotia.

micron Universale, attributed (on very doubtful authority) to James
 a Fleming, who flourished in the earlier part of the sixteenth

aps *Chronicon Abbatie Eveshamensis . . . à fundatione ad annum*

ales Monasterii de Theokesberia, ab anno 1066 ad annum 1263.
 t. Cleopatra, A vii.

mica de regibus Anglia, . . . à tempore Bruti usque ad annum
 MS. Cott. Dom. iii. 1. In the original, Raleigh's list of books is
 e top of his letter.

I have
 written
 to the
 Court
 of the
 Chamberlaine
 of the
 Kings
 house
 the
 15th
 of
 the
 month
 of
 the
 year
 1595

deny: because wee therin pass unto His Majestie those things which are out of our powre to performe, and whereby those that joyne with mee do not only intrale their own estates, but my wife and sonn therby forfeat their anuetie. For if those that never had fee simple graunt a fee simple; if wee covenant to graunt all the lands free and unstated; if wee also binde ourselves to deliver all writings, evidences, court-roles, &c.—which wee never had.—wee do presently fayle, and fall under I know not how many inconveniences, dangers, and troubles: and from which the proviso offred doth no way deliver us.

I protest before the majestie of God that I deale cleerly in this busenes, and that as I have alreddy delivered many things for the good of the Lord that shalbe, so will I make it appeere that I will reserve nothing in my knowledg that may assure those lands to the proprietor. Only this mich I humblie desire that, as I would be gladd never to heere the place named henceforth, so in parting from it, I might also part from all future trouble and vexation concerning it; and that for those bonds and covenants entred into for the injoying of estates and anueties by me and mine, I may be with them which have dealt for mee freely and cleerly discharged. I mean for such and no other as do appeare just, and are found by the last survey.

And if it shall please your Lordshipe to be advised by mee heerein, I thinck it farr better that such a graunt be devised for us to signe, so indifferent and equall, as that the same shall not hold any dispute in Parlement, then that the parties which joyne with mee therin shall seeke to bee releived in that great court, and so their desires retarded which would be gladd of a free passage and expedition.

the rest, if Mr. THELWAL have told your Lord-
that hee found unwillingnes in me to bee att any
for the patents, it is trew that I prayd him that all
come free unto us, but my meaning was for the

For this charg is not great, and in lew therof
content (because it cannot be otherwise) to yeild
h longer time to the farmers of Custome as the
t would amownt to £40. For as ther is demanded
tenn pound for the tallies, so do the officers tell us
the fees going out of the £400 wilbe att the least
erly, which, if wee had had a lease of land, would
ine saved, and to which I would have held my
ad I not feared your Lordshipes construction that
ht delay and a prolongation of the busenes. But
these I submit my sealf to your Lordship's cha-
nd rest your humble sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

d:

*the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Earle of SALSBURIE,
Lord Treasurer of England, &c.*

l, in Lord Salisbury's hand: "29th Ja. 1607. Sir Walter Raleigh."
The date of the endorsement is, of course, according to legal
style, viz. 1607-1608.

1609.

CXLII.

JOHN SHELbury, STEWARD OF THE MANOR
OF SHERBORNE.

: Original? *Domestic Correspondence*: James I. vol. xliii. § 6
(Rolls House). Apparently, Holograph?

insert this letter—but not without some hesitation—
it is calendared at the Rolls House as a genuine

LETTER
CXLII.

1607-1608.
Jan. 29.

document. There are several difficulties about it; arising rather from the contents than from any peculiarities of the writing, although these, also, are observable. On the subject-matter, the reader is referred to Vol. I. chap. xxi. He may also be reminded that Raleigh stated on one occasion, in relation to lawsuits about Sherborne, that Meeres was so expert a forger as to be able, for a moment, to put him into doubt as to what he (Raleigh) had, or had not, himself written with his own hand.

LETTER
CXLII.

1608-1609.
Jan. 3.

To John
Shelbury.
[From the
Tower.]

Lease to
J. Meeres,
of Bishop's
Down,
near Sher-
borne.

JOHN SHELBURY,

I PRAY give JOHN MEERES a promis under your hand to make him a good and perfect lease of all Bishops Down, so soun as it shalbe known to whom the land doth belong, which I will that you performe unto him freely and without all question or cavill; and this shalbe your sufficient warrant. Written this 3 of Jan^r 1608.

W. RALEGH.

CXLIII.

TO SIR ROBERT CARR (AFTERWARDS EARL OF SOMERSET).

From a nearly contemporaneous copy in MS. Addit. 4106, fol. 81 (*British Museum*). In another copy of this Letter (MS. HARLEIAN 6908, fol. 4), the following date is added: 'From the Tower. Jan. 2, 1608.'

LETTER
CXLIII.

1609?

To Sir
Robert
Carr.
[From the
Tower.]

SIR,

AFTER manye great losses, and manye yeares sorowes, of both which I have cause to feare I was mistaken in ther endes, it is come to my knowledge that yourself (whom I knowe not, but by an honorable fame) have bene persuaded to geve me and myne our last fatall blowe, by obtayninge from his Majestie the inheritaunce of my children and nephewes, lost in law for

want of wordes. This done, ther remayneth nothinge with me but the bare name of lief, dispoyled of all els but the tythe¹ and sorrowe therof. His Majestie, whom I never offended (for I ever helde yt both unnaturall and unmanlye to hate goodnes), stayed me at the grave's brincke; not, as I hope, that his Majestie thought me worthy of manye deathes and to beholde all myne cast out of the worlde with my selfe; but as a Kyng who, judginge the poore in truthe, hath retayned a promyse from God that his throne shalbe established for ever.

And for yourselfe, Sir, seinge your daye is but now in the dawne, and myne come to the eveninge,—your own vertues and the King's grace assuringe you of manye good fortunes and mucche honor,—I beseich you not to begynne your first buildings upon the ruyns of the innocent; and that ther greifes and sorrowes doe not attende your first plantacion. I have bene bounden to your nation, as well for many other graces as for the true reporte of my tryall to the Kings Majestie; against whom, had I been found malignant, the hearinge of my cause woulde not have chaunged enemyes into freindes, malice into compassion, and the greatest number present into a commiseracion of mine estate. It is not the nature of foule treasons to begett such fayre passions; neyther woulde it agree with the duetye and love of faythfull subjectes (especiallye of your nation) to bewayle his overthrow who had conspyred against ther most liberall and naturall Lorde. I therefore trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that will kyll us outright, cutt downe the tree with the fruyte, and undergoe the curse of them that enter into the fieldes of the fatherles; —the which (yf it please you to knowe the truthe) are

LETTER
CXLIII.

1609?

Written on receiving intelligence that Carr had obtained a grant of the Sherborne estate.

¹ So in MS., but probably an error of the transcriber

LETTER
CXLIII.
—
1609?

farre lesse fruitfull in value then in fame; and that soe worthie a gentleman as yourselfe will rather bynde us to your service, beinge, Sir, gentlemen, not base in burth or allyance, who have interest therin. And my selfe with the uttermost thankfulnes will ever remayne readye to obey your commaundments,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the honorable and worthye knight, Sir ROBERT CARR, at the Court.

1610.

CXLIV.

TO SIR WALTER COPE.

As communicated to the Society of Antiquaries (June 2, 1853), by Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER, from the Original, then in the possession of Mr. WILLOUGHBY, of Lancaster Place, London. (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. pp. 219, 220.)

LETTER
CXLIV.
—
1610?
Oct. 9.

To Sir W.
Cope.
[From the
Tower.]

Requesting
his inter-
cession for
leave to
Lady
Raleigh to
return to
the Tower.

SIR WALTER COPE,

YOU are of my old acquayntance, and were my familiar frind for many yeeres, in which time I hope you cannot say that ever I used any unkind office towards you. But our fortunes are now changed, and it may be in your power greatly to bynde me unto you, if the bynding of a man in my estate be worth anything. My desire unto you is, that you wilbe pleased to move my Lord Treasurer in my behalf, that by his grace my wife might agayne be made a prisoner with me, as she hath bine for six yeeres last past. Shee being now divided from me, and thereby, to my great impoverishing, I am driven to keip to¹ howses. A

¹ *two.*

miserable fate it is, and yet great to me, who, in this wretched estate, can hope for no other thing than excruciating sorrow. It is now, and I call the Lord of all power to witness yet, I ever have bene, and am resolved that it was never in the worthy hart of Sir ROBERT CECYLL (whatsoever a Counceler of State and a Lord Treasurer of England must do) to suffer me to fall, much less to perish. For what soever termes it hath pleased his Lordship to use towards mee, which might utterly dispaire any bodie else, yet I know that he spake them as a Counceler, sitting in Councill, and in company of such as would not otherwise have bene satisfied.

But, as God liveth, I would have bought his presence at a farr deerer rate than those sharp words and these three moneths close imprissonment, for it is in his Lordship's face and countenance that I behold all that remaines to me of comfort and all the hope I have, and from which I shall never be beaten till I see the last of my wills and the dispayre which hath no healp. The blessings of God cannot make him cruell that was never so, nor prosperitie teach any man of so great worth to slight in the endles adversitie of an enemie, much less of him who in his very sowle and nature can never be such a one towards him.

Sir, the matter is of no great importance (though a cruel destinie hath made it so to me) to desire that my life may live with me in this unsavory place. If by your mediation I may obtayne it, I will acknowledg it to the highest degree of thankfullness; and rest reddey in your fayth to be commanded by you,

W. RALEGH.

October the 9 [1610?].

LETTER
CXLIV.
—
1610?
Oct. 9.

TO HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.

IN THE YEAR 1550, IN THE COLLECTION entitled *Remains of Sir*
John Mordaunt. Written, subscribed, signature, or date.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE

IF the say your Highness intends to build be
greater than the *Flower*, then her beams which are laid
lengthwise from side to side will not serve again, and
that number of her masts and other stuff will not
serve whereas if she be a side less, the timber of the
say ship will serve well to the building of a new
ship, she will be of less use, go very deep
in water and of many charge.—our channels decaying
every year, less nimbler, less manyable; and seldom
to be used. *Quod dicitur, grande fatiga,* saith the
Spaniard.

A ship of six hundred tons will carrie as good ordi-
nance as a ship of twelve hundred tons; and where the
greater hath double her ordnance, the less will turn her
rounds to three before the great ship can wind once,
and so no advantage in that overplus of guns. The
lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick
and perish; the lesser will come and go; leave or take;
and is spare, whereas the greater is slow, unmanyable,
and ever full of encumber. In a well conditioned ship
these things are chiefly required:—

1. That she be strong built:—(2.) Swift in
sail:—(3.) Stout-sided:—(4.) That her ports be
so laid, as she may carry out her guns all

weathers;—(5.) That she hull and trie well;—
(6.) That she stay well, when boarding or turning on a wind, is required.

LETTER
CXLV.
1610!

to make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the workman; to make her swift, is to give her a good run or way forward, and so afterward,—done by a good and just proportion; and that in laying out of her keels before, and quarters behind, the shipwright be careful that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but clear and above it; wherein shipwrights do often fail, when the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a good bearing-floar, and by shaving off from above waters the lower edge of the ports; which done, then will carry out her ordnance all weathers.

To make her to hull and to trie well,—which is called a good sea-ship,—there are two things principally to be regarded: the one, that she have a good draught of water; the other, that she be not overcharged. And this is seldom done in the King's ships; and therefore they are forced to lye, or trie, in them with our mainmast and mizzen; which, with a deep keel, and stand-streak, she would perform.

The extreame length of a ship makes her unapt to run, especially if she be floatie, and want sharpnesse of the keel forward. And it is most true, that such overlong ships are fitter for the Narrow Seas, in summer, than for the Ocean, or long voyages; and therefore, an hundred and thirty by the keel, and thirtie-five foot broad, is a good proportion for a great ship.

It is to be noted, that all ships sharp before, notwithstanding a long floar, will fall rough into the sea from a low sea, and take in water over head and ears; and the

LETTER
CXLV.
1610?

same quality have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of ships is that that brings many ill qualities; it makes them extream leeward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oftentimes overset. Safety is more to be respected than shews, or nicenesse for ease; in sea journeys, both cannot well stand together; and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two decks and a half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low master's cabbin. Our masters and mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high charging. Besides those high cabbin works aloft are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great guns be four foot clear above water, when all lading is in; or else, these best pieces are idle at sea: for if the ports lie lower and be open, it is dangerous, and by that default was a goodly ship, and many gallant gentlemen, lost in the days of Henry the Eighth, before the Isle of Wight, in a ship called by the name of *Mary Rose*.

CXLVI.

O QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING
JAMES THE FIRST.

From a contemporaneous transcript in MS. HARLEIAN, xxxix. fol. 359
(British Museum). Without address and undated.

THE same blessinge which God doth contynewe towards
our Majestie will, I hope, put your Majestie in minde
your charritie towards otheres. I long since presumed
offer your Majestie my service in Virginia, with a
orte repetition of the comoditie, honor, and safetie
which the King's Majestie might reape by that planta-
tion, yf it were followed to effecte. I doe still hombly
beseech your Majestie that I may rather die in serving
the Kinge and my countrey then to perrish here.

I did also presume hertofore to set downe my answeres
of all objectyones that could be made, to wit, that yf
I wente not by a day sett that I would forfeite my life
and estate; that I wold leave my wife and two sonnes
pledges for my faith, and that my wife shall yeald
herself to death, yf I performe not my duty to the
Kinge. And yf this suffice not, that it may be tould the
masters and marrineres that transporte me that yf I offer
to saile elsewhere that they may caste me into the Sea.

But were ther nothinge ells, let your Majestie, I be-
beseech you, be resolved that it shall never be said of me
that the Queen of England gave her worde for this man;
that the Queen tooke him out of the hands of Death;
that he, like a villaine and perjured slave, hath betrayde
so worthy a princes, and hath brokene his faithe. Noe,
Madam, as God lyveth, ther is no bonnd, noe, not the
case of 20 sonnes, cane tye me so faste as the memory of

LETTER
CXLVI.

1610?

To Queen
Anne of
Denmark.
[From the
Tower.]

Proposals
for the
coloniza-
tion of
Virginia.

which I had bine likeler to have overtaken in that
; than to have returned from it; but the desire
add me was the approving of my fayth to His
ie, and to have done him such a service as hath
ne bine performed for any King. But, most excel-
rinces, although His Majestie do not so mich love
if for the present as to accept of that riches which
hath offred him, therby to take all presumption
his enemies, arising from the want of treasure, by
(after God) all States are defended, yet it may be
His Majestie will consider more deiply therof here-
if not to late, and that the dissolution of his
e vassall do not preceede His Majesties resolution

For my extreeme shortnes of breath doth grow
t on me, with the dispaire of obtayning so mich
to walke with my keeper up the hill within the
; as it makes me resolve that God hath otherwise
ed of that busenes, and of me; who, after eyght
mprissonment, am as strayghtly lockt up as I was
st day, and the punishment dew to other mens
me negligence layd altogether uppon my patience
edience. In which respect (most worthy Princes)
: a sute farr more fitting the hardnes of my destinie
every day suffer, and am subject every day to
for other mens offences) rather to desire to dye,
or all, and therby to give end to the miseries of
fe, than to strive against the ordinance of God,
a trew judge of my innocencie towards the King,
oth know me

For your Majesties most humble
and most bound vassall,

W. RALEGH.

ed :
the Queens most excellent Majestie.

LETTER
CXLVII.

[1611.]

Proposals
for an ex-
pedition to
Guiana.

1612.

PRELIMINARY NOTE TO LETTER CXLVIII.—PROPOSALS FOR
THE GUIANA VOYAGE IN 1612.

THE original of the letter which follows is not now known. The Harleian copy bears no address; but is headed with an obvious inaccuracy) "*Agreement* between Sir Walter Raleigh and the Lords for the Journey of Guiana, to be performed by Captain Keemish, in 1611." It is plain, on the face of the document itself, that it is a letter tending towards an "agreement" for such a voyage, and that there had been much negotiation about the terms. It is also plain, from subsequent evidence, that the obstacles in the way proved to be, at that time, irremovable, and that no definite agreement was come to. The date assigned to this transaction is also questionable. It appears to have been founded merely upon a misconception of the words "sixteen years since." These words, however, do not apply to anything that occurred in Raleigh's own voyage of 1595, but to an incident of Keymis's voyage, in 1596. Did no allusion to any date occur in the letter itself, the probabilities of the case would tend to assign to it the date of 1612, rather than that of 1611; inasmuch as there are several expressions in other letters of Raleigh, relating to Guiana, which imply that during the life of the Lord Treasurer Salisbury none of Sir Walter's many attempts to obtain a resumption of the enterprise attained so nearly to apparent success as did that which is the subject of the present letter. Salisbury died in May 1612; just "sixteen years" after that voyage of Keymis to which reference is here made. One or two sentences of the letter may be thought to suggest that it was addressed to certain peers who purposed to be 'joint-adventurers' in the new enterprise, rather than to the Privy Council collectively. On the other hand, there

expressions which seem applicable to the Council governing capacity.

It was, I believe, first referred to by the late Mr. [?], in his article 'Sir Walter Raleigh,' published in the volume of the *Edinburgh Review*. It was first alluded to, I think, by the late Sir Robert Schomburgk, in an article published in his excellent edition of Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, published in 1848. In Sir Robert's copy there are several verbal inaccuracies.

The letter addressed to the same Lords, to which I refer in the last paragraph but one, is not now known in any shape,—original or copy. Elsewhere, there are other Guiana letters which are not now discovered. It is evidence, too, that Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Admiralty, possessed, in his private library, a MS. volume containing "Several letters wrote by Sir W. Raleigh in relation to Guiana, subscribed by his own hand." This MS. thus described was sold by auction in London in 1848, probably, however,—the Sale Catalogue notwithstanding,—that these letters were but copies. Sir Joseph Jekyll scarcely have left such a volume to the chances of time, had the documents been really originals.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CXLVIII.

1612?

CXLVIII.

THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL?

Contemporaneous transcript in MS. HARL. xxxix. ff. 350, 351 (British Museum).

Two shippes, as I remember, did offer to be attuned to transport KEEMISH into Guyana with such a number of men in twoe shippes as should be able to resist the Spaniards inhabiting upon

LETTER
CXLVIII.

1612?

LETTER
CXLVIII.

1612

To the
Lords of
the
Council?
[From the
Tower.]Proposals
for a
voyage, by
Keymis,
to Guiana.

Orenocke, if they offered to assaile him (not that itt is meant to offend the Spaniards there, or to beginne any quarrell with them, except themselves shall beginne the warre).

To knowe what number of men shall be sufficient, may itt please your Lordshipps to informe your selves by Captain MOATE, a servant of Sir JOHN WATTS¹ who came from Orenoke this last spring, and was oftentimes ashore att St. Thome, where the Spaniards inhabite, which numbers made knowne to your Lordshipps and to the captaines which you shall please to employ with KEEMISH, those captaines shall be able to judge with what force they will undertake to secure KEEMISHES passage to the Mine, which is not above five miles from the navigable river, taking the neerest way.

Now your Lordshipps doe require of mee that if KEEMISH live to arrive, and shall then faile to bringe into England halfe a tunne, or as much more as he shall be able to take upp of that slate gold ore whereof I gave a sample to my Lord KNEVETT,² that then all the charge of the journey shall be laid upon mee and by mee to be satisfied, whereto I willingly consent. And though itt be a difficult matter—of exceeding difficulty—for any man to find the same acre of ground againe in a country desolate and overgrowne which he hath seene but once, and that sixteene yeares since (which were hard enough to doe upon Salisbury Plaine), yett that your Lordshipps may be satisfied of the truth I am contented to adventure all I have, but my reputacion, upon KEEMISHE'S memory; hoping that itt may be acceptable to the Kings Majestie and to your Lordshipps soe to doe, con-

¹ A well-known and very enterprising "Merchant Adventurer" of the period. (See LETTER XX. pp. 43, 44.)

² Thomas Knyvett, Lord Knyvett of Escrick.

ing that if KEEMISH misse of his marks my poore
e is utterly overthrowne, and my wife and children
terly beggared.

w, that there is noe hope, after this tryall made, to
any more riches from thence, I have already given
Lordshippes my reasons in my former letter, and
eady upon a mappe of the country to make demon-
on thereof, if itt shall please your Lordshippes to
me leave. But to the King's Majesties wisdome
our Lordshippes' I submitt my selfe.

t that which your Lordshippes doe promise is that
a tunne of the former oare being brought home,
I shall have my libertie, and in the meane while
ree pardon, under the greate seale, to be left in
majesties hands till the end of the journey.

[Both the subscription and the address are wanting.]

1616.

CXLIX.

TO SECRETARY SIR RALPH WINWOOD.

printed, in 1656-1657, in the Collection entitled *Remains of
Sir W. Raleigh.*

ROURED SIR,

I WAS lately perswaded by two gentlemen, my
nt friends, to acquaint your Honour with some
of mine made heretofore for a journey to Guiana,
were of opinion, that it would be better understood
than when it was first propounded; which advice
g surmounted my dispair, I have presumed to send
your Honour the copies of those letters which I
wrote, both to his Majestie and to the Treasurer

LETTER
CXLVIII.
1612?

LETTER
CXLIX.
1615-1616?
January?

To Sir R.
Winwood.
[From the
Tower.]

I know wherein as well the reasons that first moved me
 are remembered as the objections by him made are
 truly answered.

That I know of the riches of that place, not by hear-
 ing, but what mine eyes have seen, I have said it often,
 but it was then to no end: because those that had the
 greatest share were resolved not to believe it;—not be-
 cause they doubted the truth, but because they doubted
 my disposition towards themselves, where¹ (if God had
 blessed me in the enterprise) I had recovered his
 Majesties favour and good opinion. Other cause than
 this or other suspicion they never had any. Our late
 worthy Prince of WALES was extream curious in search-
 ing out the nature of my offences; the Queen's Majesty
 hath informed her self from the beginning; the King of
 DENMARK at both times of his being here, was throughly
 satisfied of my innocencie: they would otherwise never
 have moved his Majesty on my behalf.

The wife the brother, and the son of a King do not
 use to sue for men suspect; but, Sir, since they all have
 done it out of their charitie, and but with reference to
 me alone your Honour (whose respect hath onely rela-
 tion to his Majesties service), strengthened by the ex-
 ample of those princes, may with the more hardnesse do
 the like, being princes to whom his Majesty's good estate
 is no lesse dear, and all men that shall oppugne it no
 lesse hatefull, then to the King himself.

It is true, Sir, that his Majestie hath sometimes
 answered, that his Council knew me better than he did;
 meaning some two or three of them; and it was indeed
 my infelicitie. For had his Majesty known me, I had
 never been here where I now am; or had I known his
 Majestie, they had never been so long there where they

¹ Here used in the sense of "in case that," or "in the event that."

re. His Majestie not knowing of me, hath been
ine; and his Majestie misknowing of them, hath
the ruine of a goodly part of his estate: but they
ll of them now—some living and some dying—
to his Majesties knowledge. But, Sir, how little
his Majestie knew me, and how much soever he
ed them, yet have I been bound to his Majestie
or my life, and all that remains, of which, but for
ajestie, nor life, nor ought else, had remained. In
spect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the same life,
I I have for his Majesties service. To die for the
and not by the King, is all the ambition I have in
rld.

WALTER RALEGH.

CL.

SIR GEORGE VILLIERS, AFTERWARDS DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

Printed by OLDYS, from the Original, then in the Library of
JAMES WEST. (*Life*, p. 468.)

YOU have, by your mediation, put me again into
rld. I can but acknowledge it, for to pay any
of your favour by any service of mine, as yet it
: in my power. If it succeed well, a good part
: honour shall be yours; and if I do not also
it profitable unto you, I shall show myself ex-
ing ungrateful.

the mean while, and until God discover the success,
each you to reckon me among the number of your
il servants, though the least able,

rch 17 [1615—1616].

W. RALEGH.

LETTER
CXLIX.

1615-1616?
January?

LETTER 1
CL.

1615-1616.
March 17.

To Sir
George
Villiers.

Thanks for
procuring
his release
from the
Tower.

CLI.

TO PETER VANLORE.

As printed, by OLDYS, from a copy made by BROWNE WILLIS of "the original draft of Sir WALTER's own hand," then in WILLIS' Library at Whaddon Hall. That original draft is stated to have borne the following endorsement:—"This letter was shewn unto MATHIAS PENEWART, at the time of his examination, on the part and behalf of Sir PETER VANLORE, knight, Defendant, against Dame ELIZABETH RALEGH, widow, Complainant, 12^o Junii, 1623. Signed 'MARTIN BASILL.'" Willis, it will be seen, has modernised the spelling. Sir Peter Vanlore was an eminent merchant in London. Of his suit with Lady Raleigh some notice has been already given.

LETTER
CLI.
—
1616.
July 1.

To Peter Vanlore:
with a form of letter to be written by Vanlore to Amsterdam, for information about Guiana.

MR. PETER VANLORE,

THIS is the letter which I desire you to write to your brother in Amsterdam; and for any assurance you shall give I will again put you in sureties to save you harmless,

W. RALEGH.

July 1, 1616.

· Brother TIBOTES,¹

‘ There is a merchant in Amsterdam that
‘ for the love he bears to my honourable friend
‘ Sir WALTER RALEGH, is content to discover
‘ somewhat of importance unto him in Guiana,
‘ to which country Sir WALTER RALEGH is now
‘ preparing to go; but he doth require assurance
‘ from Sir WALTER RALEGH that he himself
‘ may be assured to enjoy such part of the
‘ commodity discovered as he shall agree upon

¹ Sir Adrian Thibaut, a merchant at Amsterdam, apparently brother-in-law to Vanlore.

' with Sir WALTER RALEGH by his deputy, Mr.
' HENRY HOVENAR. I do therefore pray you
' to speak with the party which Mr. HOVENAR
' will bring unto you, and to know what assur-
' ances he will require, which, to pleasure Sir
' WALTER, I shall be willing to give; that is
' to say, to give him assurance that upon Sir
' WALTER'S return into England, the charges
' being deducted, the discoverer shall receive
' from Sir WALTER such part of the said mer-
' chandise as Sir WALTER and he shall agree
' on; although there needs no such assurance to
' be given, because His Majesty doth assure all
' Sir WALTER'S partners, by the great seal of
' England, that they shall truly and quietly
' enjoy all their parts and shares of what goods,
' merchandise, or treasure soever, shall be re-
' turned; out of which great seal of England
' the discoverer shall have an assignment for so
' much as belongs unto him, to be delivered
' here in London to whomsoever he shall appoint
' to receive it.'¹

LETTER
CLI.
—
1616.
July 1.

"Such as thought to find some great deceit in me in the detaining
rest part of the monies adventured, in perusing the Bills of Adventure
then by scriveners found above fifteen thousand pounds more than all
charge demanded came unto. But of the money I never received any
my. The monies and provisions adventured with all the other captains
wanted to very nearly twenty thousand pounds; for the greatest part
thereof I gave the Bills."—*Apology for the Voyage to Guiana*; in *Works of*
WALTER RALEGH, ed. Oxford, vol. viii, p. 481.

1617.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLII.—*RALEGH AND THE
'CONSEIL D'ETAT' OF FRANCE.*PREFA-
TORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CLII.

1617.

ALL that is yet known of the letter which purports to have been addressed by Sir Walter Raleigh to M. de Bisseaux is due to Mr. Gardner's recent researches at Simancas. Primarily, it rests upon the authority of the story told at Madrid by a Frenchman, named Antoine Belle, who was examined by the Spanish functionaries in that city, on his voluntarily presenting himself (in May 1618) to give information against Raleigh, in accordance with the advice given him in Rome by a Jesuit confessor. Belle told the Spaniards that he and "Captain Faire" (who is called "Faige" in the letter itself, and "Sage" in the letters and examinations addressed by Sir Thomas Wilson to King James) were Raleigh's "intimate friends;" that he, Belle, had known Raleigh for six or seven years, "having had communication with him in London, in the prison in which he was confined." He stated that the first messenger sent by Sir Walter into France was Captain Faige; that by Faige the answer to that first despatch was brought to his employer, "at the Wight;" and that the purport of the embassy was to ask the Admiral Montmorency to intercede with the King of France for the grant to Sir Walter Raleigh of a decree permitting him, at his return, to enter the French ports, and giving assurance that he "might be received with favour and affection."

Belle then proceeds to state, in the course of this extremely remarkable "voluntary declaration," that he embarked with Raleigh in London, and that on reaching Plymouth he and Faige were sent, in company, with further despatches to the Admiral Montmorency, and with this letter to De Bisseaux. The Admiral answered, he continues, that he was "urging Sir

Walter's business with the King of France." Of the answer of De Bisseaux, Belle says nothing. Nor does he explain how it happened that a letter dated *by Raleigh*, "Plemouht, ce 14 May, 1616," and sent into France by two "intimate friends" of the writer, came to be shown in Rome, in the original, to a Jesuit confessor, in 1618; and to be brought thence to Madrid, —on its way to the archives of Simancas. Mr. Gardner's voucher is conclusive for the apparent genuineness of the document itself, upon its face. His knowledge of the history of the period is great; and his inferences founded on that knowledge carry authority. But it is no less obvious that the story told by the bearer of the document stands much in need of further elucidation. Both Belle and his companion, Faige, left Raleigh, as the former of them says, at Plymouth, after returning thither with Montmorency's answer,—"*because they did not wish to go with people who were Huguenots.*" To Sir Walter himself they represented that they "were going to Dieppe and Havre, to meet other captains, who were arming ships." When examined at Madrid, Belle deposed that he parted from his comrade Faige *at Genoa*, leaving him "sick, and imprisoned, on account of some money which he owed." The Spanish magistrates reported to the Council of State that Belle himself was very poor, "and would be glad of fifty or a hundred ducats, to get home to France." And the Council ordered him to be paid the sum last-named.

Mr. Gardner adds to his most interesting narrative of the incidents of Belle's examination, which I have thus briefly epitomized, the significant fact that the examinant produced, not only the original letter to De Bisseaux and one of Raleigh's Guianian charts, but also (1) a transcript of the original instructions to Faige—undated and unsigned, but initialled—in which Sir Walter expressed his "wish to take refuge in France for the singular and natural affection which he bears to the King and State; wishing to serve them with his talents and experience;" and (2) a Declaration by Montmorency, engaging himself to obtain the King of France's permission

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CLII.

1617.

for Raleigh to enter a French seaport "*avec tous ses ports, toutes ses rades, et tous, par luy traités ou conquis.*"

Probably, any thorough elucidation of this strange episode in a more pleasing way than marvels is reserved for the fortunate acquirement hereafter of those of the Count of Gondomar's original despatches from London which are preserved in the private library of the Queen of Spain, at Madrid. At Simancas there are his secretarial minutes of his despatches—perhaps only of some of them—made for the use of the King and his Council. The "minutes," as it seems, add very little to what was known already, from other sources.

With how much of cautious scrutiny *Spanish* evidence about Raleigh's doings—or about those of any of our great Elizabethan writers—should be received, there can be little need to show to the readers of these Letters. Nor ought it to be forgotten that Spanish ignorance of England, at this period—like English ignorance of Spain—was quite as fruitful a cause of mutual animosity as could possibly be Spanish enmity to England or English enmity to Spain.

CLII.

DE M. DE BISEAUX, MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF
STATE OF FRANCE.

As printed by Mr. S. R. GARDNER (from a MS. at Simancas), in *Fortnightly Review*, vol. vii. (May 1867).

MONSIEUR,

ESTANT sur le point de faire voile, j'ay entendu le heureux changement des affaires de France que me donne beaucoup d'espérance et de courage; m'assurant que le party Espagnol ne sera pas si-après si puissant; et qui m'a occasionné renvoyer par devers vous mon fidelle amy le Cappitaine FAIGE, avec ample com-

To M. de
Biseaux,
French Envoy
ambassador.

conduire certains navires promis, et autres ont avoir part à ma fortune, et luy ay assigné t les places ou il me doibt trouver aux Indes; unt je travailleay aux mines, que, si je les isantes et telles que je desire, il vous dira la que j'ay prinse, la luy ayant confiée il y a laquelle j'espère me reusiya au contentment qui me font l'honneur de m'armer. C'est je vous prie de donner au present gentilmesme croyance que autre foys, et l'assister air le brevet qui m'est promis par celuy qu'il ; et lequel je retiens par devers moy; toutes tant le tout à vostre prudence de voyr si le permet. Ce que atendant je vous conjure de : vous poves et pourres à jamais disposer :omme de vostre très humble et affectionne

W. RALEGH.

rouht, ce 14 May, 1616, ancien stille.

copy of this letter Mr. GARDNER adds the following note:—
date, with its mistake of '1616' for '1617,' is in Raleigh's writing, as is the signature."

CLIII.

TO LADY RALEGH.

ed, in 1656-1657, in the Collection entitled *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh.*

EART,

N yet write unto you but with a weak hand, suffered the most violent calenture, for fifteen : ever man did, and lived : but God that gave

LETTER
CLII.

1617.
May 14.

Proposals
respecting
the Guiana
Voyage.—
Applica-
tion for a
French
commis-
sion.

LETTER
CLIII.

1617.
Nov. 14.

Letters of Raleigh.

LETTER
LIII.

1617
Nov. 14

To Lady
Raleigh.
From
Cahana, in
Guiana.

Particulars
of his dis-
astrous
voyage.—
Bayly's de-
sertion.—
Numerous
deaths
among his
officers.

me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which fourtie-two have died, and there are yet many sick; but having recovered the land of Guiana, this 12 of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men; and the rest of our fleet are reasonably strong;—strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken; if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spanish king by his ambassadour, have not taught the Spanish king¹ to fortifie all the enterances against us. Howsoever, we must make the adventure; and if we perish, it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his Majestie, to loose, among many other, one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it.

Of Captain BAYLIE'S base coming from us at the Canaries, see a letter of KEMISHES to Mr. SCORY; and of the unnatural weather, storms, and rains, and winds, he hath, in the same letter, given a touch. Of the way that hath ever been sailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in fourtie days, God, I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passage to the Canaries I stayed at Gomerah, where I took water in peace, because the country durst not denie it me. I received there, | of a countess² | of an English race, a present of oranges, lemmons, quinces, and pomegranates, without which I could not have lived. Those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your son had never so good

¹ So printed; but evidently corrupt. I have failed to discover either the original or any authoritative transcript of this letter.

² The words 'of a countess' occur in other texts of this letter, but are wanting in the *Remains*. It is obvious that the context needs them.

health, having no distemper, in all the heat under the Line. My servants have escaped, but CRAB and my cook; yet all have had the sickness. CROFTS, and MARCH, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord CAREW and Mr. Secretarie WINWOOD.

LETTER
CLIII.
—
1617.
Nov. 14.

I wrote not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries yet. Of men of sort, we have lost our Sergeant-major, Captain PIGOTT; and his lieutenent, Captain EDWARD HASTINGS,—who would have died at home, for both his liver, spleen, and brains were rotten; my son's lieutenent PAYTON; and my cosin Mr. HEWS; Mr. MORDANT; Mr. GARDINER; Mr. HAYWARD; Captain JENNINGS, the merchant; KEMISH of London; and the Master Chyrurgion; Master Refiner; Mr. MOOR, the governor of the Barmoudas; our Provost Marshal, W. STEED; Lieutenant VESCIE, but¹ to mine inestimable grief, HAMMON and TALBOT. By the next, I trust, you shall hear better of us; in God's hands we are, and in Him we trust.

This bearer, Captain ALLEY, for his infirmitie of his head I have sent back; an honest, valiant man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at Loathbury, Sir JOHN LEIGH, and Mr. BOWER (whose nephew KNEVIT is well), and to my cousin BLUNDELL; and my most devoted and humble service to her Majestic.

To tell you that I might be here King of the Indians were a vanitie; but my name hath still lived among them. Here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that the countrey yields; all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor CAREW my son.

From Galliana² in Guiana, the 14 of November [1617].

¹ So in MS. There is probably an omission.

² So printed; and without subscription or signature.

1618.

CLIV.

TO SECRETARY SIR RALPH WINWOOD.

From a contemporaneous and official copy. *Domestic Correspondence*: James I., vol. xcvi. No. 70. Five pages; of which the first is in a different hand from all that follows. (Rolls House.) Collated with another transcript in a Letter Book belonging to the Marquess of Salisbury; *Cecil Papers*, Pillar A, b, v, fol. 12 (Hatfield).

* * There is no endorsement on this letter itself. But what appears to have been the fly-leaf—now severed—is endorsed thus:—“*Copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's letter of 21^o Martii, 1617;*” [o. s.]. At the time when Raleigh wrote this letter at St. Christopher's, Secretary Winwood had been almost five months dead. He died, in London, on the 27th October, 1617; just at the moment when Raleigh was himself sickening of that almost fatal fever which he describes as “the most violent calamity that ever man suffered and lived.” Winwood was succeeded, as Principal Secretary of State, by Sir Robert Naunton. The change was eminently unfortunate for Raleigh.

The Cecil copy has only this heading:—“*Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Ralph Winwood.*”

Winwood's death was very sudden. His case—medically—is one of the many contemporary cases which gave so unfortunate a reputation to Dr. Theodore de Mayerne, and set so many caustic tongues a-wagging.

LETTER
CLIV.

1618.
March 21.
To Sir R.
Winwood.
From St.
Christo-
pher's.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any account of our proceedings and passage towards the Indies, so have I no other subject to write of | ¹ since our arival | then of the greatest | ¹ and sharpest | misfortunes that

¹ MS. Cecil omits the words within lines.

| ¹have | ever befallen² any man : for whereas, for the
 first, all those that navigate betweene Capo Verde
 and America doe passe⁴ it in 15 or 20 dayes at most,
 we found the winds so contrary (which⁵ is also contrary
 to nature), and so many violent stormes and raynes, as
 we spent six weeks in that passage, by reason whereof,
 and that in so great heate we wanted water (for at the
 Ile Bravo,⁶ of⁷ Cap de Verd, we lost our cables and
 anchors and our water-casks; being driven from the
 island with a hurrican, and were all like to have
 perished) great sicknes fell amongst us, and carryid
 away great numbers of our hablest men boath for sea
 and land. The 17 of November we had sight of the
 coast of Guiana, and, soone after, came to anchor in
 five degrees at the river Caliana.⁸ Heere we stayed
 till the 4th of December; landed our sick men, set up
 the barges and shellups, which we brought out of
 England in quarters; washed our ships; and tooke in
 fresh water; being fedd and assisted⁹ by the Indyans
 of my ould acquaintance, with a great deale of love
 and respect.

My selfe | haveing¹ | beene¹⁰ to¹¹ in the hands of Death,
 without hope, som 6 weeks (and not yet hable otherwise
 to moove, then as I was carryed in a chayre) gave order
 to fyve small shippes to sayle into Orenoke, haveing
 Captain KEMISH for theyre conductor¹² towards the
 myne; and in those five shippes fyve companyes of fifty,
 under the command of [Captain] PARKER and Cap-
 tain NORTH, brothers to the Lord MOUNTEAGLE
 and the Lord NORTH, valient gentlemen, and of

LETTER
 CLIV.
 ———
 1618.
 March 21.

Misfor-
 tunes of
 the Guiana
 Voyage.—
 The infor-
 mation
 sent to
 King of
 Spain from
 London.—
 Conflicts
 with the
 Spaniards.

¹ MS. Cecil omits the words within lines.

² MS. Cecil, "befell;" ³ Ib. "also they."

⁴ Ib. "passe betweenc." ⁵ Ib. "and which are almost contrary," &c.

⁶ Ib. "Prano." [Praya, St. Jago.] ⁷ "off." ⁸ Ib. "Galliano."

⁹ Ib. "cherished." ¹⁰ Ib. "beinge." ¹¹ too. ¹² Ib. "conduction."

LETTER
CLIV.
1618.
March 21.

|¹ infinite | patience for the labor, hunger, and heate which they have |¹ endured |. My sonne had the third company; Captain THORNIX of Kent [the] fourth; Captain CHUDLAY,² by his lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Sergeant-major, Captain PIGOTT, of the Low Contryes, dyed [in] the former miserable passage, so my lieutenant, Sir WARHAM SAINT LEGER, lay sick, without hope of lyfe; and the charge confered on my nephew, GEORGE RALEGH, who had also served long with singular commendacions in the Low Contryes, but by reason of my absense, and of Sir WARHAM'S, was not so well obeyed as the enterpryse required.

As they passed up the river, the Spaniards began the warre and shot at us, both with their ordonance and muskets; whereuppon the companies were forst to charge them, and soone after beate them out of their towne.³ In the assault whereof, my son (having⁴ more desire of honor than of safety) was slayne, and with whome, to say the truth, all respect of the world hath taken end in me. And although these five captaines had as weake companies as ever followed valiant leaders, yet were there amongst them some 20 or 30 very⁵ adventurous gentlemen, and of singular courage; as |¹ of my sonne's | companie, Mr. KNEVET, Mr. HAMON, Mr. LANG|¹ WORTH|, Mr. JOHN PLESINGTON, his officers; Sir JOHN HAMDEN, Mr. SIMON LEAK (corporall of the field); Mr. HAMMEN'S⁶ elder brother; |¹ Mr. NICHOLAS|, of Buckingham; Mr. ROBERTS, of Kent;

¹ Rolls House MS. omits the words within lines; but they are here printed, as being plainly required by the context.

² MS. Cecil, "*Chidley*."

³ In Rolls House MS. "their *owne* towne" was first written, and then the word 'owne' scratched through with the pen.

⁴ MS. Cecil reads, "*more desirous of honour then safetic*."

⁵ Ib. "*valiant gentlemen*." ⁶ Ib. "*Mr. Hammon, the elder brother*."

Mr. PERIN; Mr. TR[ESHAM]; Mr. MULLINAX; Mr. WINTER, and his brother; Mr. WAY;¹ Mr. MILES HERBERT; Mr. WILLIAM HERBERT; Mr. BRADSHAW; Captain HALL, and others.

LETTER
CLIV.
1618.
March 21.

Sir, I set downe the names of these gentlemen, to the end that if his Majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take knowledge² of them for very sufficient men.³

The other five ships stayed at Trinidad, having no other port capable of them neere Guiana. The second ship was commaunded by my vice-admirall, Captain JOHN PENNINGTON, of whome (to doe him right) ⁴I must confesse that he is one of the sufficientest gentlemen for the sea that England hath. The third, by Sir WARRHAM SAINT LEGER, an exceeding valiant and worthy gentleman. The fourth, by Sir JOHN FERNE; and the fyft, by Captain CHYDLEY of Devon. With these five ships I dayly attended the Armada of Spaine, which, had they set uppon us, our force divided,—the one half in Orenoque, a hundred and fiftie miles from us,—wee had not only been torne in peeces, but all those in the river had also perished, being of no defence at all for a sea-fight; for we had resolved to have burnt by their sides, and to have dyed there, had the Armada arrived; but, belike, they stay for us at Marguerita, by which they know we must passe | towards | the Indies.

For it pleased his Majestic to value us at [so little, as to com]maund me, upon my allegeance, to sett downe | under my hand | the countrey, and the very river by which I was to enter | it; to set down | the number of my men, and burden of my ships; with what [ordnance] every ship caryed; which being made knowne to the

¹ MS. Cecil, "*Wray*." ² *Ib.* "*notice*." ³ *Ib.* "*gentlemen*."

⁴ *Ib.* omits "*I must confesse*."

LETTER
CLIV.
—
1618.
March 21.

[Spanish ambas]sador, and by him, in post, sent to the King of Spaine, a d[espatch was] made by him and his letters sent from Madrill, before my departure out of the Thames; for his first letter, sent by a bark of advice, was dated the 19th of March, 1617, at Madrill; which letter I have here enclosed¹ sent your Honour. The rest I reserve, not knowing whether these may be intercepted or not. The second, of the King's, dated the 17 of May, sent also by a caravell to Don DIEGO DE PALOMEQUE, governor of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidado; the third, by the Bishop of Puerto-Ricco, and delivered to PALOMEQUE the 15th of July at Trinidado²; and the 4th was sent from the Farmer and Secretarie of his Customes in the Indies, at the same time. By that of the King's hand, | brought | by the bishop, there was also a commission for the speedy levying of 300 soldiers, and ten peeces of ordenance, to be sent from Puerto Ricco for the de[fence of] Guiana; a hundred and 50 from Nuevo Reino de Granado, under the com[mand] of Captain ANTONIO MUSICA, and the other 150 from Puerto Rico to be conducted by Captain FRANCESCO ZANCHIO.³

Now, Sir, if all that have traded to the Indies since his Majesty's time know it that the Spaniards have flayed alive those poor men which they have taken, being but marchant-men, what death and torment shall wee expect,⁴ if they conquer us? Certainly, they have hitherto fayled grossely, being set out unto them as wee were, and discovered, both for our numbers, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an apologie for not working the mine,

¹ The enclosure does not now accompany the letter.

² MS. Cecil omits the words "*at Trinidado.*"

³ Ib. "*Lavelio.*"

⁴ Ib. here inserts "*other.*"

although I know¹ not (his Majestie excepted) whom I am to satisfie so much as my self, having lost my sonne and my estate in the enterprise ; yet it is true that the Spaniards tooke more care to defend the passages leading unto it, then they did their² towne, which (say the King's instructions) they might easily doe, the country being "*aspera et fragosa*."³ But it is true, that when KEMISH founde the rivers low, and that he could not approach the bankes in most places neere the mine by a mile, and when he founde a descent, a volley of muskets came from the woodes uppon the boat,⁴ and slew two of the rowers, hurt six others, and shot a valiant gentleman, Captain THORNIX, | in the heade,⁵ | of which wounde he hath languished to this day. He (to wit, KEMISH) following his own advise that it was in vaine to discover the mine (for he gave me this for excuse, at his returne, that the companies of English in their town of St. Thome were hardly able to defend it against the dayly and nightly alarmes and assaults of the Spaniards ; that the passage to the mine was of thicke and impassable woodes ; that, being discovered, they had no men to worke it), did not discover it at all. For it is true that the Spaniards, having two⁶ gold mines neere the towne, —the one possessed by PEDRO RODRIGO DE PARANA ; the second [mine by] HERNIAN FRUNTINO ; the third, of silver, by ⁷FRANCISCO FACHARDO,—[? left them] for the want of negros to worke them. For, as the Indians cannot [be constra]ined, by a law of Charles the Fift, so the Spaniards will not, [neither can] they endure the labor of these mines, whatsoever that brag[gadochio], the Spanish

LETTER
CLIV.1618.
March 21.¹ MS. Cecil reads, "*although I know His Majesty expects.*"² Ib. "*the.*"³ Ib. "*nemosa.*"⁴ Rolls House MS. reads, "*banks.*"⁵ MS. Cecil omits these words.⁶ So in MS.⁷ MS. Cecil inserts "*Captain,*" and omits "*Fachardo.*"

LETTER
CLIV.
—
1618.
March 21.

ambassador, say, I shall prove it under the proprietaries [hand: by¹] the custome-bookes, and by the King's quinto. of which I recovered an [ingot] or two. And I shall make it appeare, to any Prince or State that | will | undertake it, how easily those mines and five or six more may be [possess]t, and the most of them in those places which never yet have bene attempted by anyemie, nor any passage to them ever discovered by the English, Dutch, or French.

But at KEMISHES returne ²from Orenoque, when I rejected his counsell and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credite with the King past recoverie, he slew himself. For I told him, that, seing my sonne was lost, I cared not if he had lost an hundred more in opening the mine, so my credite had been saved. For I protest before God, had not Captain WHITNEY (whome I gave more countenance unto then to all the captaines of my fleet) runne from me at the Granadas, and carried another ship with him of Captain WOLLASTON'S, I would have left [my bod]ie at St. Thome, by my sonnes, or have brought with me out [of that or] other mines so much gold ore, as should have satisfied | the King that | I had propounded no vaine thing.

What shall become of me now, I know not; I am unpardoned in England, and my poore estate consumed; and whether any other Prince or State will give me bread,³ I know not. I desire your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, and to remember my service to my lords of ARUNDELL and PEMBROKE; to take some pity on my poore wife, to whome I dare not write, for

¹ These words are in MS. Cecil.

² MS. Cecil omits the words "*from Orenoque.*"

³ Here MS. Cecil inserts "*or no.*"

wing the sorrow for her sonne; and beseech you to a copie of these to my Lord CAREW. For to a en mind, to a weake bodie, and weake eyes, it is a ent to write many letters. I have founde many ges of importance for discovering the estate and enes of the Indies, which, if I live, I shall hereafter irt unto your Honor, to whome I shall ever¹ re- ne a faithfull servant,

LETTER
CLIV.

1618.
March 21.

W. RALEGH.

POSTSCRIPT.²—Sir, since the death of KEMISH, it is essst by the Sergeant-major and others of his inward des, that he told them, when they were at the river's th coming thence, that he could have brought them ne mine, within two howers march from the river's ; but because my sonne was slayne, myself unpard- ed, and not like to live, he had no reason to open the e either for the Spaniards or for the King. They wnered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) graunted me my pa[tent under the great] seale. He yed that the graunt to me was | to a man who | was ens in law, and therefore of no force. | This discourse | ad, which I knew not of till after h[is death]. When as resolved to write unto your Honour, [he prayed] to joyne with him in excusing his not go[ing to the] e. I aunswered him, I would not doe [it; that] if self could satisfy the King and the State that he had on not to open it, I should be glad of it; but for my ; I must avow it that he knew it, and that he might, a litle losse, have done it; other excuse I would not ne. He then told me that he would waite on me

¹ MS. Cecil omits "ever."

² In MS. Cecil the Postscript appears as a separate letter.

LETTER
CLIV.
1618.
March 21.

presently, and give me better satisfaction : but I was no sooner come from him into my cabin, but I heard a pistoll go of¹ over my head, and sending up to know who shott it, word was brought that KEMISH had shott it out of his cabin window to clense it ; his boy, going into the cabin, found him lying on his bed with much bloude by him, and looking on his face saw he was deade. The pistoll being but litle, the bullet did but cracke his ribb ; but he, turning him over, founde a long knife in his bodie, all but the handle.

Sir, I have sent into England, in a fly-boate, with my coosen HERBERT (a very valiant and honest gentleman), diverse other unworthy persons, good for nothing, either by land or sea ; and, though it was at their owne suite, yet I know that they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honor that this scumme of men may not be beleaved of me, who have taken more paine, and suffered more then the meanest rascall in the ship. These being gone, I shalbe able, if I live, to keepe the sea till the end of August, with fower reasonable good ships.

Sir, whensoever God shall permitt me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not faile to let your Honour know what wee have done. Till then, and ever,

Your Honour's servant,

W. RALEGH.

²From St. Christophers, one of the Ilandes of the Antillias, the 21th of March, 1617 [O.S.].

¹ *off.*

² Omitted in MS. Cecil.

CLV.

TO LADY RALEGH.

From a Copy in MS. HARL. 4761, ff. 23-25 (British Museum).
Collated with another Copy in MS. SLOANE, 3520, ff. 2-4.

I WAS loathe to write, because I knewe not how to comforte you ; and, God knowes, I never knewe what sorrow meant till nowe. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God ; and remember, that the Queene's Majestie bare the losse of Prince HENRY with a magnanimous harte, and the Lady HARRINGTON of her onely¹ sonne. Comfort your hart (deere² BESSE), I shall sorrow for us bothe. I shall sorrow the lesse, because I have not longe to sorrowe, because³ not longe to live. I referr you to Mr. Secretary WINWOOD's letter, who will give you a cobby of it, if you sende for it. Therein you shall know what hath passed. I have written [but] that letter, for my braynes are broken, and it is a torment for mee to write, and espetially of misery. I have desired Mr. Scacretary to give my Lord CAREWE a cobby of his letter. I have densed my shipp of sicke men, and sent them home. I hope God will send us somewhat ere wee returne. ³Comend mee to all att Loathbury. You shall heare from mee, if I live, from the Newefoundland ; where I meane to make cleane my shippes and revittle ; for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord blesse and

LETTER
CLV.

1618.
March 22.

To Lady
Ralegh.
From St.
Christopher's.

Death of
their son
Walter.—
Particulars
of the ex-
pedition
under
Keymis.

¹ MS. Harl. omits this word. ² MS. Sloane here repeats "*I have.*"

³ MS. Harl. omits this sentence.

inform you, that you may bear patiently the death of
your most valiant sonne

and of March [1618], from the Isle of Christophers,

Your's,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I protest before the majestie of God,
that as Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and Sir JHON HAWKINS
had broken when they failed of their enterprise, I
could willingly doe the like, did I not contend against
some for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for
you, and to comfort and relieve you. If I live to returne,
resolue yourselfe that it is the care for you that hath
strengthened my hart. It is true, that KEMISH might
have gone directly to the myne, and meante it. But,
after my sonnes death, hee made them to beleive hee
knew not the waye, and excused himselfe upon the
want of water in the river,³ and, counterfetting many
impediments, left it unfound. When hee came backe, I
told him that hee had undone mee, and that my credit
was loste for ever.

He answered, that when my sonne was loste and⁴ that
he left mee soe weake that hee resolved not to finde mee
alive, hee had no reason to enrich a company of rascalls,
who, after my sonnes death, made no accompt of him.
Hee further told mee, that the English sent upp into
Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish towne of St.
Thomas⁵ which they had taken, and therefore for them
to passe through⁶ thicke woods it was impossible; and
more impossible to have victualls brought them into the

¹ Here MS. Sloane inserts "most."

² MS. Sloane reads, "with."

³ The words "in the river" are omitted in MS. Harl.

⁴ MS. Sloane omits the words "and that."

⁵ Ib. "Thoma."

⁶ Here MS. Sloane inserts "the."

mountayns. And it is true, that the governer DIEGO POLEMEQUE,¹ and foure other captains, being slayn, of which my sonne WATTE² slue one; PLESSINGTON, WATT'S serjeant,³ and JOHN of Morrocoes, one of his men, slue other⁴ two. I say five of them [being] slaine in the enterance of the towne, the rest went of in a whole body, and tooke more care to defend the passages to their myens (of which they had three within a leauge of the towne, besides a myne that was about five myles of) then they did of the towne⁵ itselfe.

Yet KEMISH, at the first, was resolved to go to the myene; but when he came to the banke-side to the lande, hee had two of his men slaine outrighte from the banke, and six other hurte, and Captain THORNIX shott in the head, of which wounde, and the accidents thereof, hee hath pined away these twelve weeks.

Now when KEMISH came backe, and gave mee the former⁶ reasons which moved him not to open the myene—the one, the death of my sonne; the second, the weakenes of the English, and their impossibilities to worke and to be victualled; a third, that it were a follye to discover it for the Spanyards; and the last, both my weaknes and my beinge unpardoned—and that I rejected all these⁷ arguments, and told him that I must leave him to himselfe, to resolve⁸ it to the King and the State, he shutt upp him selfe into his cabbin, and shott him selfe with a pocket pistoll, which brake one of his ribbs; and finding that itt⁹ had not prevailed, hee thruste a longe knife under his shorte ribbs upp to the handle, and dyed. Thus much I have writt to Mr.

LETTER
CLV.
1618.
March 22.

¹ MS. Harl. reads "Polenyo."

² Ib. reads "wherof Watte."

³ Ib. "servant."

⁴ MS. Sloane reads "each two."

⁵ Ib. "cittie."

⁶ So in both MSS. and in many other transcripts; but evidently a misreading of "fewer."

⁷ Here MS. Harl. inserts "his."

⁸ MS. Sloane, "aunsuer."

⁹ MS. Harl. "hee."

LETTER

CLV.

1618.
March 22.

Secretary, to whose letters I referr you. ¹ But because I thinke my freinds will rather hearken after you then any other to knowe the truthe, I did after the sealinge breake open your ² letter againe, to let you knowe in breife the state of that busines, which I pray you impart to my Lord of NORTHUMBERLAND, and SIL SKORY³ | ⁴and to Sir JOHN LEIGH. |

For the rest, there was never poore man soe exposed to the slaughter as I was ; for beinge commaunded upon my allegiance to sett downe, not onely the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my shipp, number my men, and my artillery ;—this⁵ was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master, the Kinge of Spaine.⁶ The King wrote his letters to all parts of the Indyees, espetially to the governer POLOMEQUE of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidad ; of which the first letter bare date the 19th of March, 1617, at Madrill, when I had not yett lefte the Thames ; which letter I have sent Mr. Seacretary. I have also two⁷ other letters of the King's which I reserve, and one of the Councill. The King alsoe sent a comission to leavye 300 soldiers out of his garrisons of Nuevo Reigno de Granadoes or⁸ Porto Rico, with tenn peeces of brasse ordnance to entertaine us. Hee alsoe prepared an armado⁹ by sea to sett uppon us. It weare to longe to tell you how we weere preserved. | ¹⁰If I live, I shall make it known. | My braynes are broken, and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I have told you why. WHITNEY, for whome I sold ¹¹my plate at Plymouth, and to whome I gave more

¹ MS. Harl. omits from "but" to "any other." ² Ib. reads "the."

³ Silvanus Scory. ⁴ These five words are omitted in MS. Harl.

⁵ MS. Harl. inserts "now." "This now was sent," &c.

⁶ MS. Sloane omits the words "of Spaine."

⁷ MS. Harl. omits "two." ⁸ Ib. reads "and." ⁹ Ib. reads "army."

¹⁰ MS. Sloane omits this clause. ¹¹ MS. Harl. inserts "all."

creditt and countenance then all the captaines of my fleete, ran from mee at the Granadoes, and WOOLASTON with him; soe as I am¹ nowe but five shippes, and one² of those I have sent home—my fly-boate—and in her a rable of idle rascalls, which I knowe will not spare to wounde mee; but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in³ the fleete hath taken the paines and care that I have done; ⁴hath sleppt so little, and travilled soe much. My frends will not beleive them; and for the rest I care not. God in heaven blesse you and strengthen your hart.

Your

W. RALEGH.

LETTER
CLV.
1618.
March 22.

¹ MS. Harl. reads, "*that I have.*"

² Ib. "*out* of those I have sent some into my fly-boate," &c.

³ Ib. inserts "*all.*"

⁴ Ib. "*that have.*"

SECRETARY'S NOTE TO LETTER CLVI — PARTICULARS OF
THE KING'S ENTERPRISE.

This letter was sent to the King through the hands of
Sir Thomas Wilson, then acting as Raleigh's gaoler and
the King's spy. In transmitting it Wilson wrote to the
King as follows —

Most Gracious Sovereigne,

I have sent your Majesty something more or
less of what you desired, but what it is I know not.
I have said and told your Majesty said that what he
had before written was something, but that you looked
for more. To which he answered and protested, with
many oaths, that he had written all that he knew.
Now said I you have written nothing of that you
desired concerning your counselling for taking the
French Fleet, and your saying that you had a French
commission, and of one Captain Charles Sage,¹ a
Frenchman, who promised to bring you shippes and
men from Roubell. To this he answered that he
thought your Majesty desired nothing but the busines
with the Agent and Frenchmen now, and about his
escape. But said he, 'if His Majesty desire to
know further matters, I can say much more;' and soe
I gave paper and inck to set it downe, which before
I gave him, I excojured him by all meanes I cold, to
set down all his knowledge, not only of this buisines
before here mentioned, but of any other matter what-
soever here or elsewhere that might concerne your

¹ See MS. It should evidently be 'Faige.' See the Letter to De
Bosc.

Majesty to know ; which, he said, he wold do, but in no hope to save his lyfe, for he knew that the more he confessed the sooner he shold be hanged ;¹ but ‘ God is my judg,’ quoth he, ‘ I will discharg my conscience in all things to His Majesty,’ which whether he hath done or noe your Majesty will soone see by his letter enclosed.”

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CLVI.
—
1618.

The copy of Wilson’s letter preserved by himself in the Paper Office, of which he had the custody,—a fact very necessary to be borne in mind, in regard to all these documents of 1618,—is twice dated in his own hand, “ 24 Sept. ;” is endorsed “ *Copy of my letter to His Majesty, with a to him from Sir W. Rawley ;*” and thus the date of Sir Raleigh’s letter is ascertained. The letter is followed, under the same date of 24 Sept., by a series of questions and answers in the hand of one of Wilson’s clerks, which read thus :—

Questions :

Raleigh’s Answers :

“ What is the name of your servant that brought me message, out of your presence, that two gentlemen should speake with you on Monday at 8 o’clock in the evening, the night before you were permitted to escape ?

“ I do not remember who it was that brought me word of the Frenchmen being in the gallery. I thought it was eyther my page, who is a prisoner in the Towre, or Cuthbert, who is also a prisoner. I therefore writt unto them by Sir Thomas Wilson, requiring them to call to mynde whether any of them brought them in, or brought me word that they were in my gallery, or conducted them out.

“ What servants or friends of yours had any sight or notice of the French Agent’s coming to me.

“ I do not know what servant of myne had any sight or notice of the French Agent’s coming to me. As for friends, I

The entire tenor of Wilson’s correspondence—to say nothing of his known character—warrants from an editor the renewed caution, that such assertions as this, as for so many others in regard to the incidents of Raleigh’s imprisonment and conversation, in 1618, the reader has before him only Wilson’s word, and that only.

Raleigh's Answer:

to you, or
from you?

P

PREFATORY
NOT
LF
C

had none in the house at that hour of the night; and if any servant of myne had any notice of theyr coming, sure I am that that servant wold have acquainted me therewith. But, as I have already said it to His Majesty by my letter, I protest it upon myne allegiance, I knewe not of theyr coming before I saw them. Only, when Chesney met me at Brannford, I told him I wold be at my house that Fryday night and therefore I cold not doubt but that he wold come eyther that night or the next day.

[III.] "What servants or friends of yours had any sight or notice of La Chesne's coming to you or going from you at any tyme?"

"Stukely saw Chesne at Branford, and I thinke he saw him againe on the Sunday; for therupon it was that I told him he had provided me the French barke to carry us over. What servants saw him come or goe on the Sunday I know not. All the house might see him. For me to confesse the matter and deny the circumstances were extreame foolery.

[IV.] "You shall do well to sett downe whatsoever you know concerning that French Commission you sought for, and said you had, out of France, and the dependes thereon, wherof His Majesty hath not yet cleere satisfaction."

"I never sought for any French Commission, nor never had any. The French King's commissions are of record. If ever I had any, it may be known for a French crown. Why I said I had one, I have given the reason to His Majesty in my letter."

The letter from Wilson and the examination of the 24th of September were thus answered by Secretary Sir Robert Naunton, on the next day:—

"Sir, His Majesty hath as yet received no satisfaction at all out of your last examination of Sir Walter Rauhly and his attendance; and therefore hath comaunded me to direct you anew that you sholde proceede to examine

his Lady, and the rest of their howshold servants that were about them while they were together in Broad Strete. To which end I returne you here back inclosed the papers you redemanded, which you must returne back again safe, for that they containe a confirmacion of what hee formerly confest, which is more then all his soaring and tedious last letter did importe. So I commend me kindly to your self and your fellow prisoner, your good Lady, and am

Your assured loving frend,

ROBERT NAUNTON.

“Hampton Courte, the 25th of September, 1618.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—“I pray you make as much speed in despatch of this buisness and retourning your accompt thereof as conveniently you may, doing it well, as His Majesty expects that you wil.

“Memorandum. To examyne who was the keeper of the Gate.”

aleigh's pithy remark—‘The French King's commissions of record. If ever I had any, it may be known for a rich crown’—is an extremely suggestive one. Had it been in mind, and turned to the due account, it would certainly have abridged some of the diplomatic correspondence between Buckingham, Naunton, and Beche, at the time. Possibly, it might also have abridged some of the epithets—‘Liar,’ ‘traitor,’ and the like—which have been indulged in more than.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CLVI.

1618.

CLVI.

TO THE KING.

From a contemporaneous and official Copy. *Domestic Correspondence*:
James I., vol. xcix. No. 69, I (**Rolls House**).

LETTER
CLVI.

1618.
Sept. 24.

To the
King.
[From the
Tower.]

Further
particulars
of the
Guiana
enterprise.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE,

IF in my jorny outward bound I had of my men murdered at the Ilands, and spared to tak revenge; if I did discharge some Spanish barkes taken, without spoile; if I forbare all partes of the Spanish Indies, wherin I might have taken twentye of their townes on the sea cost, and did only follow the enterprise which I undertooke for Guiana,—where, without any direccion from me, a Spanish village was burnt, which was newly sett up within three miles of the mine,—by your Majesties favor I finde noe reason whie the Spanish Embassadore should complaine of me. If it were lawfull for the Spanish to murther 26 Englishmen, tyenge them back to backe, and then to cutt their throtes, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword amongst them all;—and that it may not be lawfull for your Majesties subjects, beinge forced by them, to repell force by force; we may justly say, ‘O miserable English!’

If PARKER and MUTTON¹ took Campeach and other places in the Honduraes, seated in the hart of the Spanish Indies; burnt townes, killed the Spaniards:

¹ In another copy, also preserved amongst the *Domestic Correspondence*, this name is written ‘Mutam.’

had nothing sayed to them at their returne,—and
: my selfe forbore to looke into the Indies, because
ould not offend, I may as justly say, 'O miserable
WALTER RALEGH!'

f I had spent my poore estate, lost my sonne,
red, by sicknes and otherwise, a world of miseries;

had resisted with the manifest hazard of my life
rebells¹ [robberies?] and spoiles which my companyes
ld have made; if when I was poore I could have
l my selfe rich; if when I had gotten my libertye,
h all men and Nature it selfe doth so much prise,
luntarilie lost it; if when I was master of my life
ndred it againe; if, [though] I might elsewhere have
d my shipp and goods, and put five or six thousand
nds in my purse, I have brought her into England;
seech your Majestie to beleve, that all this I have
e because it should [not]² be sayed to your Majestie
your Majestie had given libertie and trust to a man
se ende was but the recovery of his libertie, and
e had³ betrayed your Majesties trust.

ly mutiners tould me, that if I returned for England
ould be undone; but I beleved more in your
esty's goodnes then in their arguments. Sure I
that I am the first who, being free and able to
h my selfe, hath embraced povertie. And as sure
n that my example shall make me the last. But
Majesties wisdom and goodnes I have made my
es, whoe have ever bine, and shall ever remain,

Your Majesty's most humble vassall,

W. RAULEIGH.³

o in MS., but obviously an error either of the amanuensis or tran-
r.

'not' has here been omitted by transposition. MS. reads, "it
d be sayed . . . and whoe had *not* betrayed," &c. ³ So in MS.

DL. II.

R B

LETTER
CLVI.
—
1618.
Sept. 24.

LETTER
CLVII1618.
[September?]To Lady
Raleigh.
From the
Tower.A note of
introduc-
tion for
Edward
Wilson,
his under-
keeper.

CLVII.

TO LADY RALEGH.

From a copy in the hand of a clerk of Sir THOMAS WILSON, made,—as it seems,—before the delivery of the Letter to Lady RALEGH. *Domestic Correspondence*: James I. vol. xcix. § 9 I (Rolls House).

I AM sycke and weak. This honest gentleman, Mr. EDWARD WILSON, is my keeper, and takes much payne with me. My swolne syde keeps me in perpetual paine and unrest. God comfort us!

Your's,

W. R.

REPLY TO THE LETTER PRINTED ABOVE.

LADY RALEGH TO SIR WALTER RALEGH.

From a copy, made as above, and upon the same sheet.

1618.
[September?]Lady
Raleigh to
Sir W.
Raleigh.Reply to
the pre-
ceding
note.

I AM sory to hear amongst many discomforts that your health is so ill. 'Tis meerly sorrow and greaf that with wynd hath gathered into your syde. I hope your health and comforts will mend, and mend us for God. I am gladd to heer you have the company and comfort of so good a keeper. I was something dismayed, at the first, that you had no servant of your own left you, but I hear this Knight's servants are very necessary. God requite his courtesyes; and God, in mercy, looke on us.

Your's,

E. RALEGH

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLVIII. — *FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE GUIANA ENTERPRISE.*

THE letter to which this is an answer appears to have been written by Lady Raleigh, at the instigation either of Secretary Naunton, or of some other person about the King. Neither the letter nor any copy of it is now to be found among the State Papers. But it is plain from the correspondence between Naunton and Wilson that, whilst the writer must have fondly hoped that some benefit would result to her husband from his answering the questions she was instigated to put to him, the ingenious contrivers had a purpose directly the opposite of this. Naunton enclosed Lady Raleigh's letter to Wilson with this note, dated Whitehall, 4 Oct. 1618, from himself: "His Majestie wold have you deliver this to Sir W. Raghly, to discover what you can by his aunswer; which I pray you send me backe as soone as you can, that I may acquaint the Lords with it. So, in hast, I bid you and your lady farewell." Wilson replies, on the same day: "Sir, Heer have you Sir W. R. his answer to his wyve's letter, which, if you please, when you have done with it to retorne to me, I may goe [to] her and gett those wrytings he saith she hath concerning the shipp. I demanded of him certayn questions also about the shipp, wherof his answers are sett downe in the margent of the copie of his wyve's letter which I send, least that which I left with your Honour be not neer hand." This copy with the marginal notes is also missing. Naunton returned the answer thus sent to him, with these additional words: "I retorne you Sir Walter's aunswer to his Lady, to make the best use of it you can. I forbear to send your long letter to the King, who wold not read over the Ladie's, being gluttet and cloyed

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CLVIII.

1618.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
CLVIII.

1618.

with buisnes, before his parting hence. So, in hast, I bid you good night. Your's assuredly to do you service, R. Naunton."

In the Letter which follows, "Mr. Harbert" is, of course, the "William Herbert" whose name has occurred so often in preceding Letters.

CLVIII.

TO LADY RALEGH.

From a copy made by Sir THOMAS WILSON, before,—as it seems,—the Original was delivered to Lady RALEGH. *Domestic Correspondence*: James I. vol. ciii. § 21 (Rolls House).

LETTER
CLVIII.

1618.
Oct. 4.

To Lady
Raleigh.
[From the
Tower.]

Particulars
as to the
outfit and
charges of
ships em-
ployed in
the Guiana
expedition.

YOU have a note what the shipp cost in which every per-
ticuler is sett downe, and it is signed by Mr. HARBERT.
The lyke note he hath of myne and signed by me. I
gave you myne att Plymouth, with other writtings of
PENINGTON'S and FERN'S. As I remember, the shipp
and her furniture,—to witt, her cabells, ancors, sayles,
ordnance, bullets, powder, joyners worke, carving,
paynting, and all ells,—did amount to 7,000^l. or neare
it, as you may perceive by the inventory under my hand
and Mr. HARBERT'S hand.

And, as I do remember, Mr. HARBERT hath disburssed
towards his fourth part 11 hundred pounds. You say
that hee demands twelve, and it¹ may be true. You have
also an Inventory of all that is now remaining and
belonging to the shipp. You have also a writing from
C[aptain] PENNINGTON of the forth part of his shipp,
which I pray deliver to Sir CHA[RLES] SNELL, to whome
it belongs. You have also a writting from Sir JO[HAN]

¹ So in MS.; the meaning evidently being that the "demand" may be true.

FERNE to discharge me for 1700*l.* which I was some way entangled for him, with whome I adventured of Mr. HARBERT'S mony 200*l.* There is a paper booke which SAM[UEL] KING kept of all perticulers of the shipp, and to whome the mony was paide. My sonn whome I have lost hath also signed that note, Inventory, and agreement betweene me and Mr. HARBERT.

Your desolate husband,

W. R.

Endorsed by Sir T. Wilson :

Copie of Sir Walter Rawly's Answer to his Wyve's letter concerning the Shipp.

CLIX.

TO GEORGE VILLIERS, MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

* * I have been unable to find either the original of this letter or a satisfactory contemporaneous copy of it. I therefore print it as the Curators of the University Press of Oxford have printed it in the *Works of Raleigh* (vol. viii. p. 651).

IF I presume too much, I humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthy a person, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but most happy had I been, if I might have disapproved that villany against me, when there had been no suspicion that the desire to save my life had presented my excuse.

But, my worthy Lord, it is not to excuse myself that I now write: I cannot, for I have now offended my Sovereign Lord: for all past, even all the world, and my very cnemics, have lamented my loss, whom now, if his

LETTER
CLVIII.

1618.
Oct. 4.

LETTER
CLIX.

1618.

To the
Marquess
of Buck-
ingham.

LETTER
CLIX.

1618.

In defence
of the
Guianian
enterprise;
and be-
seeching
the
Marquess'
interces-
sion with
the King.

Majesty's mercy alone do not lament, I am lost. Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence itself I had no other intent than his Majesty's service, and to make his Majesty know that my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth, and which, with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died: being resolved (as it is well known) to have done it from Plymouth, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not only to recover his Majesty's gracious opinion, but to have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom I so much trusted, (my keeper,) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testify, and wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witness: yea, that gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards London, I desired to have no other treasure than the exact description of those places in the Indies. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God, I trust, and mine own actions, will dissuade his Majesty; whom neither the loss of my estate, thirteen years' imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon, could beat from his service. And the opinion of being accounted a fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did, unpardoned, balanced with my love to his Majesty's person and estate, had no place at all in my heart.

It was that last severe letter from my Lords, for the speedy bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late lamented resolution; if his Majesty's mercy do not abound; if his Majesty do not pity my age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost advantage of my

errors ; if his Majesty, in his great charity, do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving, natural impulsion, without ill intent, and those of an ill heart ; and that your Lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my intercessor,—whereby your Lordship shall bind an hundred gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memory, and bind me for all the time of that life which your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper, and ever bind me to remain,

Your most humble servant,

W. RALEGH.

CLX.

TO GEORGE, LORD CAREW OF CLOPTON (AFTERWARDS EARL OF TOTNES).

From the Original. MS. COTTON, Vitellius C xvii. ff. 439, 440 (**British Museum**). Chiefly in the hand of an Amanuensis ; but with some corrections in Sir W. RALEGH'S own hand. Mutilated.

[*The beginning of each of the three pages of this letter was burned off in the fire at Ashburnham House ; as were also some letters, or syllables, of many words towards the margins of two out of the three pages. These omissions are supplied (from a copy of the letter made before the fire) within brackets.*]

[BECAUSE I know not whether I shall live to come before the Lords, I have, for his Majesty's satisfaction, here set down as much as I can say, either for mine own defence or against myself, as things are construed.

It is true that though I acquainted his Majestie with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known] to his Majestie that the Spann[icrds] had any footing

LETTER
CLIX.
—
1618.

LETTER
CLX.
—
1618.

To Lord
Carew.

LETTER

CLX.

1618.

Defence of
the Guiana
expedition.
— Inva-
sion of
the
Spanish
pretensions
and com-
plaints.

there], neither had I anie authority by my patent to remove the Spann[ierds from thence], and therefore his Majestie had no interest in the attempt of Saint Thome, [by any fore]knowledge thereof in his Majestie.

Butt knowinge his Majesties title to the cuntry to be the best and most Christia[n, because] ¹ the naturall lords did most willingly acknowledge Queene ELIZABETH to be their sovran, [who by] mee promised to defende them from the Spanishe cruelty, I made noe doubt butt that I [might] enter the land by force,—seeinge the Spa²[niard] had noe other title butt force (the Pope's donation excepted); consideringe alsoe that they gott a possession divers yeares since my possession, taken for the Crowne of England. For, were nott Guiana his Majesties, then mighte I as well have beene questioned for a theefe, for takinge of gould out of the Kinge of Spaine's mines; as the Spa²[niards] doe now call mee a peacebreaker: for from anie territory confessed to be the Kinge of Spaines itt is noe more lawfull to take gould, then lawfull for the Spaniards to take tinne out of Cornewall.

Now, were this possession of theirs a sufficient barr to his Majesties righte, the Kings of Spaine mighte as well call themselves Dukes of Brittain³, bycause they held Bluette and fortified there; and Kings of Ireland because they possessed Smericke ⁴ and fortified there; and soe in other places.

That his Majestie was well resolved of his right there, I make no kinde of doubt, because the English both under Mr. CHARLES LEIGH and Mr. HARECOURT had leave to plant and inhabitt the country.

¹ Burnt off; the reading somewhat doubtful, notwithstanding the authority of the early copy.

² So written—"Spa."

³ Brittany.

⁴ Smerwick. [See Vol. I. p. 40.]

That Oronoque itt selfe had, longe ere this, 5,000 Englishes in itt, I assure my selfe,—had nott my employment at Cales,¹ the next yeare after my returne from Guiana, and after that our journey to the Ilands, hyndred mee for those two yeares ; after which TYRON'S rebellion made her Majestie unwillinge that anie great number of shippes or menn should bee taken out of England till that rebellion were ended. And, lastly, her Majesties death, and my longe imprisonment, gave time to the Spanniards to sett upp a towne of staks,² covered with leaves of trees, upon the bancks of Oronoque, which they called 'St. Thome ;' butt they have³ reconciled nor conquered any of the Casiques or naturall lords of the country, which Casiques are still in armes against them, as by the Governor's letter to the King of Spa⁴[ine] may appeare.

That by landinge in Guiana there can be anie breache of peace, I thinke ytt, under favor,⁵ impossible. To breake peace where there is noe peace, itt cannott bee.

That the Spa⁴[niards] give us noe peace there, ytt doth appeare by the King's letter, to his governor, that they shall putt to death all those Spa⁴[niards] and Indeans that trade '*con los Engleses enemigos*,'—with Englishes enymyes. Yea, those verye Spaniards which wee encountred att St. Thome did, of late yeares, murder 36 of Mr. HALL'S menn, of London, and myne, who landed, without weapon, upon the Spa⁴[nish] faithe, to trade with them. Mr. THORNE, alsoe, of Tower Street in London, besids many other Englishes, was in l[ike] sort

¹ Cadiz.

² stakes.

³ The word "*neither*" seems here to have been omitted in the original.

⁴ So written by Raleigh.

⁵ Or, "*under your favour*." The reading is doubtful. Here the words have been partly torn, or washed, away ; not burned.

LETTER
CLX.
—
1618.

LETTER
CLX.
1618.

murdered, the year before my deliverie out of the Tower.

[Now, if this kind of trade be 'peaceable,' there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies between us and the Spaniards. But, if this be cruel war and hatred, and no peace,—then there is no peace broken by our attempt. Again, how doth it stand with the greatness of the King of Spain first to call us 'enemies' when he did hope to cutt us in pieces, and then, having failed, to call us peacebreakers, for] to bee [an enemy and a peacebreaker in one and the same accion is] impossible. Butt the Kinge of Spa¹[in], in his letter to the [Governor of] Guiana, dated att Madrill, the 29th of Marche—before wee left the Thames—calls us '*Englesos inimigos.*'

Had itt pleased the King of Spaine to have written to His Majestie in six monethes time (for wee were soe long in prepairinge), and have made His Majestie knowe that our landinge in Guiana would draw after itt a breache of peace, I presume to thinke His Majestie would have staid our enterprise for the present. This he might have done with lesse chardges then to leavye 300 soldiers, and transport 10 peece of ordinance from Puerto Rico; which soldiers added to the garrison of St. Thome (had they arryved before our comminge) had overthrowne all our rawe companies. And there would have followed noe complaint.

For the vayne point of landinge near St. Thome, itt is true that wee were of opinion that wee must have driven the Spaniards out of their towne before wee could passe the thick woods upon the mountayne of the myne, which I confesse I did first resolve upon. Butt better bethinkinge my self, I referred the takinge of the towne

¹ So written by Raleigh.

to the goodnes of the myne, which, if they founde to bee soe ritche as it might perswade the leavinge of a garrison theer, then to drive the Spaniards thence. Butt to have itt burnt was never my intent; neither could they give mee anie reason why they did itt.

Upon the returne, I examined the Serjeant Major and KEMISHE, why they followed nott my last direccions for the triall of the myne, before the takinge of the towne. And they aunswered mee that although they durst hardly goe to the myne, leaving a garrison of Spaniards behind them and their botes, yet, they said, they followed those latter direccions and did land betweene the towne and the myne; and that the Spaniards, without anie manner of parley, sett upon them unawares and chardged them,—calling them *Peros Engleses*,—and by skirmishing with them drew them on to the very entrance of the towne, before they knew where they were; soe as, if anie peace had bine in those partes, the Spaniards first brake the peace and made the first slaughter. For as the Englishe could nott butt land to seeke the myne, beinge come thither to that ende; soe beinge first reviled and chardged by the Spaniards, they could do noe lesse then repell force by force.

Lastlie, itt is a matter of noe small consequence to acknowledge wee have offended the Kinge of Spaine by landinge in Guiana:—For, first, itt weakens His Majesties title to the country, or quitts ytt. Secondly, There is noe Kinge that hath ever given the least way to anie other Kinge or State in the traffick of the lives and goods of his subjects,—to wytt, as in our case, that ytt shall bee lawfull for the Spaniards to murder us either by [war¹ ?] or treason, and nott lawfull for us to defend ourselves, and pay them with their owne [coin¹]. . . .

LETTER
CLX.
1618.

¹ These words have been effaced.

LETTER
CIX.
1618.

[*This part of the letter—occupying the top of the second leaf—has been burned away.*]

.
retourne. You an
.

Plymouth, a French gentleman called FLORIE went thence with p[urpose and ?¹] with commission to burne and to sacke all places in the In[dyes that he could ?¹] master; and yett hath the Frenche Kinge married a daughter of Spaine.

This is all that I can say, other then I have spent my pore estate, lost [my son¹] and my health, and indured as many sortes of miseries as ever mann did, in [hope to] doe his Majestie service; and have nott, to my understandinge, commytted anie hos[tile] act, other then the entrance upon a territory belonginge to the Crowne of England, where the Englishe were first sett upon and slaine by the usurping Spaniards.

I invaded noe other parts of the Indies, pretended by the Spaniards. I returned into England with the manifest perrill of my life, with a purpose nott to holde my life by anie other act then His Majesties grace, and from which noe mann nor any perrill could disswade mee. To that grace, and goodnesse, and kinglinesse, I referr my self; which, if itt shall finde that I have nott yett suffred enoughe, ytt may, if ytt please, adde more affliction to the remaynder of a wretched life.

[*The subscription and signature—if any—have been either burned or cut off.*]

¹ These words are conjectural; only slight traces of them remain.

LETTERS

OMITTED IN THEIR DUE ORDER OF TIME.

* * The printing of some of these Supplemental Letters was postponed in the hope of giving them, if possible, from the Originals, instead of from Transcripts. But the hope has not been realized, save in one instance. The marginal numbers to which the mark * is affixed will serve to show the due place of each letter in the General Series, as far as that place is at present ascertainable.

1596.

CLXI. [LXIV.*]

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxiii. § 73 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

SINCE I sent my letter to your Honor from Dover—before I departed the rode—ther came up unto mee some seven or eight sayle of the Fleet, who being all like to perris on Wensday after midnight, they weare driven to lett slip all their cables and ancors.

I humblie beseich your Honor to cause a letter to be written to the Maior of Dover, to send a boate of the towne to save the sayd cables and ancors,—having all boyes uppon them. They weare left on the north-est

LETTER
CLXI.
[LXIV.*]

1596.
May 13.

To Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Dover.

Naval
matters
connected
with the
Fleet pre-
pared
against
Spain.

LETTER
CLXI.
[LXIV.*]
—
1596.
May 13.

part of Goodden Sands, in five or sixe fathome. Thus
I humblie take my leve. From Dover,—on¹ hower after
my former letter.

Yours ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECILL, Knight, of Her Majesties
most honorable Privy Councell. In hast.*

Endorsed :

13 May, 1596. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. From Dover.

1598?

CLXII. [LXXXIV.*]

TO MICHAEL HICKES, SECRETARY TO THE LORD
TREASURER BURGHLEY.

LETTER
CLXII.
[LXXXIV.*]
—
1598?
July 12.

To Michael
Hickes.
From
Sherborne.

Entreaty
for the
furtherance
of the pay-
ment, by
the Lord
Treasurer,
of a debt
owing to
Captain
Spring.

As printed, in 1720, by ARTHUR COLLINS, in the first edition of his
Baronetage of England.

WORTHY MR. MICHAEL,

I AM most earnestly to entreat you for this gentle-
man, Captain SPRING, that partly for love, partly for
honest consideration, you will further him with my Lord
Treasurer for a debt of £300 which Her Majesty doth
owe him. It hath been long due, and he hath good
warrant for it. Besides, he hath served Her Majesty
very long, and hath received many wounds in her service.
These reasons delivered by a man of your utterance,
and having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you,
I doubt not but it will take good and speedy effect.

¹ one.

[And, in the conclusion,¹] I never wrote unto you for any man or in any matter wherein you shall more binde me unto you than for this bearer; and so, not doubting of your assured friendliness, I leave you to God, and remain,

Your most assured loving friend,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Always remember you must deal conscionably, for my sake, and I will requite it.

From Sherburn, the 12th of July.

1603.

CLXIII. [CXVII.*]

TO LADY RALEGH.

As printed, in 1839, by the Rev. J. S. BREWER, from a nearly contemporaneous transcript in MS. YELVERTON xvi. fol. 100 (All Souls College, Oxford).²

RECEIVE from thy unfortunate husband these his last lines; these the last words that ever thou shalt receive from him. That I can live never to see thee and my child more!—I cannot. I have desired God and disputed with my reason, but nature and compassion hath the victory. That I can live to think how you are both left a spoil to my enemies, and that my name shall be a

¹ These four words are printed by Collins in brackets, without any note.

² I have visited the All Souls Library, and (by the kindness of the Warden and Fellows) have profited by some of the MSS. there preserved; as the readers of the first volume of this book will have seen. But I was accidentally deprived of the opportunity of collating this letter with the MS.

LETTER
CLXII.
[1.XXXIV.*]
—
1598?
July 12.

LETTER
CLXIII.
[CXVII.*]
—
1603.
July.

To Lady
Raleigh.
[From the
Tower.]

Letters of Raleigh.

fisher to my child,—I cannot. I cannot endure the memory thereof. Unfortunate woman, unfortunate child, murder yourselves; trust God, and be contented with your poor estate. I would have bettered it, if I had enjoyed a few years.

Thou art a young woman, and forbear not to marry again. It is now nothing to me; thou art no more mine, nor I thine. To witness that thou didst love me, thou take care that thou marry not to please sense, but to avoid poverty, and to preserve thy child. That thou dost also love me living witness it to others;—to my poor daughter, to whom I have given nothing; for his sake, who will be cruel to himself to preserve thee. Be charitable to her, and teach thy son to love her for his father's sake.

For myself, I am left of all men that have done good to many. All my good turns forgotten; all my errors revealed and expounded to all extremity of ill. All my services, hazards, and expenses for my country—plantings, discoveries, fights, councils, and whatsoever else—made hath now covered over. I am now made an enemy and traitor by the word of an unworthy man. He hath proclaimed me to be a partaker of his vain imaginations, notwithstanding the whole course of my life hath approved the contrary, as my death shall approve it. Woe, woe, woe be unto him by whose falsehood we are lost. He hath separated us asunder. He hath slain my honor; my fortune. He hath robbed thee of thy husband, thy child of his father, and me of you both. O God! thou dost know my wrongs. Know, then, thou my wife, and child;—know, then, thou my Lord and King, that I ever thought them too honest to betray, and too good to conspire against.

But, my wife, forgive thou all, as I do. Live humble,

for thou hast but a time also. God forgive my Lord HARRY,¹ for he was my heavy enemy. And for my Lord CECILL, I thought he would never forsake me in extremity. I would not have done it him, God knows. But do not thou know it, for he must be master of thy child ² and may have compassion of him. Be not dismayed, that I died in despair of God's mercies. Strive not to dispute it. But assure thyself that God hath not left me, nor Satan tempted me. Hope and Despair live not together. I know it is forbidden to destroy ourselves; but I trust it is forbidden in this sort,—that we destroy not ourselves despairing of God's mercy. The mercy of God is immeasurable; the cogitations of men comprehend it not.

LETTER
CLXIII.
[CXVII.*]
1603.
July.

In the Lord I have ever trusted; and I know that my Redeemer liveth. Far is it from me to be tempted with Satan; I am only tempted with Sorrow, whose sharp teeth devour my heart. O God! Thou art goodness itself, Thou canst not but be good to me. O God! that art mercy itself, Thou canst not but be merciful to me!

For my estate, [it] is conveyed to feoffees—to your cousin BRETT and others. I have but a bare estate for a short life. My plate is at gage in Lombard Street; my debts are many. To PETER VANLORE, some £600. To ANTROBUS as much, but CUMPTON is to pay £300 of it. To MICHAEL HEXT,³ £100. To GEORGE CAREW, £100.

¹ In printing this name, Mr. Brewer has by an oversight added "Cobham," in a note. There is no doubt whatever that Howard was meant by Raleigh. The expression is strictly appropriate in Howard's case, and he was so called by others of his contemporaries. No instance is known of the designation "my Lord Harry" as applied to Cobham. And the internal evidence of the letter itself points to Howard.

² As "Master of the Court of Wards."

³ Sir Michael Hicke, who had been secretary to Lord Burghley, and to whom Letter CLXII. is addressed.

LETTER
CLXIII.
[CXVII.*]

1603.
July.

To NICHOLAS SANDERS[ON], £100. To JOHN FITZ-JAMES, £100. To Master WADDON, £100. To a poor man, one HAWKES, for horses, £70. To a poor man, called HUNT, £20. Take first care of those, for God's sake. To a brewer at Weymouth and a baker, for Lord CECILL's ship and mine, I think some £80. JOHN RENOLDS knoweth it. And let that poor man have his true part of my return from Virginia. And let the poor men's wages be paid with the goods, for the Lord's sake. Oh, what will my poor servants think, at their return, when they hear I am accused to be Spanish who sent them,—at my great charge,—to plant and discover upon his territory.

Oh, intolerable infamy! O God! I cannot resist these thoughts. I cannot live to think how I am derided, to think of the expectation of my enemies, the scorns I shall receive, the cruel words of lawyers, the infamous taunts and despites, to be made a wonder and a spectacle! O Death! hasten thou unto me that thou mayest destroy the memory of these, and lay me up in dark forgetfulness. O Death! destroy my memory which is my tormentor; my thoughts and my life cannot dwell in one body. But do thou forget me, poor wife, that thou mayest live to bring up my poor child.

I recommend unto you my poor brother A[DRIAN] GILBERT. The lease of Sandridge is his, and none of mine. Let him have it, for God's cause. He knows what is due to me upon it. And be good to KEMIS, for he is a perfect honest man, and hath much wrong for my sake. For the rest, I commend me to them and them to God. And the Lord knows my sorrow to part from thee and my poor child. But part I must, by enemies and injuries; part with shame, and triumph of my detractors. And therefore be contented with this

work of God, and forget me in all things, but thine own honor and the love of mine.

I bless my poor child, and let him know his father was no traitor. Be bold of my innocence, for God—to whom I offer life and soul—knows it. And whosoever thou choose again after me, let him be but thy politique husband. But let my son be thy beloved, for he is part of me and I live in him; and the difference is but in the number and not in the kind. And the Lord for ever keep thee and them, and give thee comfort in both worlds.

[Without signature or address.]

1605.

CLXIV. [CXXXIX.*]

TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From a transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6178, fol. 469 (British Museum). Without date.

I HAVE not had any other affair with Captain WHITLOCK then familer and ordinarie discourse, neither do I know any other cause of his cumming unto me then to visite me; having not mich wherewith to busie himselfe.

I have sume time spoken to him, to finde the Earle of NORTHUMBERLANDS disposition towards me, from whom [*i.e.* WHITLOCKE] I never received other then a drie and frindless awnswere. From the Earle, I neither received letter, nor sent him any, either by WHITLOCK or any man else, since my troubles.

LETTER
CLXIII.
[CXVII.*]

1603.
July.

LETTER
CLXIV.
[CXXXIX.*]

1605.
November.

To the
Lords of
the
Council.
[From the
Tower.]

LETTER
CLXIV.
[CXXXIX.*]

1605.
November:

Explana-
tion of his
intercourse
with Capt.
Whitlock,
a retainer
of the
Earl of
Northum-
berland.

With the French Imbasador¹ I have no affaires. His wife came hither once, with the Ladie of EFFINGAM,² and the pale being then down she saluted me, and desired me to give her a little balsemum of Guiana. WHITLOCK being then in her cumpanie, I sent it by him to her.

I sent your Lordships, in the beginnings of my troubles, a letter from Sir JOHN BODLE'S,³ concerning RENSAY and others; and the same was my utter ruine. I did it to do the Kinge service. If I now knew anything, or could devise how this horribell and fearfull practise⁴ might be discovered, then—if it were with the loss of my own life—as God liveth, I would give the one to performe the other. I beseech your Lordships to call to mind my many sorrowes, and the causes; and to remember my services and love to my countrie. And I beseech you in charitie, and for the love of God, not to make me more odious then ever the earth brought forth any, by suspecting me to be knowing this unexampled and more then develishe invention.⁵

Your humble servant,

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed, in Lord Salisbury's hand :

1605. 9 November. *Sir Walter Raleigh.*

¹ Christophe de Harlay, Count of Beaumont, who, when this letter was written, had just quitted London.

² Anne St. John, daughter of John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe, and wife of William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, son of the Lord Admiral Nottingham.

³ So in MS. Meaning, doubtless, from the house in which he was desired to await the King's pleasure prior to his committal, as a State prisoner, to the Tower, in July 1603.

⁴ The Gunpowder Plot.

⁵ The following extract from an anonymous 'Advertisement' by some Government spy, about meetings on the Powder Treason, will sufficiently explain the occasion on which this Letter was written:—"Whitlocke, that is now in the Tower, was in the beginnige of somer last in the Archeduke's country, as he confest himself; and often, afterwards, came to the

1607?

CLXV. [CXL.*]

TO THE LORD TREASURER SALISBURY.

From a transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6178, fol. 827 (British Museum). Without date.

I HAVE hard that Sir AMIAS PRESTON informed your Lordship of certain minerall stones brought from Guiana, of which your Lordshipe had some doubt;—for so yow had att my first returne;—Secondly, that your Lordshipe thought it but an invention of myne, to procure unto myself my former liberty; suspitions which might rightly fall into the cogitations of a wise man.

Now, whatsoever difference your Lordshipe shall make between your own enriching and my misery, of which as yet I cannot by any means fear the worst; for the first, I protest before the majestie of God that one of those minerals here, and never before, tried, was not only found and gathered in the land of Guiana by myself, but thereof there may be had an abundance sufficient to please every appetite, the mountayn being nire the river-side, and [the mineral] of easy cariage thither. Secondly, I take the same God to witnes that I never esteemed this minerall att any price, both in respect of the quantetie and of the similitude it had with other merquisite formerly found. And had not a refiner come

Tower (after his returne), and their accompanied Sir Walter Raughley." I believe that this notable extract contains the sole foundation of the calumny of which Raleigh complains in the Letter now printed.

LETTER
CLXV.
[CXL.*]
—
1607?

To Lord
Salisbury.
[From the
Tower.]

Nature of
the mineral
ores
brought
from
Guiana.—
Plans for
the re-
sumption
of the
enterprise.

LETTER
 CLXXV
 1607?
 unto me, to try another mettall, to whome I presented this stone by chance, and without hope, I protest, before the everlasting God, that it never had come into question all my life, for it had byne many times in my hand heretofore, to cast away.

The refiner that made the assay is a man very skilfull but poore, and it is trew that I promised him twenty pound, if he could find gold or silver in the oare. Now, if he have delt justly, or—in hope of the money—falcely, it may easily be examined. And yet that which most perswades me is that he offers to go in person, and is contented to be hanged there, if he aprove not his assay to be good. And, for the more surtie, I have reserved a little quantitie of each to make a second tryall.

I beseech your Lordship, then, to consider what I offer. And I beseech yow to way it in the ballance of your wisdom, and pietie,—which I cannot suspect but that the same doth yet hang in your hand, by some one thride or string of your Lordship's great and auntient love towards mee. And because it may be objected that when I have a shipp [or] two or three, that I may turn my course some other way; although I trust that your Lordship will not, for yourselfe, judg that in my old years I would become a runagate and live from my wife, children, and frinds, in a strange cuntry; yet, that others may not say that there was not care enough and caution had, I am content both to go and come as a private man; that both the charge of the shipp be given to another—which I desire might be the bearer hereof—and that he have order that if I do but perswade a contrary course to cast me into the sea. Your Lordship may also appoynt the master, and all other officers. Only, if God give us leive to arive in sauftie, that uppon the land they may be directed by me, or by

any joynt commissioneres ; if your Lordship shall so please.

The charge of the journey will amount to £5,000, of which if the Queenes Majestie (to whome I am bound for her cumpassion) and your Lordship will bear two parts, I and my frinds will bear a third ; or if her Majestie and your Lordship will not adventure, I will finde meanes to beare all, and present her Majestie and your Lordship with the one half, so wee may be assured to injoy the rest.

The charg will be the greater in this respect, because we would ride at ancor 3 or 4 months in the river ; and carying with us six paire of great bellowes, and bricke in ballast, wee would melt down the minnerall into ingots, as fast as wee gather it ; for to bring all in oare would be more notorious.

My tymes are not long in the world ; and I shall not be able, hereafter (if now), to performe such a jurney. Your Lordshipe may have gold good cheap, and may joyne others of your honorable frinds in the matter, if yow please. For there is enough. Your Lordshipe may releive me and my destroyed estate ; and bind mee, more then ever, to live and dye your sarvant.

The journey may go under the culler of Virginia, for NEUPORT will shortly return. We will break no peace ; invade none of the Spanish townes. We will only trade with the Indians, and see none of that nation¹—except they assayle us. If your Lordship will send my Lord CAREW, or any elce, I will satisfye them in all perticulars ; and rest your Lordship's, ever more to serve yow,

LETTER
CLXV.
[CXL.*]
1607?

W. R.

¹ The Spaniards.

1610?

CLXVI. [CXLV.*]

TO JOHN RAMSAY, VISCOUNT HADDINGTON,
(AFTERWARDS EARL OF HOLDERNESS.)

From a transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield MS. Addit. 6177, fol. 241 (British Museum). Without date.¹

LETTER
CLXVI.
[CXLV.*]

1610?

To Lord
Hadding-
ton.
[From the
Tower.]

Proposals
for a
voyage to
Guiana.

I GAVE commission to sume of [my] frinds to move your Lordship in a matter of great importance, if the attaining of honnar and riches may be so accounted. To troble your Lordship with the particulers I will forbear, till such tyme as I may know wher any good thing offered by me may be accepted. For if in my late Sovereignes tyme,—in whose favor I had sum little interest,—I could not obtayne leve to adventure myne own lyfe and myne own estate to inrich her; because myne own honnor, fame, and benefite, had in all likelihood byne adjoynd; what may I hope for now, being altogather frindless in the world, except his Majestie, | who² | accordinge to the trust given hym by God, do vouchsafe to remmember that there is no prise³ nor

¹ The original of this letter is, I believe, still at Hatfield, but apparently it is misplaced. The transcriber has headed his transcript with the date '1603,' without authority and against the internal evidence. Lord Haddington, to whom it is addressed, is the John Ramsay who was in attendance, as a page, upon King James, on the occasion of his visit to the Earl of Gowrie's house at Perth, in August 1600, and who so promptly struck his dagger into Alexander Ruthven on the King's cry of 'Treason! Murder!' Ramsay was knighted in 1600, created Viscount Haddington, in the Peerage of Scotland, in June 1606, and raised to the English earldom of Holderness in January 1621.

² So in MS. This superfluous 'who' is possibly an error of transcription.

³ MS. reads 'praise.'

ransume for inocent blood ; and that to suffer those to
perish that are his (whatsoever a Middlesex Jurie hath
sayed to the contrary) hath no destinction to satisfy that
great God by whom kings reyn, and whom for ther
mercie and truth he hath preserved.

But, my Lord,—leving the succes to God's providence,
—it is a journey of honnor and riches I offer you ; an
enterprise fesible and certayne. And though it may be
sayed that miserie feareth no change, and that my pre-
tences and intentes are diverse, yet I beseech your
Lordship to beleive that I am more in love with death
then with falsehode, and that whatsoever Tyme, or
Fortune, or I know not what else, hath taken from [me],
yet nether of them, nor any poure else under Heaven,
shall teache me, or force me, to be a knave. A base and
unworthy remedie it were aganst imprisonment to for-
swear God, to betray the King's mercie, and to cast
away my frinds ; to undertake a jurney full of hazards,
and soe farr, to return agayne a perjured, false, and
foolish knave. No, my Lord, when myne enimies have
done ther worsed, and distroyed me and mine, yet the
former (which is in myne own minde's poure) shall never
be my destinye.

Yet, because I desire no truste, and that wise men
may have warrant for their jelocies, I am content,—your
Lordship liking it,—to follow yourself in this enterprise,
as a private man. If your Lordship cannot obtayne the
expense of such a tyme, I am content to be comitted to
others ; and, setting down the course and project in
writing, if at ani time I perswade the contrarie let them
cast me into the sea. Secondly, when God shall permit
us to arrive, if I bringe them not to a mountaine (nire a
navigable river) covered with gold and silver oare, let
the comander have commissione to cut of my head ther.

LETTER
CLXVI.
[CXLV.*]
1610?

LETTER
CLXVI.
[CXLV.*]
—
1610?

If this bee not sufficient, I will presume to nominate unto his Majestie such commanders as his Majestie shall like of, whoe wilbe bound, bodie for bodie, to return me again live or dead ; and if I have mistaken myselfe, and may be yet of more prise, his Majestie shall have forti thousand pounds bond to boot.

Lastly, I pray your Lordship not to marvaile why I have desired to ingage you in this enterprise, and desire that yourself may be the commander. For I know that you are valient, and without falsehode,—qualities rarely found in one man in this age. I know that you are deere to the King. And I hope withall that, by your means, we shall injoy the fruites of our travails, and such parts as we adventure for and deserve. With which hope I rest your Lordships, to doe you service,

W. RALEGH.

A P P E N D I C E S :

I.

LETTERS OF LADY RALEGH (1594-1618).

II.

COMMERCIAL AND PRIVATEERING ENTERPRISES (1589-1602).

III.

CHARTS OF GUIANA (1596).

IV.

JOURNEY OF RALEGH AND COBHAM TO OSTEND (1600).

V.

IMPRISONMENT OF THE LADY ARABELLA STUART (1602-1603).

VI.

PLOTS AND COUNTERPLOTS OF 1602-1603.

VII.

RALEGH'S EXECUTION (1618).

‘ Tell us, we do you pray,
Who, now, in Court doth bear the greatest sway?—
That if such fortune do to us befall,
We may seek favour of the best of all.’
‘ Marry,’ said he, ‘ the highest now in grace
Be the wild beasts, that swiftest are in chase.’

.
And, sooth to say, it is no sort of life
For shepherd fit to lead, in that same place,
Where each one seeks with malice, and with strife,
To thrust down other into foul disgrace,—
Himself to raise; and he doth soonest rise
That best can handle his deceitful wit
In subtile shifts, and finest sleights’ devise,
Either by slandering his well-deemed name,
Through leasings lewd, and feignèd forgery;
Or else by breeding him some blot of blame,
By creeping close into his secrecy;
To which him needs a guileful hollow heart,
Maskèd with fair-dissembling courtesy.

SPENSER.

I.—LETTERS OF LADY RALEGH.

1594

I.

LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. § 50 (Hatfield). Holograph.
Without date.

SUR,

I RESEVED your tabells of no less rare device then the sentans within was cumforttabell. If faith wear broken with mee I was yet farr away, but I feare that my Mistris, if all hartes weare opene and all desiars knowne, might without so gret curiosetye of desciphering reed her owne desteni in a playne alphabett, but wee ar both great belevars, and therin wee flatter our seulevs and nurishe our owne mindes with what wee would. Now, Sur, for the rest I hope for my sake you will rather draw fur watar towards the est then heulp hyme forward toward the soonsett, if ani respecke to me or love to him be not forgotten. But everi monthe hath his flower and everi season his contentment, and you greate counselares ar so full of new counceles, as you ar steddi in nothing; but wee poore soules that hath bought sorrow at a high price desiar, and can be plesed with, the same misfortun wee hold, fering alltarracions will but multiply misseri, of wich we have allredi felte sufficient. I knoo unly your parswadcions ar of efecke with him, and hild as

LETTER I.

1593-1594
Feb. 8.

Lady
Raleigh to
Sir R.
Cecil.

Thanks for
a book of
tablets.—
Allusion to
some
instance
of the
Queen's
"curiosity
of deci-
phering."—
Entreaty
that Cecil
will not
forward
Raleigh's
plan of an
enterprise
"toward
the sun-
set."

) i.e. "Sir Walter."]

LETTER I.

1593-1594.
Feb. 8.

orrekeles tied to them by Love; therefore I humbelle
besiech you rathar stay him then furdar him. By the
wiche you shall bind me for ever. As yet you have ever
gevegeng me caus *to love and serve you for ever*,¹

as shee that honnereth you most,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To my veri honarabell frind, Sur ROBERT CISCIL, Knight.*"

Endorsed: "*8 Feb. 1593. Lady Rawleigh to my Master. Tra. I.*"

1595.

II.

LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxi. § 29 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER II.

1594-1595.
March 20.

Lady
Raleigh to
Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.

Desiring
that no
impedi-
ment be
suffered to
the due
course of
law in a
suit
against the
Earl of
Hunting-
don.

SUR,

AMOUNGEST many vertus hit is not your least to
be a comfort to the greeved, and so ar you to mee with
your honnorabell and kind lettar, whearby you fullfill
the desiar of your absent frind, as also bind me for
ever to honor you.

Sur WATTAR'S remembrans of me to you at his last
departur shall ad and incres, if itt weer possibell, mor
love and dew respect to him. I am in hope, er hit be
longe, to heer of him, thought² not of longe time to see
him. In which tim I shall fly to you in all my cumbars,
as to the shurest staf I trust to in Sur WATTAR'S absens.

¹ These words in italics are strongly erased by pen-scratches and with
an ink different from that of the letter; but they are now legible beneath
the erasure.

² *though.*

I thank my honnorabell mistris¹ for wishing me neer heer. To doo heer sarvis, and to injoy both your companies, I oft wish hit with heer; els, is an hermit's sell most fit for me and my mind at this time; beeing for a tim thus deseivered from him that² I am.

I must intret your faforabell word to me Lord Keppar that hee will suffar me to folow the cours of law to me Lord of HUNTINGTON.³ I desiar noo fafor ther in, but only sufferans. This berar can tell you the mattar. I rathar chuus this time to folow hit in Sur WATTAR'S absens, that my selfe may bear the unkinnes, and not hee; the moni being long time past dew to me. This,⁴ for ever wishing you all honnar and happines, I end. Sherbon Loge, the xx of March.

Your asured pour frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the most honnarabell Sur ROBERT CISCILL.

Endorsed :

20 March, 1595. The Lady Raleigh to my Master.

III.

LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxi. § 77 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SUR,

THOUGHT⁵ I fere I shall be trubbellsum to you with my desiaring lettars, yet I can not but wryt to you

¹ Lady Cecil.

² 'that' is evidently here used in the sense of 'whose.'

³ Into whose hands Lady Raleigh's marriage portion, or part of it, had passed upon bond or mortgage.

⁴ Thus.

⁵ Though.

LETTER II.

1594-1595.
March 20.

LETTER
III.

1595.
April 7.

LETTER
III.1595.
April 7.Lady
Ralegh to
Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sherborne.Recom-
mendation
of Arthur
Radford,
who is de-
sirous of
serving at
sea.

at this time, in the behalfe of this bearer, hee being to Sur WATTAR as hee is ; wich I knoo is a sufficient reson of your fafor and car of him. Not withstanding, to sattisfi myselve in leavinge nothing undon, as nere as I may, to ani of his, I presum to desiar you that in this his desiar of goeing to see, hee may be grassed¹ and helped by you, wich I noo wayes dout of. And so, with all happi wishis to you and my honnarabell mistris, I end. Sherbon Loge, the vii of Aprill.

Your poore frind that honereth you,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the most honnarabell Sur ROBARD CISCILL, &c. &c.

Endorsed :

7 April, 1595. The Lady Ralegh to my Master. In favour of Arthur Radford.

IV.

LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxiii. § 53 (*Hatfield*). Holograph.LETTER
IV.1595.
July 28?Lady
Ralegh to
Sir R.
Cecil.Recom-
mendation
of a suit of
Mr. Brett.

SUR,

PRESUMENG of your honnarabell fafor ever to me, I am bould to trobell you in the behalfe of this my kinsman Mr. BRETT ; yet noo wayes fardar then I knoo in rit and honnar you may. Nether wold I requist, nether will hee intret, fardar your fafor then unly to hold a indeffrant openion of him, tell you heer the mattar hooly.

¹ *graced.*

The mattar is a falling out betune Sur RAFF HORES'¹ and him selfe, which hath groon fardar then I wish with all my hart hit had ; thay bothe being my veri good frindes. Yet for that the gretnes of the onne may, by his frindes, informe most faforabelly in his side, and so cos² more condemnacion on this my kinsman then ther is cas,³ I earnestly intret you, good Sur, to stand indiffrant for my sake in this matter, when hit shall, or if hit doo, cum befor you. I am the mor bouldar to wryt for him, for I will⁴ knoo the honesti and plane trewth of the gentellman such as hee will informe—no, not on his own side,—mor then a trewth. Unly his collar⁴ is sumthing to be condemned wich men that stan so much on ther trew onnest[y], as I knoo this man doth, will me⁵ moved if they reseve ronges.

This,⁶ desiaring your pardon for my so oft trobelling you, I wish and pray for your grettest honnar and happiness. Sherbon Loge, the xxviii. of July.

Your Honnar's pour frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the most honnarabell Sur ROBARD CISSII, on of heer Magistus most honnarabell Previ Concill.

Endorsed :

25⁷ July, 1595. The Lady Raleghe to my Master. In favour of Mr. Brett.

¹ Sir Ralph Horsey.

² *cause.*

³ *well.*

⁴ *choler.*

⁵ MS. 'me' for 'be.'

⁶ *Thus.*

⁷ So in MS.

LETTER
IV.

1595.
July 28?

1596.

V.

LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 29 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER V. SUR.

1596.
July.Lady
Raleigh to
Sir R.
Cecil.
From Mile
End.On the
return of
Keymis
from
Guiana.

I UNDERSTAND that *The Darling*, wherein KEMISH went to Gueano,¹ is com in to Yarmouthe safly, sum viij dayes paste. As yet, I have not heard on² worde from him or any of my mene theare, wich I wonder at, but that I thinke they are rounning a bowte with the pinnis for London. As sounne as I heer whear thay ar, if an't ples you to sende downe a man to them, as I will sende then on² to them, that you may knoo what they have broute; wich cannot bee ani thing, as I thinke, much worthe, for that the Spanniardes ar allredi possessed in Gueano. I mean along the shoar, so as thay durst not lande. And also TOPEAWARE the King, that was heer Magisti's subget, is ded, and his sun returned. Thus, Sur, you heer your ppoor absente frindes fortune, who, if hee had bin as well credited in his reportes and knooleges as hit simmethe the Spanniardes wear, thay had not now bin poscisars of that plas. Thus, humbly taking my leve in hast. Mil end, this Wensday.

Your ppoor frind.

E. RALEGH.

Addressed :

*To the honnarabell Sur ROBARD CISCILL.*¹ *Guiana.*² *one.*

1597.

VI.

LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lv. § 88 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SUR,

I KNOO not what to thinke. Thes gentellmen that ar com from the Flit can tell me no newes of Sir WATTER, but that he is goon befor me Lord Ginerall.¹ His shipe the *Gueano*² is cast away. This littell pinnes, *The Darling*, which this gentellman cam in, was the unly shipe hee had left him, and is com away unknowen to him,—apointed so by me Lord Generall.

For God sake, let me heer from you the trewth ; for I am much trobled. Pardon my hast and skrebbling. This Thursday.

Your poore frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed :

To the most honnarabell Mr. Sekretari.

Endorsed :

Sept. 1597. The Lady Ralegh to my Master.

¹ The Earl of Essex.

² *Guiana.*

LETTER
VI.

1597.
Sept.

Lady
Ralegh to
Sir R.
Cecil.

Anxiety
for news
of Sir
Walter.

VII.

LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C b, ii. § 36 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER
VII.

1600.
October.

Lady
Raleigh to
Sir R.
Cecil.

Fire at
Durham
House.—
News from
Sir Walter
at Jersey.

SUR,

HIT tis trow that your packet brought me the newes of the mischans of feciar¹ at Durram Houes, wher, I thanke God, hit went noo fardar. Other wies, hit had rid ous of all our poour substans of plat and other thinges. Unly now the loos is of your cumpani | and my Lord COBHAM'S,² | wich I thinke by this menes wee cannot injoy this wintar.

Hit will be now a fit time for you to get sum intres³ in that rotten houes for your selfe and your frind : other wies, I knoo none so un wies that will besto so mani hundred pounes as Sur WATTAR hath dun, without fardar intrest or asurans of hit. I besuch remembar hit now, soo shall not the Quine be trobled to bild the Bushope's ould stabels.

I ded heer from Sur WATTAR within too dayes after he landed at Jarsi : wher he was safly landed and rioly⁴ intertaned with joye. But he was too dayes and too nites on the see, with contrari windes ; not withstanding hee went from Wamouthe in so fayer a wind and weether, as littell WAT and my selfe brought him aboard the shipt. Hee wrytteth to me hee never saw a plesanttar

¹ *fire.*

² The words between the upright lines are inserted in the MS. by interlineation.

³ *interest.*

⁴ *royally.*

iland ; but protesteth unfannedly hit tis not, in valem,
the veri third part that was reported, or inded hee
beliffed. My cossin WILL¹ is heer,² very will,³ and
louketh will³ and fat with his batheing. This,⁴ wishing
you all honnar and the full contentements of your hart,
I ever rest

Your asured pour frind,

E. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I am glad this mischans of feciar cam
not by ani neckelegans⁵ of ani sarvant of mine, but by
me cossin DARCI'S sarvant,—a woman that delleth⁶ just
under our logging, and anoyeth ous infenitly. I hope
hee will now remoueve heer. I humbely besuch you
let this lettar heer inclosed be sent.

Addressed: "To the most honorabell Mr. Sekretari, &c. &c."

Endorsed: "1600. October. The Lady Raleighe to my Master."

1602.

VIII.

LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxv. § 134 (Hatfield). Holograph.

SIR,

I UNДАРSTAND that hit tis thought by me Ladi
KELLDARE that you shuld doo me that fafor as to let
me knoo how unfaforabel shee hath delt with me to the

¹ 'Will Cecil,' afterwards second Earl of Salisbury.

² Probably at Weymouth.

³ well.

⁴ Thus.

⁵ negligence.

⁶ dwelleth.

LETTER
VII.
—
1600.
October.

LETTER
VIII.
—
1601-1602.
March.

LETTER
VIII.
1601-1602.
March.
Lady
Raleigh to
Sir R.
Cecil.
On all
offices at
Court
done by
Lady
Kildare
(wife of
Lord
Cobham)

Queen. Hit tis trew that I shuld not have mistrusted so unhonorable a thought in heer to me, without good prowf. But I protest, as you knoo, I never understood hit by you; nether did I ever see you, or heer from you, sens heer ladiship deed me that good office. Therfor hit tis but heer mistaking, wich shee ewsseth to¹ much. I unly say this, that for the honnar I beear heer name and the auncient acquaintans of heer, I wish shee wold be as ambitious to doo good, as she is apte to the contrari. This,² ever wisheng you all honnar, I rest

Your asured pvoor frind,
E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the rite honnarabel Mr. Sekretar.*"

Endorsed: "*March, 1601. The Lady Raleigh to my Master.*"

1603.

IX.

LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF
ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 20 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER
IX.
1603
Nov. 18?
To Lord
Cecil.

IF the greved teares of a unfortunat woman may resevef ani fafor, or the unspekeabell sorros of my ded hart may resevef ani cumfort, then let my sorros cum before you —which, if you trewly knew, I asur my selfe you wold pittie me, but most espescially your pvoor unfortunat frind wich relyeth holy on your honnarabell and wontid fafor.

¹ *See*.

² *Thus*.

I knoo in my own soule—wich sumthing knooeth his mind—that hee douth, and ever hath doon, not unly honored the Keng, but naturally loveth him. And God knooeth¹ far from him to wish him harme, but to have spent his life as sounne for him as ani cretuer leveng.

I most humly besiech your Honnar—even for God sake—to be good unto him; to onns more make him your cretur, your relifed² frind; and dell with the Keng for him—for onn that is more worti of fafor than manies; having worthe, and onnesti, and wisdom to be a frind. Pitti the name of your ancient frind on his poour littell cretuer,³ wich may leve to honnar you; that wee all may lift up our handes and hartes in prayeur for you and youres. Bind this⁴ our pooure famelies to prayes⁵ your honnar and wonted good natur. Let the hole world prayes⁵ your love to my poour unfortunat hosban. For Cristis sake, wich rewardeth all mercies, pittis his just case;⁶ and God for his infeni merci bles you for ever, and work in the Keng merci.

I am not abell, I protest befor God, to stand on my trembling leges, otherwies I wold have waited now on you; or be drectid holy by you.

Shee that will trewly honnar you in all misfortune,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the most honnarabell my Lord Cissell, &c. &c.*"

Endorsed: "1603. *Lady Ralegh to my Lord.*"

¹ "*it was,*" or some like words, have here, it is obvious, been omitted in the writer's agitation.

² *relieved.*

³ Walter, their son, then about eight years of age.

⁴ *For these.*

⁵ *praise.*

⁶ *cause.*

LETTER
IX.

1603.
Nov. 18?

Entreaties
for his in-
tercession
with the
King
on her
husband's
behalf.

1604.

X.

LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT
CRANBORNE.From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxc. § 6 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.
Without date.

LETTER X. MY GOOD LORD,

[1604?]

Lady
Raleigh to
Lord
Cranborne.Entreaty
for his
interposi-
tion against
seizures
made by
the Earl of
Notting-
ham, under
pretext of
grants
from King
James, of
part of
Sir W.
Raleigh's
posses-
sions.

AS it hath pleased your Lordshept hetherto to be our only cumfort in our lamentabell misfortuns, so I most humbly beseich your Lordshept, both in cumpassion and justes, to speke one word to me Lord Admirall not to take from us by strong hand that which his Magesti hath geven us for our reliefe.

I might have hoped that me Lord Admirall—if wee might hope for anithing from any leving man—would rather have geveng us sumthing back agayne of his great porcion. His Lordshepe hath six thowsand pound, and three thowsand pound a yeare, by my husban's falle. And, since hit pleseth God that his Lordship shall build uppon our ruines, which wee never suspected, yet the porcion is great and I trust sufficient, out of onn¹ pour gentelman's fortun to take all that remaines, and not to louke backe before his Magisti's grant, and take from us the debts past, wich your Lordshept knoos ware stayed from us, by a proclamation, befor my husban was suspected of ani offence.

If me Lord's grant do beare them, and his conscience warrant hime, wee must yeild willingly to Gode's will

¹ one.

and the King's. But if me Lord Admirall have no onn¹ word, in his grant, for them, then what neither the Keng, lawe, nor conscience, have geven from us, I trust his Lordship will espere us willingly.

God knous that our debts ar above three thousand pound, and the bread and foode taken from me and my children will never augment my Lorde's table, though hit famish us. If your Lordshept, without his Lordship's ofens, can in charitie parswade his Lordshept to relinquish ether all, or but the half, of that wich belongs not unto him, wee shall be more and more bound to your Lordshept.

Who, being unworthi to be a frind, will remaine your Lordsheptes pvoor servant,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorable the Lord Vicount CRANBORNE, &c. &c.*"

Endorsed, in Lord Cranborne's hand: "1604. *Lady Ralegh.*"

The endorsement is followed by a list of names which reads thus:—

Lady Rawlegh. Lady Saltingstone. Lady Woodroofe. Lady Bronker. Lady Pawlett. Lady St. Leger. Mrs. Killegrew. Lady Kingsmell. Lady Cornwallis. Lady Oxenbridg. Lady Throgmorton. Lady Walssh. Lady Sydley. Lady Herbert. Mrs. Blanch. Lady Martin [?]. Lady Cheek. Lady Trafford. Mrs. Goring.

1609?

XI.

LADY RALEGH TO KING JAMES THE FIRST.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxcv. § 85 (Hatfield). Undated. Without subscription or signature.

I BESEICH your Majestie, in the mercies of JESUS CHRIST, to signifie your gracious pleasure concerning

¹ one.

LETTER X.

[1604?]

LETTER
XI.

1609?

LETTER

XI.

1609?

Lady
Raleigh to
the King.Entreaty
that the
King
would
spare to
herself
and her
children
some frag-
ment of
Raleigh's
Dorset-
shire
estates,—
of which
the bulk
had been
given to
Carr, after
the gift of
Raleigh's
other pos-
sessions to
the Earl of
Notting-
ham.

my self and my poore children : That, whereas your Majestie hath disposed of all my husband's estate, to the valew of four thowsand pound a yeare, so that ther remayneth nothing to geve me and my children bread but one fee farme held of the Bishop of SARUM, which your Majestie hath bestowed upon my husband during his life, that¹ it will please your Majestie of your aboundant goodnes to relinquish your Majesties right in the reversion of that farm, and suffer those poore harmless children to enjoy the same, in imitation of the most just and mercifull God, who though Hee punished the fathers yet Hee gave the land to the guileless and innocent children. And wee shall ever pray to God for the continewance and increase of your Majesties deereest cumfortes.

Headed : "*The humble Petition of the Ladie RALEGH.*"

* * Attached to this Petition, in the present (and recent) arrangement of the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield, is the following *Draft* of a royal letter to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, which *Draft* bears this endorsement in the hand of the Lord Treasurer's secretary :

Draught of a Warrant to pass to the Lady RALEGH, and her children, all his Majesties interest in the lands.

' SALSBURIE,

' WHERAS We understand that by rigor of law the
' reversion of Sir WALTER RALEGH'S lands may come
' into Our hands, yet seing his conveiance was made in
' the Queen Our Sister's time, as also because We have
' given to him self those lands for his own life, Our
' pleasure is that you cause a grant to be drawn for Us

¹ So repeated in MS.

‘to signe, wherin all Our title and interest may be past
‘over unto his wife and children, that We be no more
‘troubled with their pittifull cries and complaints for
‘that busines.’

LETTER
XI.
1609?

1617.

XII.

LADY RALEGH TO SIR JULIUS CÆSAR.

From the Original. MS. LANSDOWNE, cxlii. fol. 282 (formerly numbered
‘292’). (British Museum.) Wholly in the hand of an Amanuensis.
Without date. Written in 1617, after Sir Walter Raleigh’s departure
for Guiana.

SIR,

MAY it please you to call to mynd that when my
husband’s land was taken away from hym and gyven
to my Lord of SOMERSETT, all meanes and offices being
gone from hym before, it then pleased the Kyng’s Ma-
jestie to graunt his Patents to me, and after me to my
eldest sonne, [for] 400*l.* by yeare, to be paid oute of the
Exchequer. I then understanding the payments were
slow, I desired a covenant of the Lords for performance of
that payment, which I had, under their hands and seales,
as your Honour knoweth:—the Earle of SALISBURY,
being then Treasurer; the Earle of NORTHAMPTON;
the Earle of SOMERSETT; and yourself. The two first
Earles having performed their covenant with Death, the
third beinge not in case to perform any covenant, I must
flye to yourselfe, whose honor and charity is such as
I make no doubt but you will see me satisfied and
relieved in this my just desire, being agreeable to His

LETTER
XII.
[1617.
After
June 30.]

Lady
Raleigh to
Sir Julius
Cæsar.

Delays in
the pay-
ment of
her annuity
from the
Exchequer.

LETTER
XII.[1617.
After
June 30.]

Majesties expresse comandement that I should receyve my payment without molestation or delay,—which I am dayly put of¹ by Mr. BYNGLEY.² I should have receyved 200*l.* at Michaelmas; most of it being long due to poore men from Sir WALTER, for his necessaries; and the rest to mayntayne me till Our Lady day. But I have not received one penny from the Exchequer synce Sir WALTER went.

I beseech you, Sir, to take some order for this, that I may not be thus contynually pynsshed for the payment thereof; and that you will be earnest with Mr. BYNGLEY and the officers that I may not be thus put of, from tyme to tyme; but that I may receyve ytt somewhat orderly; paying the fees due, which is fyve pounds in the 100*l.* Thus, desyryng your honorable remembrance and speedy helpe, I rest

att your service,

E. RALEIGH.

Addressed:

To my honorable good friend, Sir JULIUS CÆSAR, Knight, Master of the Rolles, and one of His Majesties most honorable Pryvy Councell.

Endorsed, by Sir Julius Cæsar:

The Lady Raleigh, that, according to the Kings Letters Patent and the Commissioners' covenant, she may receive her yearly annuity from the Receipt of the Exchequer.

¹ *off.*

² An officer of the Treasury, under the Lord Treasurer Suffolk; and the "Sir John Bingley" of Bacon's speech against Suffolk, in the Star Chamber; where he is described as pimping for Lady Suffolk in her sale, for bribes, of her influence over the Treasurer.

1618.

XIII.

LADY RALEGH TO SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.

As printed (from the Original?) by MANNING and BRAY, *History of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 495.

* * Nothing, I believe, is now known of the causes which led to the interment of Sir Walter Raleigh in St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, instead of at Beddington, as this Letter shows to have been at first intended.

I DESIAR, good brother, that you will be plessed to let me berri the worthi boddi of my nobell hosban, Sur WALTER RALEGH, in your chorche at Beddington, wher I desiar to be berred. The Lordes have geven me his ded boddi, thought¹ they denied me his life. This nit hee shall be brought you with two or three of my men. Let me here presently. God hold me in my wites.

E. R.

Addressed :

To my best brother, Sur NICHOLAS CAREW, at Beddington.

XIV.

LADY RALEGH TO LADY CAREW.

From a copy made by direction of Sir THOMAS WILSON. *Domestic Correspondence*: James I. vol. ciii. § 76 (Rolls House).

MADDAM,

AS I remember when your Ladyship was last with me you towld me that you knew Sir THOMAS WILSON

¹ *though.*

LETTER
XIII.
1618.
Oct. 30?

Lady
Raleigh to
Sir N.
Carew.

On the
burial of
Sir Walter
Raleigh.

LETTER
XIV.
1618.
Nov. ?

LETTER
XIV.1618.
Nov. ?Lady
Raleigh to
Lady
Carew.Entreaty
for the
exercise of
her influ-
ence to
prevent the
seizure, by
Sir T.
Wilson, of
Raleigh's
Library.

well, adding therunto good commendacions of him, I beseech your Ladyship that you will doe me the favour as to intreat him to surcease the pursuit of my husband's bookes or lybrary: they being all the land and lyveing which he left his poore child, hoping that he would inheritt him in those only, and that he would apply himself to learninge to be fytt for them, which request I hope I shall fullfill as farre as in me lyeth. Sir THOMAS WILSON hath already, by vertue of the Kinge's letter, fetched away all his mathematicall instruments. One of them cost a £100 when it was made. I was promised them all againe, but I have not receyved one back. If there were any of theis books, God forbid but Sir THOMAS should have them, for His Majestie,—if they were rare, and not to be hadd elsewhere. But they tell me that BYLL, the book-bynder or stacioner, hath the verry same. Thus intreating your Ladyship's favour that you wilbe a meane unto Sir THOMAS that I may be troubled noe more in this matter concerning the bookes; haveing hadd so many unspeakable losses and troubles as none of worth will seek to molest me, but rather give me comfort and help. Thus I rest, ever to be comanded,

and to love you truly,

E. RALEGH.¹

¹ The "Lady Carew," to whom this letter is addressed, was Joyce Clopton, wife of George, Lord Carew of Clopton, the cousin and life-long friend of Raleigh, and afterwards Earl of Totnes.

II. — *COMMERCIAL AND PRIVATEERING
ENTERPRISES.* 1589-1602.

I.

PRIVATEERING ENTERPRISE OF 1589.

THE ANSWER OF SIR WALTER RALEGH TO THE
COMPLAINTS OF ALBERT REYNARDSON.

From the Original. *Cesar Papers*, in MS. LANSDOWNE, vol. cxliv.
ff. 57-60 (British Museum).

To the *first* I aunswer, that my shippe being upon the coast of Spayne the 26 of December last, mett with a hulke of the burthen of 350 tonns, named in anould passe which they had out of the Admiralty, dated in July 1587, *The Aungell Gabriel*, but in their bills of ladinge the *Jobe* of Hamborough and Middleborough; which shippe came into Spaine by the backside of Ireland, in company with some of the King of Spaines fleete that had bene here. Yt appeered by diverse letters that were in her that much of the goodes did properly belonge to one GEYTOR, an inhabitant in Cadys, and their maryed, and other Spaniards. Upon theis presumpcions the Capten sent her to Plimmowthe by a gentleman of good accompt and lyving, named ARTHUR HALS; who at his comminge did send me such letters as were found in her, which I sent presently to the Judge of the Admiralty. And he, upon deliberate hearing and examinacion of the letters and circumstaunces, graunted a commysion to Sir JOHN

APPENDIX
II.
Commer-
cial and
Privateer-
ing Enter-
prises.
1589-1602.

APPENDIX
II.
Commercial and
Privateering Enter-
prises.

1589-1602.

Raleigh's
Answer to
Reynard-
son.

GILBERT, Knight, the Maior of Plimmowth, CHRISTOPHER HARRIS, Esquire, NICHOLAS JONES, Gentleman, and MARTEN WHITE, to take the possession of the goodes and putt them in safe keeping. By vertue wherof the goods werè unladen by inventory, which otherwise would have receaved greate spoile by the leakedge of the wynes. That which they found is put in safetie, and wilbe justly aunswered. If any spoile were made before by any disordre of the company, I disclayme and will not, neither am bound by lawe to aunswer for them therin, having not medled with any parte of the goodes. If she prove not prize, they may have her delyvered by like order from the Admiralty. Yet I thinke it as necessary (yf it shall so seeme good to your Lordships) that she should serve her Majesty in this journey if theie want shipping, as it is probable she served the King of Spayne in his Armado.

TO THE COMPLAINT OF WALTER ARTSON:—

To the *second* I aunswer, that I never heard by the Captens or any of the company that ARTSON'S factor, or any such fower buttes of secke, were taken into my shippe, neither did ARTSON or any men from him acquainte me with any such thinge. Their came none of the wyne to my handes, if any such were taken; therefore I am not bound to make him satisfaccion. Lett him charge the Capten, who, I doubt not, wilbe well hable to aunswer him.

TO THE COMPLAINT OF WALTER ARTSON
AND OTHERS:—

To the *third* I saie that although the shippe of Ham-
borough was laden with wheate to victuall the enemy,

and the shipper confessed that the goodes hidden in the wheate and taken out by the company of my shippe did belonge and were conseyned to Spaniardes dwelling in Spaine, and therefore desiered only to have his freight or assueraunce for the same, which the Capten of my shippe gave him ; yett upon such slender prooffe as was made to me by the merchantes of London and Ham-borough (who have bene found to colour many such matters) I gave present ordre that there goodes should be all delivered them, without putting them to any further prooffe or charge, as they wilbe ready to testify. And if their be any other that have goodes taken out of that shippe (as I thinke their be none) that hereafter shall come to me, I will give like order for restitution.

APPENDIX
II.
Commercial and
Privateer-
ing Enter-
prises.

1589-1602.

TO THE COMPLAINT OF MICHAELL LEOMANS :—

To the *furth* I aunswer, that if any such sugar or mace were taken, yt was in the time that my shippe was in her Majesties service, wherof I never hearde, neither came any part of it to my handes. Therefore I am not to be charged with it, but the Capten, who is sufficient to aunswer the same. I do much mervaile that LEOMANS having bene often with me sithence the time that he pretendeth such sugar and mace to be taken, did never make any mocion to me of it, nor to any other about me. This maketh me doubt, that he is a colourer of this, as he and others are of matters of greater importaunce ; seking the good and profit of the common enemy, with the losse and hindrance of such of her Majesties subjects as to their great charge do adventure upon reprizall.

II.

ENTERPRISE FOR THE EXPORTATION OF
PIPESTAVES FROM MUNSTER.

1590-1602.

ARTICLES TO BE CONSIDERED TOUCHINGE THE MAKINGE AND
TRANSPORTINGE OF PIPESTAVES, ETC. OUT OF IRELANDE.From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiv. § 68 (Hatfield).APPENDIX
II.
Commer-
cial and
Privateer-
ing Enter-
prises.

1589-1602.

Raleigh's
Articles,
sent to the
Lords of
the
Council.

FIRST, the merchaunts of Waterford, Washford,¹ and others, have heretofore of longe tyme used the transportinge of Pipestaves in to the Kinge of Spaynes cuntries, with other comodities as they best lyked, without any restreinte.

Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH, HENRY PYNE, and their partners have transported only pipestaves and noe other comoditie whatsoever.

There hath been transported in these three years about 340,000 pipestaves, laden in 12 ships; the trees whereof they were made did not excede 700 tons of tymber, which, there to be solde, were not worth £40. And yet her Majestie hath received in custome, by two shipps returned from the Canaries for our accompte, about £300, and by the shipps laden by others £600 or £700, as by the Customs Books may appeare.

Out of the woodes of Moggeley-Gee and Kilcoran, where this tymber hath byn felled, there hath not byn

¹ Wexford.

taken the hundreth tree. And those woods lye from the River of Lysfenny about three Englishe myles.

The place is of that nature that greate tymber can hardely be conveyed forth of those woods; but beinge wroughte, we are driven to carrye them by horse and on mens backs to our extreame charge.

The Undertakers of this busines have disbursed in their buildings, the carryinge over of their men, in workemanship and other charges, above £5,000, whereof there is not returned the one halfe.

[It is then recited that the Undertakers entered on these large disbursements on the faith of the Queen's Letters Patent for fourteen years; and that above two hundred persons would be thrown out of work by the stoppage of the enterprise, besides the indirect injuries to local trade. (See also *Life*, chap. vi. ; Vol. I. pp. 94-103.)]

APPENDIX
II.
Commer-
cial and
Privateer-
ing Enter-
prises.
1589-1602.

III. — *CHARTS AND OTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE FURTHER EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION OF GUIANA, IN 1596.*

THOMAS HARRIOT TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. (Hatfield). Holograph.

APPENDIX

III.

1596.
July 11.

Thomas
Harriot
to Sir R.
Cecil.

Proposals
for the
framing of
Charts of
Guiana,
from the
papers of
Raleigh and
Keymis.

RIGHT HONORABLE SIR,

THESE are to let you understand that whereas, according to your Honor's direction, I have been framing of a Charte out of some such of Sir WALTER's notes and writings which he hath left behind him,—his principall Charte being carried with him,—if it may please you, I do thinke most fit that the discovery of Captain KEMISH be added, in his due place, before I finish it. It is of importance, and all Chartes which had that coast before be very imperfecte, as in many thinges elce. And that of Sir WALTER's, although it were better in that parte then any other, yet it was don but by intelligence from the Indians, and this voyadge was specially for the discovery of the same; which is, as I find, well and sufficiently performed. And because the secrecy of these matters doth much importe her Majesty and this State, I pray let me be so bould as to crave that the dispach of the plotting and describing be don only by me for you, according to the order of trust that Sir WALTER left with me, before his departure, in that behalf, and as he hath usually don heretofore. If your Honor have any notes from Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, if it may please you to make me acquaynted with them, that which they will manifest of other particularytyes then that before Sir WALTER hath described shall also be set downe.

Although Captain KEMISH be not come home rich, yet he hath don the speciall thing which he was enjoined to do, as¹ the discovery of the coast betwixt the river of Amasones and Orinico, where are many goodly harbors for the greatest ships her Majesty hath and any number; wher there are great rivers, and more then probability of great good to be don by them for Guiana, as by any other way or to other rich contries borderinge upon it. As also, the discovery of the mouth of Orinico it self,—a good harbor and free passage for ingresse and egresse of most of the ordinary ships of England, above 3 hundred miles into the contry. Insomuch that BERREO wondred much of our mens comming up so far; so that it seemeth they know not of that passage. Nether could they, or can possibly, find it from Trinidado; from whence usually they have made their discoveries. But if it be don by them the shortest way, it must be don out of Spayne. Now, if it shall please her Majesty to undertake the entreprize, or permitte it in her subjectes, by her order, countenance, and authority, for the supplanting of those that are now gotten thither, I thinke it of great importance to keepe that which is don as secretly as we may, lest the Spaniardes learne to know those harbors and entrances, and worke to prevent us.

And because I understand that the master of the ship with Captain KEMISH is somewhat carelesse of this, by geving and selling cotypes of his travelles and plottes of discoveries, I thought it my dutye to remember it unto your wisdom, that some order might be taken for the prevention of such inconveniencies as may thereby follow: by geving authority to some Justice, or the Mayor, to call him before them, and to take all his writings and chartes or papers that concerne this discovery, or any elce, in other mens handes, that he hath sold or conveyed them into; and to send them sealed to your Honor, as also to take bond for his further secrecy on that behalf. And the like order to be taken by those others, as we shall further

APPENDIX
III.
Charts,
&c. of
Guiana.

1596.
July 11.

¹ Meaning 'that is.'

APPENDIX
 III
 CHARTS
 OF
 GUIANA
 1596
 JULY 11

informe your Honor of, that have any such plots, which yet, for myne owne parte. I know not of; or any other order, by sending for him up or otherwise, as to your wisdome shall seeme best.

Concerning the *Elderado* which hath been shewed your Honor out of the Spanish booke of ACOSTA, which you had from WRIGHT, and I have seene, when I shall have that favour as but to speake with you I shall shew you that it is not ours—that we meane—there being three. Nether doth he say, or meane, that Amazonas river and Orinoco is all one,—as some, I feare, do averre to your Honor; as by good profe out of that booke alone I can make manifest; and by other meanes besides then this discovery, I can put it out of all dout.

To be brief, I am at your Honor's comandement in love and duty farther then I can sodeynly expresse for haste. I will wayte upon you at Court, or here at London, about any of these matters or any others, at any time, if I might have but that favour as to heare so much. I dare not presume of my selfe, for some former respectes. My fidelity hath never been impeached, and I take that order that it never shall. I make no application. And I beseech your Honor to pardon my boldnes, because of haste. My meaning is allwayes good. And so I most humbly take my leave. This Sondag, 11th of July, 1596.

Your Honor's most ready at commandement
 in all services I may,

THO. HARRIOTE.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CICILL, Knight, Principall Secretary to Her Majesty, these.

Subscribed:

11 July 1596. *Mr. Harriott to my Master.*

SIR GEORGE TRENCHARD AND SIR RALPH
HORSEY TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 17 (Hatfield). In the hand of an Amanuensis.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

To the purporte of your letters we have received into our handes, the Plott or Discovery of the Indias voyage, with other bookes which your Honour wrotte for, beinge in the custody of one SAMUELL MACE and WILLIAM DOWNE, whoe, uppon delyvery of them, made greate mone and complaynt unto us that the same shoulde be taken from them; doubtinge thereby that other men shoulde take the benefitt of their travell, and soe defeate Sir WALTER RAUGHLEY and them selves of the prosecution of their harde and daungerous adventure begone. In so muche that uppon monefull complaynt, beinge poore men and had great charge this voyage, beinge the onlye thinge they relye uppon for their good,—havinge bine employed divers tymes before in the action to their great losse and hinderance,—by them selves and frindes have intreated us to sollicite your Honor this far: That you wilbe pleased to let the Plotts remayne in our handes till Sir WALTER RAWLEIGHE returne—uppon whom yt shoulde seeme they wholly stande,—to be to him in salfty delivered; hopinge thereby to be further employed by him in the said service; for whom they judge your Honour undertakes this that is done. In regarde whereof they hope your Honour will afforde them this favour. Yf otherwyse, these thinges that are in our custodye shalbe addressed to your Honor, with all the conveniency that maye bee. And soe, with the remembrance of our humble dutyes, doe take our leave. From Dorchester, the last of July, 1596.

Your Honours at commande,

GEORG TRENCHARD. RAUFE HORSEY.

Addressed: "To the right honorable our very good friend, Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Principall Secretary to her Majestie, give theis."

Endorsed: "Sir Georg Trenchard and Sir Ralfe Horsey. Last July, 1596."

APPENDIX
III.

1596.
July 31.

Sir G.
Trenchard
and Sir
R. Horsey
to Sir
R. Cecil.
From
Dorches-
ter.

Relating
to certain
documents
concerning
Guiana.

SIR GEORGE TRENCHARD AND SIR RALPH
HORSEY TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 72 (Hatfield). In the
hand of an Amanuensis. Signed.

APPENDIX
III.

1596.
Aug. 10.

Sir G.
Trenchard
and Sir
R. Horsey
to Sir
R. Cecil.

With
certain
charts and
documents
relating to
Guiana.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

ACCORDINGE to your direction, wee have sent, by the
ordinary poste, the Indyan Carde,¹ with two others not per-
fected, with a red booke and two other paper bookes. All
which wee founde in the howse of one SAMUELL MACYE and
WILLIAM DOWNE; one of which marriners wee judge will not
be longe behinde his carde and bookes, hopinge to obtayne
some favour at your Honours handes, to be employed in the
prosequition of the accion and for the obtayninge of the same
agayne. And so, with the remembrance of our dewtyes, doe
moste humblye take our leaves, wishinge your Honor longe
happynes. From Wolveton, the xth of Auguste, 1596.

Your Honours to commaunde,

GEORG TRENCHARD. RAUFE HORSEY.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable our very good friend, Sir ROBERT CECYLL,
Knight, Principal Secretary to Her Majestie, give theis.*

Endorsed :

*10 Aug. 1596. Sir George Trenchard; Sir Ralph Horsey; to
my Mastr.*

¹ Chart.

IV.—JOURNEY OF RALEGH AND COBHAM
TO OSTEND, IN JULY 1600.

HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, K.G. TO
SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C b iv. § 100 (Hatfield).
Holograph.

MAY IT PLEASE YOU, SIR,—This nyght, Sir WALTER RAWLEY, with the rest of your pour frinds, cam to Sandwich, coming hither all the way by watter. We had thought to have found my Lord of NORTHUMBERLAND at Margat, but at our coming thether we understod that Sir EDWARD HOBIE [h]ad invited his Lordship to Quinborow, so that hee cam not thether so soun as wee imagined.

At Margatt, by Sir HENRIE PALMER, wee understod that for certayntie the Stats had raysed thear seag befor Newport, and that thear armie was seated befor the fort called *Isabella*, by Ostend; and that all the shipping that was within the Haven of Newport was commaunded to goe presently thens, which gav the mor probabilitie that then the Stats armei was gon from befor Newport.

But sins our coming to Sandwich all this former rapport is contraried. And from¹ them that this day cam from thens hav assured us that the Stats armie is still befor Neuport. So that now, God willing, we hould our former determination, and mean to morrow morning,

¹ So in MS.; the form of the sentence being altered towards its conclusion.

APPENDIX
IV.
Raleigh's
Journey to
Ostend.

1600.
July 10.

Lord
Cobham
to Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Sandwich.

Arrival of
Sir W.
Raleigh
and other
friends of
Cecil at
Sandwich.
—News of
the war in
the Low
Countries.

APPENDIX
IV.
Raleigh's
journey to
Ostend.
—
1600.
July 10.

by 4 of the clock, to go aboard the Queens ship *The Adventure*, for Ostend.

Upon our arrivall thear you shall hear from us. We hope to keep our tym of retourn, which I promised unto her Majestie. But, in this occasion, I hope that the precise tym of our retourn will not be expected.

This¹ I thought good to acquaint you with our purpos; and not having other occasion to trouble you mor, I leve you to God's protection. From Sandwich, the 10 of July, 1600.

Your loving brother in lawe to commaund,

HENRY COBHAM.

Addressed:

To the right honorable Sir ROBERT CECYLL, Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary, and one of her Privy Consell.

¹ *Thus.*

V.—IMPRISONMENT OF THE LADY ARABELLA STUART, IN 1602-1603.

I.

ELIZABETH, DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY, TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. xci. § 105 (Hatfield).

[EXTRACT.]

ARBELL is nowe in minde, as she sayth, to make the parties name that she favoerth knowne to hir Majestie by any yt shall please hir Highnes to send hither, as maye appeare by hir owne letter to you here inclosed.¹

For that Sir HENRY BRONCKER hath ben employed before in these matters, hir humble suit is that he maye be sent agayne. He is a verie discrete gentleman. She sayth she would more willingly imparte hir minde to him that doth alredie understand some part of these matters, then to another.

I wishe she had ben better advised then to have entred into any of these courses, without hir Majesties good allowance and appoyntment. The Almightye for ever prosper hir sacred Majestie. And so, wishing, &c.

¹ The inclosure here spoken of does not now accompany Lady Shrewsbury's letter.

APPENDIX

V.
Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603.
Feb. 6.

Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to Sir R. Cecil.
From Hardwick.

Arabella's willingness to make disclosures, and her desire to see Sir H. Brouncker.

II.

THE LADY ARABELLA STUART TO SIR HENRY
BROUNCKER.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers* (§ ROYAL LETTERS), vol. cxxv.
ff. 130-142 (Hatfield).

[EXTRACTS.]

* * The portions here printed of this long and somewhat hysterical letter contain its full pith and substance. What is omitted is, for the most part, mere amplification of what is given.

APPENDIX
V.
Imprisonment of
Arabella
Stuart.

1602-1603.
March.

The Lady
Arabella
Stuart to
Sir Henry
Brouncker.
From
Hardwick.

Acknowledgments
of past
kindness.
—Protest
against the
Commission of
Inquiry
now entrusted to
him.—

SIR,

AS¹ you weare a private person I found all humanity and courtesy from you, and whilst I live will thanckfully acknowledge it, and with all humility and duty yeild Hir Majesty more due thanckes for first choosing and after, upon my humble suite, reemploying you, then for any or all the favours I have received from Hir Majesty since my birth to this day; and, if they weare all sett together, it farre exceedeth them all.

But your Commission was, as it seemed, so strangely streight that it was not possible Hir Majesties expectation should be better satisfied, which as I know it proceeded not of Hir Majesties gracious disposition, so was it not altogether long of me, but others, I dealt as I did. And you percceived somm² truthes which I confessed not; as you promised somm favours I found not. When it shall please Hir Majesty to afford me those ordinary

¹ Here used in the sense of 'when.'

² MS. 'soñ,' and so in other like cases.

rightes which other subjectes cannot be debarred of justly, I shall endeavour to receive them as thanckfully now, as if they had binne in due time offred ; though the best part of my time be past, whearin (my hart being not so seasoned with sorrow as it is) comfort should have binne wellcomm, and better bestowed because my hart was not then so overworne with just¹ unkindnesse. And Sorrow hath binne capable of joy, and thanckfully glad of evry small kindnesse or favour.

They are dead whom I loved. They have forsaken me in whom I trusted. I am dangerous to my guiltlesse frends—in all respects, if it weare not because they are my frends, as worthy Hir Highnesse' favourable countenance as they unjustly (to my disgrace, and their hurt) favoured enimies. So that I must conclude—as a privat person, I would trust you as soone as any gentelman I know, upon small acquaintance ; but whilest Hir Majesty referreth the managing of any matter to those 2 counsellors,² Hir Majesty shall be abused. For I am able to prove Hir Majesty is highly abused in this matter, and I dare say no more then I have ; and will rather loose my life then utter one word more then I have donne. Nay I will rather dishonour my selfe so much³ to deny what I have affirmed, then committ my cause to theyr partiall examination and relation.

You delivered me at your first comming a most gracious message, whearin I apparently⁴ discerned the long diswonted beames of Hir Majesties gracious inclination to me. I sincerely delivered the truth, and was rewarded with a most hard censure and frustration

¹ So in MS. ; but obviously, the writer here employs the word '*unkindness*' in the sense of '*resentment*.'

² *I. e.* Secretary Sir Robert Cecil and Vice-Chamberlain Sir Johr Stanhope.

³ The word '*as*' is here to be understood.

⁴ In the sense of '*obviously*.'

APPENDIX
V.
Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603.
March.

Complaints of the Queen's ill-usage of her, through the adverse influence of Sir R. Cecil and of Sir J. Stanhope. --Allusions to her love affairs and their impediments.

APPENDIX
V.
Imprison-
ment of
Arabella
Stuart.

1602-1603.
March.

of my most earnest and reasonable suites that I might attend on Hir Majesty, or be from my Grandmother at least. But my wooden yoake was made of iron, and I can beare it, as long as I thinck good to convince them that impose it of hardnesse of heart; and shake it off when I thinck good to take my Christian liberty, which either shall be apparently¹ denied me and the whole world made judge upon what cause or colour, or how justly given or taken, and by whom; or must be prevented by a reflux of Hir Majesties favour to me in greater measure then I have hitherto found:—which I do not doubt of, if it would please Hir Majesty to take that course which hir royall inclination would take to those of hir own blood, if it weare not, to my great astonishment, diverted from them to these 2 counsellers' kinred. They favour theyr kinred, against Hir Majesties. Hir Majesty defendeth not her innocent, unstained blood, against theyr mallice. Doth Hir Majesty favour the Lady CATHERINE'S husband² more then the Earl of ESSEX' frend?³ Are the STANHOPES and CECILLES able to hinder or diminish the good reputation of a STUART,—Hir Majesty being judge? Have I stained Hir Majesties blood to unworthy or doubtful marriage? Have I claimed my land these 11 yeares, though I had Hir Majesties promise I should have it? And hath my Lord of HARTFORD regarded Hir Majesties expresse commaundment, and threatened and felt indignation so much? Have I forborne so long to send to the King of Scots to expostulat his unkindnesse, and declare my minde to him in many matters;

¹ In the sense of '*obviously*' or '*openly*.'

² The Earl of Hertford, married to the Lady Katherine Grey, and grandfather of William Seymour, afterwards the husband of Arabella Stuart.

³ *I. e.* the writer herself.

and have no more thanckes for my labour? Doth it please Hir Majesty to commaund me by hir letter, in Mr. Secretarye's hand, to my Grandmother, to be soudainely examined for avoiding excuses? And will it not please hir, by a letter of hir owne hand, to commaund that which Hir Majesty cannot commaund, as my Souverin, but as my most honoured, loved, and trusted kinswoman? Shall I many weekes expect what I most earnestly begged and longed for; and must I reveale the secrettes of my heart, importing my soule, my life, all I hold deare in this world, in a shorter time then at your now first comming I told you I could; when it seemes Hir Majesty careth not for knowing anything concerning me, but to breake my just desires?

Shall Mr. HOLFORD¹ be sent for by commission, and I not have commission to send for whom I will, and I not protest I have hard mesure? Who can graunt out the Commission which can, even in good nature, good manners, or equity, require such a confession? Have I conceiled this matter thus long from frends, servants, kinsfolkes,—all the world,—to reveale it now?

JHON GOOD² was so extremely, cunningly, and partially handled, and I so injuriously intreated, that they who have either occasioned, executed, furthered, or suffred such rigour to light on me, and so long to continu, may thanck themselves if they have lost all the interest of voluntary obedience they had in me.

Do you thinck, I say, that I will reveale that to my servants or frends now, which shall be prejudiciall for

APPENDIX
V.
Imprison-
ment of
Arabella
Stuart.

1602-1603.
March.

¹ An officer in Lady Arabella's service.

² Good, also, was in the writer's service; and it would seem that the treatment here referred to occurred upon occasion of a former commission of inquiry into the circumstances of an alleged contract of marriage.

APPENDIX
V.
Imprison-
ment of
Arabella
Stuart.

1602-1603,
March.

them to be suspected to ghesse at,—much more to know,—much more to conceale? I can assure you all that are of my counsell are out of all possibility of danger, and out of your reach. Neither doth Hir Majesties commaundment prevail so farre, though her fame and intreaty be every where glorious and powerfull. And, for my selfe, I will rather spitt my tongue in my Examiner, or Torturer's, face, then it shall be said,—to the dishonour of Hir Majesties abused authority and bloud,—an extorted truth came out of my lippes.

It would have binne an eternall honour to Hir Majesty that she, whom neither the Privy Signet nor the Great Seale of England had availed in great matters and ordinary courses, durst trust the 2 first lines of hir Souveraine's hand, after such a retrograde course as hathe binne held against me these many yeares, with that infinitely deare adventure. If Hir Majesty have regarded my contentment, or most bitter teares of discontent, heartofore; I may hope Hir Highnesse may do so hereafter. And so Hir Highnesse hath, when a noble unintreated mediatour, who now holdeth his peace, hath delivered his opinion of my traicement. But I am growne a woman, and thearfore, by Hir Majesties own saying, am not allowed the liberty of graunting lawfull favors to princely sutors. How, then, dare subjects justify theyr most justifiable affection?

.

. Admitt I had binne in love, and would have declared his name; I assure you on my faith I would have delivered it you in writing, and, by my good will, have seene you no more after, till I had binne

out of feare of blushing,—which though I did not, as I thinck, while you weare heere, I should have done; or at least did, within few dayes after you weare gone. But there was somm cause, though very little. But it was true, and no suposition or false accusation, or authorised examination, which wrought that (with me) very unusuall effect; which I am lothe to be accused by, though it be a very fallible conjecture even with me, or I thinck any body; then by the false tonges of as many as list to conspire with my enimies in uttering, soothing,¹ and augmenting theyr authorised lies. And thearfore, what so ever an other would do, I know and assure you I would rather write then speake my minde in a love-matter, espetially of my ownc.

.

.

I have conquerd my affection. I have cast away my hopes. I have forsaken all comfort. I have submitted my body and fortune to more subjection then could be commaunded. I have disposed of my liberty. I have cutt off all meanes of your attaineing what you seeke, till you seeke it of me by such meanes as I tell you.

.

.

.

From Hardwick, this Ash Wensday.

Your pore frend,
ARBELLA STUART.

¹ 'To sooth' would here appear to be used in the sense of 'to confirm' or 'corroborate.'

APPENDIX
V.
Imprisonment of
Arabella
Stuart.
1602-1603.
March.

III.

THE LADY ARABELLA STUART TO THE DOWAGER
COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. § 143 (Hatfield).

[EXTRACT.]

APPENDIX
V.
Imprison-
ment of
Arabella
Stuart.1602-1603.
March?Lady Ara-
bella
Stuart
to the
Countess
of Shrews-
bury.Love
affairs.

AS I may compare the love of this worthy gentleman (which I have already unrevocably accepted and confirmed, and will never deny, nor cannot nor will repent, whatsoever befall) to gold which hath bine so often purified that I cannot find one fault to me,—jelousy onely excepted,—so I have dealt unkindly, shrowdly, proudly, with him.¹ And if any living have cause to thinck me proud or shrowd it is he, whom I have loved too well (even since I could love), to hide any thought, word, or deede of mine from him, unlesse it weare to aw him a little, when I thought his love converted into hate; for I did him the wrong to thinck so a great while.

¹ “. . . . Being demanded what this gentleman was, with whom she hath ‘dealt so unkyndly,’ . . . she answered that it was ‘*the Kinge of Scots*,—with whom, I appeale to Nelson, whether I have dealt privily or noe.’ . . .” (*Report of the Examination of the Lady Arbella*, 2nd March, 1602-3; *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. § 153. Hatfield.) The Nelson here “appealed to” was one of her servants. Well might the fair examinant write, a few days afterwards: “*I can overrule my tongue*, howsoever I am overruled otherwise.” (*Ibid.*) She had declared, *before* the examination, that nothing should be wrung from her which it was her wish to conceal. Sir Henry Brouncker, in his official report, says that her answers were such as to excite a suspicion—at least for the moment—that her mind was disordered. It would almost seem, from some of her own letters, that she desired, at this time, to excite such a suspicion. But obviously her most passionate desire was to escape from the guardianship of her grandmother.

IV.

SIR HENRY BROUNCKER TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcii. § 73 (Hatfield).

[EXTRACT.]

. . . . HOWBEIT, if there be no other remedye but I must here attende the heavy evente of future evils, God's will be don. I am resolved in life and death to love you, and will pray that God will rewarde your well deservinge of your friends and contry with unexpected happynes. For myself, I can hope for no contentment nor safty, nor know how to direct my course, unles it may please you to advertise me whether anythinge be resolved concerning a Successor; that so I may shewe my faythfulnes to the State, which through my ignorance of your Honor's judgement and proceedings may be broughte in question. And, besides, I know not whether (after Her Majesties decease) I may retayne the Lady ARBELLA, without a warrante under the Great Seale of Englande; whereof I desire to be resolved, least, affecting the reputation of faithfulness, I incurr the opinion of indiscretion, and cumme into daunger. . . .

APPENDIX
V.
Imprisonment of
Arabella
Stuart.

1603.
March 25.

Sir H.
Brouncker
to Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Hardwick.

His uncertainty as
to the
Council's
resolves
about the
Succession;
and as to
the con-
tinued im-
prisonment
of the
Lady Ara-
bella.

VI.—THE PLOTS AND COUNTERPLOTS OF
1602-1603.

I.

LORD HENRY HOWARD (AFTERWARDS EARL OF NORTH-
AMPTON) TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

[EXTRACTS.]

From the original Minutes or rough draft. MS. COTTON, Titus, C vi. ff. 386-392 (British Museum). Holograph. Without date, superscription, or address; and imperfect. Headed, in Sir ROBT. COTTON'S hand: '*Contra Rawlegh et Cobham.*'

[*The beginning is wanting.*]

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

.
. to crave for their owne pleasur, and to your
future prejudice.¹

¹ There is, somewhere, another MS. of portions of this letter, or letters, which I have been unable to find. It appears to have been used by the Editors of the Oxford edition of the *Works of Raleigh*, and is there quoted as one of the "*Burghley Papers.*" Lord Burghley died in 1598. This correspondence began in 1602. What is given of it in the collective *Works* (vol. viii. pp. 756-770) so abounds in errors of transcription, and in false readings, that a large proportion of the matter there printed is scarcely intelligible. In several instances, one half of a sentence is inaccurately printed, and the other half is omitted, without explanation or remark. What is here given, from the writer's autograph, is printed word for word, as in the original, wherever the Editor was able to read it. Illegible or doubtful words are specified in the foot-notes. The Oxford print affords no help towards completing the imperfect and obviously important sentence with which the autograph Minute in MS. Titus, C vi., begins. That Minute, it may be added, bears the look of a mere rough draft; but part of its confused state is probably due to the blunder of the bookbinder in collation.

The first thinge, therefor, that must be don is to pre-
par the Quene's mynd to accept mor willinglie, and mor
easilie beleve, the proposition wee afterward menntion,
or opportunitie shall caus to be delivered. Hir Majesty
must knowe the rage of their discontent for want of
being called to that height which they affect; and made
to taste the perrill that growes out of discontented
mynds, untamed by due reverence of loyaltie. She
must know that the blame is only laid on hir, in their
opinion, though danger make them seek to cover and
disguis the reste¹;—complayning to their frends of
ministers of State, and threatninge the better sort,—with
words of spleen and passion,—to requit their curtesie, if
occasion be offered.

This course, if there wear anie vertewe or valewe in
the men, I doo confess myght make a fearfull princess
more enclinabel to give them entranc,² for fear of work-
ing mischief in the State;—as the philosopher adviseth
wise howsholders: '*Dare pueris crepitacula, ne quid per-
fringant in domo.*' But the Queen doth so well under-
stand their levitie, indignitye, and slander, and³ interest
which theie hold in the world's conceit;—acordinge to
that exposition of the word *Thecel* by the prophet Daniel:
Appensus es in statera, et inventus minus habens; as ther
is no doute of hir relentinge. So that roundly hir Ma-
jestie must daily, and by divers meanes, be let to knowe
the worlde's apprehendinge hir deepe wisdom in discern-
inge the secret flaws of their affections. She must see
some advertisements from forrain parts of the greif which

¹ This word is doubtful.

² Meaning entrance into the Privy Council. Compare the passage in Cecil's Letter to Sir George Carew (written in June 1601), quoted in Vol. I. p. 262, with passages in R. Whyte's letters to Sir R. Sydney, of same date, printed by Arthur Collins, in the *Sydney Papers*.

³ So in MS.; '*the*' being omitted.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

Lord
Henry
Howard
to Sir R.
Cecil.

Sugges-
tions as to
the means
of injuring
Raleigh
and
Cobham
in the
Queen's
opinion.—
Impedi-
ments
to the
Queen's
service
arising out
of their
unpopu-
larity.—
Advice
that
Cobham
should be
employed
in some
negotia-
tion with
Spain.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

the Quene's enimes doo take at their sittinge¹ out; hoping that their placing in authoritye wold so farr aliene the peoples reverent affection, as some mischef wold succeed of it. She must be taught to see the perrill that growes unto princes by protectinge, countenancing, or entertaininge persons odious to multitudes, without necessity to warrant grace. For ther is no question but EMPSON and DUDLEY had a kinde of serviceable enclination to the present State, in the time of the King hir grandfather; and yet, at the cominge in of Henry the 8, no sacrifice besids their lives could be found proximately,¹ for the people's discontent,² though both LOUVEL and the Bishoppe of Durham, that wear councillors to the deceased, did all they coulde to quitt them of extremitye. Some pageants of theirs must be brought to light dailye, that maie move her spleene, and cheffie—if it be possible—some touch wherin theie seeke to make some benefit of the Quene by delusion or cousening. The Queene must know the weakenesse of theas governours in places which they have in charge, and howe much is often drawn from the service by the distast of their insolencye. For as her Majesty hath first,—as reason is in the eie of observatioun,—the funderanc of her owne ends, so must she be perswaded that those shrinke by weakenesse of the ministers that deale in them. She must be told what canons ar concluded in the Chapter of Durham, whear RAWLYE'S wife is presedent; and withall how weakely COBHAM is induced to comende the courses that ar secretelie inspired by the consente of that fellowshyppe. Evrie one havinge at his hart a mortall gripe of some particuler that vexeth him: NORTHUMBERLAND

¹ So in MS.

² Here the MS. repeats the words '*besids their lives*' of the line immediately above.

is mad that any man should be thought so fit for place of martiall employment as himself, havinge never before the last year's siege, beholden either place or service that might make him capable of any command in a less jeoparddaie; COBHAM dies to think that any man alive should be thought so fitt for any place that falles, vewinge both his owne person and his quality in glasses of false presumption. . . . RAWLIE, that in pride exceedeth all men alive, findes no vent for paradoxis, out of a councill bord; but, holdinge absolutelie lost to him what others gaine, inspireth COBHAM with his owne passions, that by such a trunk they may be carried to another ear; and cares not at what rate he purchase opportunitie to vex others, having no great hope of ascending to his owne altitude. His wife, as furious as PROSERPINA with failinge of that restitution in Court which flatterie had moved her to expecte, bendes her whole witts and industrie to the disturbance of all motions, by councill and encouragement, that may disturbe the possibilitie of others' hopes, sinc her owne cannot be securid. . . . It should be put into the Queene's head indirectlie howe unable men ar to advertis any point of moment, that ar hated in a State. For intelligenc is grownded uppon trust; and all men are very farr from trustinge persons neither valewed for worth, nor affected for curtesy. Thus much touchinge the discussion that must be used, in distastinge the Quenes judgement toward them, in such sort as I said befor, that she may be more apt to receave impressions of more importante reasons, when time serves with opportunitie.

Out of the division of provinces wherof we spake befor, it doth behove us to direct our industry that everie motion may be caried uppon his proper poles. . . . The waie that COBHAM hath elected to ingreate himself is

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
—
1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

fol. 387,
verso.

by the Peace with Spaine,—which hath so many difficulties as will rather confound his dizziness then reward his industry. But as my Lord of LESTER dealt with my brother¹—finding his humor apte to deale with Scotland, when he thrust him into treatie about thos affayrs, assuringe him self that either he should loos the Quene for the present, or the other Quene for the futur—so must you embark this gallant COBHAM by your witt and interest, in some cours the Spanish waie, as either may reveale his weakenesse or snare his ambition. If the Queen wear once constant to her first election, or unmovable by circumstance from those degrees wheron she pitcheth her direction *in primo motu*, ther wear littell good to be don. But sinc you maie be sure of the advantage first in hand with hir [?], and afterward, in treating that, if things² be beheld² to come forward, you maie turne the streame another waie; and if theie be not, breake the neck of the negotiation,—either by imputation of wants, or aggestion of error, or insinuation of inwardnesse, or ascription of infelicity. Be not unwilling both befor occasion of any further employment, to ingage him in the traffick with suspected ministers; and, uppon the first occasion of farther treatie, to make him the minister. For my own part, I account it impossible for him to scape the snares which wit may sett, and weakenesse is apt to fall into. The Quene did never yet love man that fayed in a project of importance put into his hand.

¹ Thomas, ninth Duke of Norfolk (fourth of the Howard dukes), who was attainted and beheaded in 1572.

² These two words are somewhat conjectural, being scarcely legible. They seem, however, to be the right reading.

We see that theas two gallants, having onc chosen to converse *inter ἀμφίβια*, deuide their provinces at this day, touching traffick of the State, with so great artifice, as, if the Peac goo forward, COBHAM prospers by his industri; if it doo not, RAWLIE by his opposition. In matter of intelligence COBHAM is commended as most secret; in matter of action RAWLIE blazed as most sufficient. COBHAM in discoursing hath holden a kind of privelege to vent his passions; RAWLY, to temporize. COBHAM must have the rough hand of ESAU, in exequation of rigor; RAWLIE, the softe voic of JACOB in courtlye hypocrisy. COBHAM must delight, seconde, inveigle, and possesse the Queen's opinion,— by improving dangers, casting figurs, and contrivinge invectives against the Scottish hopes, pretensions, and actions. RAWLY must insinuat his own affection, applaud their expectations, and concurr with them. COBHAM must in all things tender¹ the consirvation of the present State, to maintayn his owne tenur. RAWLIE must perswad anticipation, for prouf of knowne destini. COBHAM must exclayme against the small account and reckininge that is made of noblemen. RAWLIE must in all discoursis hold them to bee fooles, and therby insufficient for charge; or cowhards, and therefore uncapable of lieutenancye. COBHAM must relate, and gain the credit of the Queen's satisfaction; RAWLY must inspir and romanc; secur from justification. COBHAM must be the block almightie, that gives oracles; RAWLIE must [be] the cogginge spirit that still prompteth it.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1602.
[Probably, between March and June.]

fol. 390.

The patience of theis in being thus well pleased with a cupp of cold water, when their sowle doth thirst for *aqua*

fol. 390, verso.

¹ Apparently, this is the reading of the MS., but the word is doubtful.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
—
1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

vita of the highest kinde; their humble carriage, in so great oppression of hart; their dissimulation of supposed and pretended wrongs; their resolution to watch; their custome to praye; their satisfaction to fast;—in presence¹ [?] of that sufficiency to judge—of that agility to cumpare—of that temper to prayte—of that enclination to stirr—of that disposition to mutine—of that eagerness to revenge—maie move you to conclud that in their own judgments they conclud the ruin of their credit is uppon opposition to you, and the weaknesse of their advantages, upon contradiction of opposits. Wher-uppon, since it is certain that this lough in the wind is only for advantage for the ventinge of their passions; and this advantage cannot choos but growe by time, uppon occasions that ar either publick or privat; it wear good to gain the start,—which winns the garland in all prizes of this natur; and cutte down the thorne, befor the time come wherin it can make account to take hold of you. For to give them a blowe in the Queen's conceit—once possessid with suspicion and prejudice after their suggestions—must of necessity be found mor harde then nowe, when neither the Quene, for her privat humor, nor the State, for any publick use or employment, doth stande in any need of them.

Since, therfor, the maine foundatiouns of the futur buildinge in a diverse elemente is grounded upon Peace with Spaine, and combination with the North; out of theas two respects there may be waies invented to dissolve them, befor they ascend into those higher regions that should sende them backe, like meteors, with combustion of crudites.

That out of Scotland littell good is to be don, we

¹ This word is doubtful. In the MS. it is abbreviated, and looks like '*prsn*,' or '*phsn*,' of which it is hard to make any sense.

gather by their daintiness to write ; by the littell good they gotte, or their sollicitor, at the last embazy ; by their diffidence in that untrustie nation ; by their uncertainty of the Kinge's acceptance ; and in respect of the danger that may yet growe to them, in the case they should not accept—like the witches of Seville in Spain, which, having all renounced their beleafe, yet wear not all possessed of the power of illusion—by causing their knight first to sownde the passage, befor they put in their foot ; by giltiness of their own opposition to persons, that in favor have the start ; by danger of discoverie,—consideringe the Secretarie¹ doth not favor it. Without their adventur, we can derive no grownd of operation. Of their adventuringe, against so many palissados of pike, there is no probabilitie in such craftie fellows. Therefor the life of operation, in this degree, may be reputed desperat.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

I have hard it noted in my Lord of SUSSEX that when my Lord of LESTER had no other way to take advantage of his oversights, but by stopping the springs of bowntie (sinc he lived farr above his rate), it stirred him so forcibly, out of unkindness, emulation, necessitie, and disdayne ; as in a passion he grewe,—twice or thrice in my time,—to speake thos words to the Quene which lost him absolutelie that advantage which temperance, attendance, and respect to take his best advantage in dewe time, might have staded him much, to the knapping in sunder of thos spider-webbes that wear only spun for rash adventurers that wear not masters of their owne abilitye. It did my Lord of LESTER no great good, as I conceav,—that

fol. 392.

¹ So in MS., meaning either Cecil himself, or else the Scottish Secretary of State.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
[Probably,
between
March and
June.]

furie thrust out, through passion uppon a sodain thwart, [more?]¹] then repentance afterward could coole : for men growe more wise ; yet Princes growe not less sensitive.

It is trewe that theas wear greater men of worth and vallew, but not in opinion and pride. And therfor by howe much this man [RALEGH] wanteth better helpes by nature, art, or industry, to countenanc a pride above the greatest Lucifer that hath lived in our age, by so much shall he sooner runne himself on ground in rage, and make the Queen more sensitive in scorninge so great sawciness in so great infirmity. Besids the sparks and flabs of fier that will break out of conflict, assur yourself it will enflame him with some violent desir uppon the sodain to shuffle the Stoik ; and findinge that his rest is set uppon so slender cards, looke all the waies and wrinches that he can, for a better gain ; which will bring him into that snare which he wold shunn otherwise.

If it wear possible to drawe '30' [King JAMES the Sixth] to consent that advantage might be taken of their traffick with his ministers,—or by interception of meanes and instruments that concurr *in termino*, by making his own satisfaction their rendezvous,—it wear not possible to make shorter nor surer work, then by this overtur. But as they will not write, without some stronge motive of confidenc ; and after such a warrant is awarded by the King he will not willingly permitt the cancellinge or defacer of his owne workemanshype, therfor no good is to be brought to pass in that circumferenc. Besids, it maie be that the King will be afraid that such a scandale maie discourage others for embarkinge, out of fear that ther is intelligence between the scowts and the enemy.

¹ This, or some other like word, is wanting in MS. to complete the sentence.

II.

THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH TO HENRY BROOKE,
LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcvi. § 53 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MONSIEUR,

L'AFFECTION et zèle que je porte au bien publicq m'ha donné courage de vous escrire la presente, pour entendre si vous demeurez encores près de vous si constant qu'il n'y peult avoir aultre conference, sans que nous envoions pour trauter chez vous.

Je vous supplie, Monsieur, me voulloir tant obliger de me faire entendre librement sur cela vôtre opinion; ne faisant doubte d'une bonne responce bien agréable: vous assurant que je m'emploieray tant affectueusement pardeià en ce faict, comme je voy que la calamité en quoy le pais et generallement tout la Chrestienté est, le requiert;—m'assurant reciproquement de votre bonne affection à ce bon œuvre tant publicq; et avecque cest assurance je demeureray,

Monsieur,

Votre bien humble et très affectioné
serviteur,

CHARLES D'ARENBERGH.

De Bruxelles, le 22^{me} de gbre, 1602.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Long temps y a que j'attende avecq devotion la pourtraiture par moy tant désiré, lequel, je

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
Nov. 22.

Count
Arenbergh
to Lord
Cobham.
From
Brussels.

Desire for
a renewed
conference.
—Import-
ance of a
Peace.—
His wish
to receive
a promised
portrait.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1602.
Nov. 22.

vous promets, sera si bien venu comme l'affection de
l'avoir me presse.

Addressed :

*A Monsieur, Monsieur COBHAM, Chevalier de l'Ordre Gartiere, Gentil-
homme de la Chambre de la Serenissime Reyne d'Angleterre, et
Gouverneur des Cincq Ports.*

Endorsed : "22 November, 1602. Count of Arenbergh to my Lord Cobham.
From Brussels."

III.

HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, K.G. TO SECRE-
TARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. c. § 33 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

1603.
May 23

Lord
Cobham
to Sir R.
Cecil.
From
Black
Friars.

Corre-
spondence
with the
Count of
Arenbergh

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS berer, sonn to MARTIN DE LA FALIE,¹ brought
me this letter of recommendation from the Count of
ARENBERG, whow it seams had a desir to com and see
his Majestie and our new world. The partie, as I under-
stand, hath both kindred hear,² and divers honest mer-
chants that be of acquaintens. I hear but honestly and
well of him. His abod with him will not be many days,
but ³ hath a intension to retourn.

ARENBERG doth imagin my credit to be as formerly
it was. Otherwis, he wold recommend his frinds to
others then to my sealf, who far may better stead them.
I hold it my part to acquaint you herwith. And so I
committ your Lordship to God's protection.

From my hous in the Black Friars, the 23 of May,
1603.

Your Lordship's humbly to commaund,

HENRY COBHAM.

¹ Faillie.

² *here.*

³ Original letter thus omits "he."

[POSTSCRIPT.]—May it pleas your Lordship, I wold be loth in any kind to be offensive to your Lordship, but wold willingly, if it pleas you, wayght upon you at your next coming to your hous, which if I may know, and that you will send for me, I shall tak it as a great favour.

Addressed :

To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord CISELL, his Majesties Principall Secretarie.

Endorsed :

23 May, 1603. Lord Cobham to my Lord.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
May 23.

IV.

HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, TO SECRETARY
LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. c. § 36 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR LORDSHIP,

I PROTEST befor God I cam away from you yeasterday, as well satisfised ; and your undertaking for me to his Majestie that I may traveyl presently [? I take] mor kindly then I can express. And I protest unto you that conceatt of unkindnes on my part is clean wiped away. For I take this favour from you as an argument of your respect towards me.

In my perticular, now, I will desir to be behoulding unto your Lordship. Your Lordship may pleas to remember that I have a licens of cloths.¹ For me now to stand upon it, I know I should not prevayll ; and therfor

¹ *I. e.* a licence for the exportation of woollens at reduced rates of duty ; such as had frequently been granted to Leicester, to Burghley, to Hatton, and to Raleigh.

1603.
May 24.

Lord
Cobham
to Lord
Cecil.

Thanks for
the promo-
tion of
his suit for
leave to go
abroad.—
Patent for
Exporta-
tion of
Woollens.

APPENDIX
VI
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
May 24.

will not undertake impossibilities. But in this kind I may receive favour, and sum profit,—by your favourable letter unto STONE, the mercer, who is Maister of the Company of the Clothworkers. Hee may deall with them to compound with me for my Patent. Sum two or 3 words unto him—that you will thanck him, if this he will undertake for me—and this wilbe effected; and you a means to bring sum £400 to my purs, which wer better gotten then lost. If this you will do, I humbly pray that your letter may be sent me by this berer, and if it wer written with your own hand it wold be to my most advantage. Excuse, I humbly pray your Lordship, my bouldnes; and so I humbly take my leav. From my hous in the Black Friers, the 24 of May, 1603.

Your Lordship's humbly to commaund,

HENRY COBHAM.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord CISELL, his
Majesties Principall Secretarie.*

Endorsed :

24 May, 1603. Lord Cobham to my Lord.

V.

GEORGE BROOKE TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL.¹

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 85 (Hatfield).

[EXTRACT.]²

1603.
July 22.
George
Brooke to
Lord Cecil.

SIR,

I PERCEAVE that I am fallen quicke into Hell; nether can I finde any other comfote in it but this,—

¹ On the back of this letter Lord Cecil has written: "Raleigh's book, Cecill House."

² The omission is indicated by dots. It is quite immaterial to the subject of this book.

that I hope I shalbe excused from it in the world to come. The sensible and daily declininge of my health, I know not whether I may take joy in or no; the value of alle such things dependinge upon variable circumstance. You know that I am not precious unto my self; but what my care is, I have ingenuously imparted unto you, and confidently thrown myself upon your Honor. I remember what I have received from you, and doubt not of it; yeat do I hold my self bound to sollicite in a matter of this importance, and still to entreat that you will not be weary to move the Kinge for grace, and that he will not exempt us only out of this great and universal jubilee.

.
.
.

I would not appeare other unto you, but such as you might have joy of me when you had restored me.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—If you come to this place, let me entreat to speak privately with yourself.

VI.

HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. Cecil Papers, vol. ci. § 87 (Hatfield). Holograph.

YOUR Lordship did ons or twis ask me tochinghe my purpos for the Ladie ARBELLA. It is a hard taske for me to remember every conceat that past in my humour of discontentment; and, when all is known that can

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1603. July 22.

Complaints of misery.—Entreaties for the continuance of Cecil's favour.

1603. July 23.

Lord Cobham to Lord Cecil.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
July 23.

Cobham's
intercourse
with, and
project
concerning,
Arabella
Stuart.—
Lapse of
time since
the project
was con-
ceived and
aban-
doned.

be, it wilbe found far idell, and no such ground of foundation on my part as I fear me both by other's confessions and your Lordship's apprehensions is conceived. For, if I hav erred, it was soon salved: for God is my wittnes, when I sawe her, I resolved never to hazard my estat for her. And lett the tyme be compared when this conceat cam into me, and how lounge it was sins I ever spak, or thought, of it: Your Lordship shall perceive it soon died, and never had a reviving sins.

God mayk yow apprehensive of the afflixion I am in, and dispos your hart to yeald me comfort, if it be His will. And so I humbly tak my leav. From the Tour of London, the 23 of July, 1603.

Youre poore distresed and comfortles brother in law,

HENRY COBHAM.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord CISELL, His
Majesties Principall Secretarie.*

VII.

SIR WILLIAM WAAD TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL
OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 111 (Hatfield). In the hand
of an Amanuensis? Signed.

1603.
Aug. 12.
Sir W.
Waad to
Lord Cecil.

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HONORABLE LORDSHIP,

I HAVE examyned again WALTER PENYCOCKE upon those interrogatoryes I received, and fynd he before had awnswered the cheefest part of the artycles concerning the letters he carryed in the cape of his

cloke,—and not in his doublet,—which were from the Lord COBHAM to the Cownt of AREMBERGE, as in a former Confession your Lordship may fynd. The other letter was from 'RIOTELLI' [¹] unto MARTIN DE LA FAYLLA.

For the fyrst artycle, how he was set at lyberty at Plimmouthe, he affyrmethe it was by the Maior, in regard he had no meanes to pay for his dyet.

For his sendinge in post to Brussells, it was not upon his return from Plimmowth, as he saythe. But he confesseth he was once sent from the Fyscall with letters to Brussels. But what those letters did concern he knowes not, and never was ther, as he saythe, but that one tyme.

He further saythe he receaved but one hundreth florins for sea victuals, and no more. He also saythe he brought no letters hether in Aprill; but came over for the ransom of SAUNDERS JHONSON. But in June he brought letters to LA FAYLA.²

He knoweth not the other post that came with him, other then that he is post for the Admiraltye at Dunkirke and Brussels. And thus, having set downe his awnsweres, I do make ready those observations I can collect owt of the Examinations of GEORGE BROOK and WATSON, and will gyve my attendance on the Lords to morrow, as your Lordship doth dyrect me.

Yf your Lordship will be pleased to let me have the first Relations WATSON brought with him, ther maybe somthinge picked out of them.

I heer do humbly acknowledge your Lordship's honorable favors, and offer the uttermost indevors of a trew

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 12.

Examination of one Penycuik, a Scottish messenger between Lord Cobham and the Count of Arenbergh.

¹ This name is not, to the Editor, legible. It looks like 'riotelli,' but the reading is merely conjectural.

² See Lord Cobham's Letter of May 23.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 12.

and sincere affection, with which I wilbe allwayes at the
commandment of your honorable Lordship,

W. WAAD.

12 August, 1603.

Addressed :

*To the ryght honorable my especyall good Lord, the Lord CECILL,
Principall Secretarye to His Majesty.*

Endorsed :

1603. August 12. *Sir WILLIAM WAAD to my Lord.*

VIII.

THE DECLARATION AND CONFESSION OF THOMAS MARKHAM.

AUGUST 14, 1603.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 114 (Hatfield).

1603.
Aug. 14.
Confession
of Thomas
Markham.
—The plot
of Griffin
Markham
and others
for sur-
prising the
Court, and
the Tower
of London.

MY brother¹ answering for himself, hathe nowe given
me free liberty to confess the trueth; before the which
my case was thus desperate that I was dyrectly bound
either to conceal the accion or els dyrectly to forswear
my self; and besids indainger the betraying of my owne
brother.

All that ever my brother acquainted me withall, there-
fore, I do here now confesse. At the first, he swore me
to the Oath,—the which, as farr as I remember, con-
sisted onely upon theis three points: the first was for
the advancement of the Catholique Church; the second,
for the safe preservacion of the prince; and the last, to
keepe the accion secrett. He moreover tolde me that he

¹ Sir Griffin Markham.

well hoped they should procure a thousand; and, if not so manie, he made but litle doubt of five hundred; the which he thought would serve the turne.

I did moreover understand by him that my Lord GRAY and Mr. BROOKE were actors.

The Plott was to enter the Court, and the Tower, bothe at an instant; and was to be performed on Midsomer day. To the which purpose he brought both my brother¹ and my self up,—whoe tooke the oath with me. To this was I brought into (as I beseeche you consider) by a brother whome I did much respect. For the which I protest I am infinitely sorry, and do humbly submit my self unto the King's Majesty's mercy and your Lordships'.

THO. MARKHAM.

The 14th of August, 1603.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—This was forgotten: Howe they detirmined to have surprized the King's person, and as manie of the Counsell as the² could, and to have put them all into the Tower.

THO. MARKHAM.

Exnd per W. WAAD.

¹ Charles Markham, whose examination is contained in the same volume of the Hatfield MSS. (ci. § 118). The interview between the three brothers, referred to in this statement, seems to have taken place on or about the 12th of June.

² *they.*

APPENDIX
VL
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 14.

IX.

"CERTEN QUEERIES MINISTRED UNTO
WILLIAM WATSON."¹From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. (Hatfield).APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.1603.
July? or
August?Interroga-
tories for
William
Watson.

1. TO set down the time when it was first propounded to undertake any accion.

2. From whome came the mocion?

3. What was resolved to be don, and whoe were acquainted with the true intencion of their purpose? Or how manie thinges were resolved of as heads:—as the Surprizing of the Kinge; the takeing of the Tower; the takeing of the Counsell,—removing some;—calling others in question;—apointing new officers;—creations with new dignities; . . .² Parliament; the Maior, Alldermen, and Cheife Officers to be imprisoned; Ostages to be taken; Pencions to be bestowed from Spaine; Setting up the Catholicque Religion?

4. How manie meetings had they, and which of them were together at those Conferencies; what was handled? and to set downe the times and places.

5. To set downe the time which³ the Accion should have bin attempted.¹ In the margin of these Questions is a list of names, bearing the heading "Divers Preists," and reading thus:—Darques. Owen. Harding. W. Gage. Fitzgerald. Harell Swyft. W. Vaughan. Geo. Herbert. Ashe[y?]. The last-written name is now scarcely legible.² What here follows is illegible; probably by an erasure.³ So in MS.; the word 'at' being probably omitted.

6. The places to be named where the Kinge should have bin surprized, and the manner.

7. The cheife Conductors; what charge every man should have had.

8. To set downe how manie of those named by WATSON (that should have joynd with them) had bin delt withall by himselfe, and whoe, by others; And how manie men were acquainted with the Plott; How manie tooke the Oathe, and howe farr every man was ingaged.

9. To set downe every mans opinion for the surprizing of the Tower;—how it should have bin don?

10. Whoe were the persons that were sent into the country to raise men?

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.
1603.
July? or August?

X.

AN ABSTRACT BY SIR WILLIAM WAAD, FOR THE USE OF SECRETARY LORD CECIL, OF "*A LARGE DECLARATION OF WILLIAM WATSON, OF THE 18th OF AUGUST, 1603.*"

From the Original. *Cecil Papers* (Hatfield). In the handwriting of Sir Wm. WAAD.

I REMEMBER out of Mr. BENSON'S *Relation* there was mention made of my speeche unto him for rescuing of the Kinge upon Midsomer day at night, or about that time. At which time I tould him ther was, as I under-

1603.
Aug. 18.
Waad's Abstract of the "Declaration of William Watson."

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 18.

stood, a practise in hand by my Lord GRAY and the Puritains against His Majestie. This *Relation* brings one thinge to my minde which I had forgotten, to witt, how that I still altered my motives to urge men on to be in a readines for His Majesties defence and furthering of the Catholike cause, according to the diversities of chaunges in mens opinions. Daungers increasing dayly to His Majesties person, I mooved it as one¹ upon a speeche of Mr. BROAKE'S unto me about that same time (and it was before my Lord GRAY had entered in with us); to witt, Mr. BROAKE and I talked together of the daungers His Majestie was in,—yea, and the whole Realme,—and how he had heard of a most daungereous plott intended for a generall confussion and distruction of all, which was to begine by coming by coming² in thorroughe Scotlande at first;—but whether the Span[iards] or the Frenche, or bothe, I know not. Onely this I remember, he told me of the Count of AREMBERGE some things that in both our conceipts did seeme to make it manifest that the great masse of monie reported to be in the Jesuits' disposing was moste of it from the said Count, as impossible for all the Catholikes in Englande to raise so mucche of themselves. And withall wee had some speeche then also of his brother my Lord COBHAM and Sir WALTER RAWLEY —how they two stood for the Spanishe faction; at what time something (as I take it) was spoken concerning Sir WALTER'S surprizing of the King's Fleete, as Mr. COPLY hath noted; and what it was I cannot possibly call to mynde.

But, for my Lord GRAY, thus it was, as farr as I can remember touching that pointe: Mr. BROOKE being with his brother my Lord COBHAM, whoe tould him then (as

¹ So in MS.

² So repeated in original MS.

I take it) that one MILES GERRARD (whoe is wholly Jesuited, and dweles at Trent in Somersetshire) whispered him in the eare,¹ bid him be of good comferte, for his Lordship should see the Catholikes very shortly ease bothe his Lordship and others, and send redresse, &c. About which time (as I take it), my Lord GRAY and Sir WALTER RAWLEY were there, at the Black Fryers, and shewed, every one of them, great discontent, but especyally the two Lords; my Lord COBHAM discovering his revenge to no lesse then the depriving of his Majestie and all his royall issue both of crowne, kingdome, liff, and all, at once.² And my Lord GRAY (to use Mr. BROOKE'S owne words unto me) uttering nothing but treason at every worde, and soe forward to doe something for revenge, as he seemed even desperate in a sort.

Hereupon, all theis circumstances concurring together, I used that of my Lord GRAYES intent and others, to hasten on Mr. BENSON, and others, as occacion was offered; and withall, upon a motion of Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM for weapons, I wished Mr. BENSON to send to his sonne to bring up his armor brought out of Ireland to be solde. But Sir GRIFFIN tould me, afterwards, there would neede no armes, save only caliveres to breake open locks withall, if neede were. And afterwards, when Mr. BROOKE and Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM had drawne my Lord GRAY to them, yet did

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
1603.
Aug. 18.

¹ The word 'and' would seem here to have been omitted by the scribe.

² The whole of this and the preceding paragraph, from the words "*and withall wee had some specche,*" consists, it is obvious, of an amplification—at third hand—of the statements of George Brooke; statements, too, the most material of which were earnestly retracted by Brooke, when at the point of death. As regards Watson, they were hearsays. To those who now read them, they are an 'abstract' of Watson's hearsays, drawn up by Sir William Waad.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 18.

I still, to some, use the same perswacion as before to be reddey to defend the Kinge, against the Lord GRAY and the Puritanes faction; partly to make Catholikes more reddey to joyne in the Kings behalf, but moste especyally indeede for that I still doubted of my Lord GRAY, what his intent might be (even when he was joyned to ours), as well against the King's person as also against Catholikes in gennerall, if he and his had prevayled. And therefore was I carefull to learne oute by Mr. BROOKE what companie my Lord GRAY was able to bringe with him, and withall that he might not prevent us nor over rull all, but,—if it came to accion,—that either Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM or Master COPLEY might have the garde of the Kinges person; and that accion in hand for surprizing of his Majestie and my Lord¹ to be sett to my Lord of SOUTHAMPTON, and those whome it was thought he had an earnest desire to be revenged upon; and so his Majestie to have bin secured from him or anie other of his ennemyes.

* * *This Declaration is not signed by WATSON. It bears the following subscription, in the hand of Sir WILLIAM WAAD:—*

“Taken out of a lardge Declaration of WILLIAM WATSON, of the
18th of August, 1603.

“ W. WAAD.”

¹ Apparently, meaning Lord Cecil.

XI.

SECRETARY LORD CECIL (BY COMMAND OF KING
JAMES I.) TO THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH.

AUGUST 18, 1603.

From the original draft. In the hand of an Amanuensis, with corrections
in Lord CECIL's hand. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. ff. 121, 122 (Hatfield).

HIS Majesty finding by a late letter of yours written to him that you doe interprett a former answeare of his to you to import a promise for the absolute restrayninge of all his subjects for goinge to serve the States of the United Provinces, hath commanded me to lett you understand that he cannot remember any cause given you to make such an inference. For thereby he should have promised to restrain his subjects of the common and accustomed liberty which is used by all nations¹ to take the courses which are indifferently open unto such persons as have not certain means to make their advantage,² but by such accidents; which, as before he could never deny his subjects (as other Princes also have not done in the like cases), so, of all times, now he could not so abruptly have proceeded, without apparent shew to abandon all respect unto the States;³ between whom and his Crown of England divers contracts stood undissolved. For it cannot be imputed to have in it any meaning of partiality, considering that the same liberty is left unto the Archdukes to be furnished with any

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 18.

Letter of
Cecil to
Arenbergh;
showing
the rela-
tions sub-
sisting
between
the King's
govern-
ment and
that am-
bassador
after the
examina-
tion of
Raleigh
and
Cobham.

¹ Here the word '*Princes*' has been supplied and then struck out, and '*nations*' restored by Cecil in his own hand.

² In the sense of '*livelihood*' or the like.

³ This clause is an insertion in Cecil's hand.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 18.

number of His Majesty's subjects, if they will proceed by the same courses and means to draw Voluntaries to their service.

Secondly, His Majesty having, as before was answered you, sent unto the States purposely to represent his resolution to hold peace with the Archdukes upon honorable terms; howsoever they should resolve to join in treating or no with him, it were hard for him to take so direct negative courses with them, before he have heard how they stood affected to rely upon his counsels.¹

And, therefore, in this matter he conceiveth that the Count of AREMBERGE now will easily reconcile any his mistaking of His Majesty's words, or any doubts of His Majesty's sincerity, which shall never be easily violated in any his Majesty's actions towards the meanest;—much less towards such Princes, of whose amity he maketh such estimation.

XII.

SECRETARY LORD CECIL TO SIR G. HARVEY,
LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.

From the original Minute. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 125 (Hatfield).

1603.
Aug. 20.

. . . . FOR any of their letters, I am not desirous of them because I cannot procure their requests, which I have no more power to effect then others; neyther have

¹ The following addition has been first written and then cancelled:—

“He hath only kept himself thus retentive as neither to yield letter, commission, perswasion, or money, towards it; but left them barely to their own industry and charges.”

The closing paragraph is in Lord Cecil's hand.

I less will to help them then any other, though I mislike their fawlt. In it, therefore, Sir, I leave it to you, neyther to grant to¹ facilly nor deny to¹ severly. For it is no troble to me to heare, seing they are so wise as they will be satisfied with mine honest and just answers.

To my Lord GREY I pray you, Sir, retourne this answer: that in any thing wherein his case may be freended by me, without my prejudice in duty or mislike in my Soverain,—I say it constantly and never will be found untreu,—that I will do as much for him as I wold ever have don for him in such a time when I held him dearest; protesting that, as I cannot accuse my self for any thought or desire to suppress, nay to hinder him when he thoght me coldest or worst affected (thogh it is treu that I had suspended my indeavour to labour for him—first, because I had somewhat els to do for others; next, because I saw him suspicious of me, which I bare with because his estate might make him impatient), so all those conceipts or misunderstandings are as clerly buried as if they had not ben. This I write, not as needing or using to disguise, but even for trewth's sake. To which I only add this (and thereof I pray you require his Lordship to make good observation), that notwithstanding this my profession, such is his fortune as he cannot make to many freends; which, if I thoght he wold neglect one jott the rather because I have now sayd clerly that I am his freend (duty reserved), I protest that I wold say to him that I were his enemy; and so plainly, Sir, let him see mine owne words, that he may the better know my sense. For anything he will send me, in writing, of his case, lett him know I will receive nothing which I will not shew, at any time, to all my Lords Commissioners; and therefore let him be

¹ *too.*

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 20.

Lord Cecil
to Sir G.
Harvey.

Letters of
supplica-
tion from
the Pri-
soners in
the Tower.
—Message
to Lord
Grey.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Aug. 20.

resolved that my friendship must in such things have the precisest limitts.

For any other privat letter of request, if you signe it, I will at any time receive it. For his reader, I wish he had him, and will move my Lords. But if he come in, he must not out againe.

Your loving and assured friend,

RO. CECYLL

XIII.

SIR EDWARD COKE'S "ABSTRACT OF THE TREASONS."

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence: 1603 (Rolls House)*.
Holograph.

1603.
August?
Coke's
"Abstract
of the
Treasons."

OUT of the Examinations and proofes it appeareth there were 3 severall treasons, which, for distinction sake, I ame inforced to name by severall names.

Persons.	I. THE SPAN- NISHE TREASON;	}	Lord COBHAM. Lord GREYE. Sir WALTER RALEIGHE. GEORGE BROOKE. Sir GRIFFITH MARCAM. Countie ARR[EMBERGH].
wherein the actors already discovered were			

The Spanishe
Treason. By intelligence and meanes of ARREMBERGH to gett and obteyne 5 or 6 hundred thousand crouns from Spaine, and 3 or 4 hundred thousand pounds from France. The Lord COBHAM to goe to the ARCHDUKE to acquaint him with his purposes; from thence to Spayne; to retorne by the Isle of Jersey. ther to mete and conferre with Sir WALTER RALEGH.

and with the money to levie forces of discontented persons to take away 'the KINGE and all his cubbes;' and to bring in a Spanish army to land at Milford Haven.

The manner of the intelligence and conspiracye. Lord COBHAM only with ARREMBERGH. RAWLEY only with Lord COBHAM. COBHAM with Lord GREY, GEORGE BROOKE, and RALEIGHE; but severally. BROOKE with COBHAM. Lord GREY and MARCAM, severally.

Place. The places where these treasons were plotted: { At my Lord COBHAM'S house in London; at ARREMBERGH'S lodginge in London.

Tyme. The tyme: Within 5 dayes after ARREMBERGH'S coming to London.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1603. August?

2. THE PRIESTS' TREASON.

To assemble force and strengthe, and on Midsommer-day last, in the night, to come to the Parke pale at Grenewich, to enter in by the gardein with a key, that should be borowed; and when the numbers were come in, there should be a watche set at the dores of principall persons, and at the passages; and then to goe up to the KING'S lodging. And when they cam to the KING, they should surprise his person, and cary him to the Tower, and they would move him for 3 things:— 1, for there pardon; 2, for tolleration of relligion; 3, for assuraunce thereof, to preferre Catholiques to places of credit, as WATZON the priest to be Lord Keper; GREY, Erle Marshall; GEORGE BROOKE, Lord Treasurer; and MARCAM, Secretary. They concluded to cutt of many of the Privy Council, and to have made a Proclamation, purporting howe the KING had bene misled, and to have

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
1603.
August?

had many things reformed. They determined to have possessed the principall ports of the realme, and to have kept the KING in the Towre a quarter of a yeare. For secrecy an othe was prescribed. When this treason by God's providence was defeated, they resolved to have surprised his person at Hamworth, by rushinge in by tymes in the morning; and so many of the Scotts as eschaped the fury, they meant to have sent them into Scotland, for that will make the accion honorable.

The Confede- Confederates. rates in this treason :	}	Lord GREY. WILLIAM WATZON, priest. FRAUNCES CLARKE, priest. GEORGE BROOKE. Sir GRIFFIN MARCAM. ANTHONY COPLEY.
----------------------------------------------------------	---	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

The Lord COBHAM knew of it after it was dissolved.

Manner of their
conference: The Lord GREY, BROOKE and MARCAM,
twice; WATZON, BROOKE and MARCAM,
twice; but many tymes severally. COPLY
with MARCAM; GEORGE BROOKE, WATZON, &c.

Place: In Channon Row; in the Lady BAROWE'S
house at St. James; in the Stronde.

Tyme: About the 8 of June.

3. THE LORD GREYE'S TREASON.

The Lord GREY expecting a regiment of such souldiers as should be sent into the Lowe Countries, the Lord GREY, with a hundred gentlemen of quality, should have come to the KINGE, and (under colour of preferring a petition to informe the KING of such inconveniences as were likely to growe to his Majestie and the State) to have executed the former treasons; which motion GEORGE BROOKE commended. Lord GREY required

it to be kept secret ; for though, saith he, the busines be honest, yet if it com to light, both the end must dye, and they about the KING would make of every mote a beame. Lord GREY held MARCAM a valiant gentleman, yet would not conferre with him ; but sett BROOKE to impart it to him ; with this, that MARCAM to his,—viz. the Papists,—should not disclose him, nor I (saith Lord GREY) will once name him to myne.

Confederats : { Lord GREY,
GEORGE BROOKE,
MARCAM.

Tyme : 25 Junij.

Place : At BROOK's lodging in Channon Rowe.

Profes. : { GEORG BROOKE ;
MARCAM, *ex relat.* BROOK ;
Lord GREY'S Confession.

Endorsed : " *An Abstract of the Treasons.*—CLARKE. MARCAM. LORD GREY. COPLEY. GAGE. GAGE."¹

XIV.

SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON AND
OTHER LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR BEN-
JAMIN TICHBORNE, KNIGHT, HIGH SHERIFF OF
HAMPSHIRE.

From the original Minute. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 48 (Hatfield).
Holograph.

WE have shewed the King's Majesty your letters, and he hath read that of Sir W. RALEGH'S without superscription, evry woord. He shall heare answer, by SHEL-

¹ This name is so repeated in MS. The five persons here named had all made "confessions."

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
August ?

1603.
Dec. 4.

lutely denyeth ; saieng that he wold not sweare, for all the world, that my Lord COBHAM ever uttered them. Somwhat was spoken to lyk sence, as he doubtfully alledgeth.

Yff ther remaine any doubte wherin he may further satisfy the King, or your Lordships, he professeth his readinesse fully to accomplishe. Thus much I am bould to signifye to your Lordships, folowinge the oppportunity of my Lord of WINCHESTER his sendinge to the Courte. And so, with remembrance of all dewty to your Lordships, I take my leave. From the Castle at Winchester, December 4th [1603].

Your Lordships' in all dewtyc,
ANTHO. CICESTREN.

Addressed :

For the King's Service. To the right honorabele the Earle of SUFFOLKE, the Earle of DEVONSHYRE, the Lord HENRY HOWARDE, the Lord CECILL, Lords of his Majesties most honourable Pryvie Councell. Hast. Hast.

Endorsed :

December 4. Lord Bishop of Wynchester to the Lords. From Wynchester.

XVI.

ANTHONY WATSON, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, THE LORD HENRY HOWARD, AND THE LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 55 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

ON Sunday, before eaveninge prayer, I made the last motion to Mr. BROOKE, concerninge wordes uttered

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1603.
Dec. 4

George Brooke's retractation (on receiving the Holy Communion) of his charge against Cobham for saying, "We will kill the fox and his cubs."

1603.
Dec. 6.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Dec. 6.

The
Bishop of
Chichester
to the
Lords
Commis-
sioners.
From
Win-
chester.

State-
ments
made by
George
Brooke,
just before
his execu-
tion.

against Sir GEORGE CAREW and Sir HENRY BRONKARDE.¹ His very awnswear was this : ' Its a jeaste² [?]. I never spake of them but by supposition that yff anything wer attempted for the Lady ARBELLA, Sir GEORGE CAREW and Sir HENRY BRONKARDE wer lyk to knowe it.' And, further, he could not say any think against them.

After prayeres, I commended him to God, for his comfortable meditations till the next morninge ;—when I came againe to pray with him, and, by his importunat request, folowed him to the skaffolde, wher he suffred at the tyme appointed ; which, I presume, hath restored me to my former libertye and dewtyes. And so I humbly tak my leave. At Winchester, Decemb. 6 [1603].

Your Lordships' in all dewty,

ANTHO. CICESTREN.

¹ Brouncker.

² So apparently in MS., but this reading must be taken as conjectural ; the word being but partially legible.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XVII. — *EXTENT OF LORD GREY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE PLOT TO SEIZE THE KING'S PERSON.—NOTICE OF HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND POLITICAL AIMS.*

SO far as respects one principal count of the Indictment against Lord Grey, the charge is, in a great measure, borne out by so much of the prisoner's Confession as has been preserved. The two statements, of course, differ totally in regard to the real aim and object of the accused person. Nor do they differ much less as to the relative position, amongst themselves, of the conspirators concerned in the plot to 'surprize' the King and to seize the Tower.

The specific counts against Grey in the Indictment of November 1603,—as I find them in the original document, preserved in the *Baga de Secretis*,—are briefly these : (I.) That, on the 14th day of June, Lord Grey had a meeting at Westminster with George Brooke and with Sir Griffin Markham ; that Brooke and Markham declared to Lord Grey their treasonable intention "to seize the King's person, and that of Prince Henry, and to imprison them in the Tower," in order to "extort three promises from the King : " viz. (1) Their own pardon for the imprisonment ; (2) A toleration of the Romish religion ; (3) The exclusion of certain lords from the Council. And then the Indictment proceeds to allege : (II.) That on the 18th day of the same month these three accused persons had another meeting at Westminster, wherein, after "assenting to all their plans, Lord Grey stipulated that after the King's imprisonment he should be made Earl Marshal, and Master of the Horse."

Grey's confession—made in the Tower of London, before his trial—admits his complicity in the plot to seize the King,

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
1603.
December.

*Baga de
Secretis,*
Pouch 58,
membrane
16 (R. H.).

Lord Grey's precise age at the accession of King James is not recorded. But it is likely that he was still under thirty. He had been first summoned to Parliament in 1597. During the reign of Elizabeth, he saw considerable service both in the Low Country wars, and in the wars of Ireland. It is characteristic of the man that within eighteen months he was twice put under arrest for outbreaks of anger. And both incidents, as it chanced, are curiously connected with the long rivalry between the Earl of Essex and Mr. Secretary Cecil. This fact makes the strife which so long subsisted between Lord Grey and Lord Southampton a matter of some historical interest. But for its bearing on the Essex tragedy, and on what grew thereout, the affair would have seemed but a mere personal brawl between two angry boys.

The key to Grey's quarrel with the Earl of Southampton is to be found in a passage of almost the only letter which survives to testify to the terms on which Grey and Cobham lived, before the Queen's death. On the 21st July, 1598, Grey wrote to Cobham: "The Earl [of Essex] has lately required me to declare myself his friend only, or Mr. Secretary's friend. . . . I cannot forget what I owe to Mr. Secretary. I consider the Earl 'a lost child.'" And then he adds: "If the Queen suffer one man thus to engross all men of the sword so servilely, she must shortly be content to hold her Crown of him also." From this time forth, Grey seems to have made his election. He weaned himself from all dependence on the Earl. He attached himself openly to Cecil. He espoused Cecil's quarrels. Cecil, on his part, in writing of Grey as well as to him, uses the language of warm friendship.

Thus, for example, at the time of Grey's arrest in Ireland Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Sir Henry Neville:—"If you chance to hear any flying tale that my Lord Grey should be committed in Ireland, the accident was only this: He being only a colonel of horse, and Lord Southampton general [of the cavalry, under Essex], he did charge without direction, and so, for order sake, was only committed to the Marshal for one

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
1603.
December.

Grey to
Cobham;
Cecil Pap.
vol. lxii.
§ 71 (Hat-
field).

Cecil to
Sir H.
Neville;
Win-
wood's
Memorials,
vol. i.
p. 47.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
December.

Sir R.
Cecil's
autograph
draft of
Proclama-
tion in
Cecil Pap.
vol. xcix.
§ 43 (Hat-
field).

night." When both Grey and Southampton had returned to England, the broil was renewed. "My Lord Grey," wrote Sir Henry Neville to Winwood in January 1601, "upon some new-conceived discontent assaulted my Lord of Southampton on horseback in the street, for which contempt of Her Majesty's command given before to them, he was committed to the Fleet."¹ This incident strongly excited the Earl of Essex. At that time, writes Essex himself, "I was fully resolved to have received the Communion, to be a testimony that I was far from bearing of malice to any; not so much as to my private enemies. But then the breach between the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Grey happening on a sudden, hindered my intent. For so soon as I knew of it, I found my affections to stir in it exceedingly, seeing that Her Majesty had not power sufficient to prevent my friend from being publicly assailed in the streets." When, only a few weeks afterwards, Essex and Southampton had to hold up their hands before their Peers, on a charge of High Treason, an eye-witness, keenly watching the demeanour of the accused Lords, records that when the name of the Lord Grey was called, "the Earl of Essex laughed upon the Earl of Southampton, and jogged him by the sleeve."

When Elizabeth died, and the Lords of Council held their hasty meeting at Westminster soon after daybreak, to assert their readiness—"to maintain and uphold King James' person and estate, as our only undoubted Sovereign Lord and King, with the sacrifice of our lives, lands, goods, friends, and adherents, against all force, power, or practice, that shall go about, by word or deed, to interrupt, contradict, or impugn his just claim, or his entry into this kingdom or into any part thereof, at his good pleasure," the Proclamation was signed both by Grey and by Cobham. Of the deliberations and discussions—whatsoever they were—which occurred at this meeting, and which preceded the signing of the Proclamation,

¹ Neville to Winwood; Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 292.

no record is now known to exist. Has the disappearance of the Council Book any probable connection with these deliberations, or with the like deliberations on any former occasion?

There has always existed a tradition that, in the discussion which must needs have occurred at that critical moment, Lord Grey took a prominent part. The tradition has been handed down through many distinct channels. It bears about it certain marks of probability. To diligent students of the obscurer points of our history, that measure of probability which the tradition bears on its face, cannot but be somewhat strengthened by the recollection that only a few years had passed since the most wary of English statesmen had set their hands to a proposition for declaring, by Act of Parliament, that immediately upon the Queen's death, "the three Estates of the realm shall consider and hear all pretensions of title to the Crown, and, after due deliberation had, they shall consult, in the name of God, and as it were in His presence, upon the justice and righteousness of all the pretensions, and thereupon they shall accord of the manner how they may admit, accept, and receive such a person to the Crown of the Realm." But still it is a tradition only.

The several forms in which that tradition has been handed down descend little into particulars. Most of them say simply that Lord Grey proposed that 'Articles' should be drawn up and sent to the King for reservation of the liberties of the kingdom. Some accounts say that one particular item of limitation of the royal power, propounded in the Council, was a set restriction upon the number of Scottishmen who should be admitted to offices of state or public trust in England. And it is with this item that the name of Raleigh has been persistently identified,—without any proof whatever.

One nearly contemporary account of the part taken by Lord Grey in this debate about 'Articles' is preserved amongst the Wharton MSS. at Oxford. It is slightly—and only slightly—more circumstantial than others, and was written by Walter

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
—
1603.
December.

*Domestic
Corresp.
Elizabeth,
vol. clxxvi.
§ 22
(R. H.).*

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
—
1603.
December.

Vol. I.
chap. xvii.

Sir Thos.
Gorges to
Lord
Cecil,
July 15,
1603;
Cecil Pap.
(Hatfield).

Fitzwilliam, a near relative, it would seem, of that Sir William Fitzwilliam who had succeeded Lord Grey's father as Lord Deputy of Ireland. When, says Fitzwilliam, the Peers were met to consult "what was most convenient for the present affaire,—not any questioning the undoubted right of the King of Scotland,—this noble Lord, like a zealous patriott, stood up and desired that articles might be sent to the King for the reservation of the libertys and foundementall laws of the kingdom. This was only seconded by Sir John Fortescue; but contradicted and withstood by the Earle of Northumberland, whoe prevailed, and soe it ended."¹

The anecdote which, in a preceding part of this book, has been told about the renewal of the quarrel between Grey and Southampton, in the presence chamber of Queen Anne of Denmark, shows that Grey must have remained at Court nearly to the time of Anthony Copley's first examination about the plot of 1603. But it seems, from a passage in a letter addressed to Lord Cecil by Sir Thomas Gorges, from the Netherlands, on the 15th of July, that Grey escaped from England when the revelations about the intended attempt to seize the King began to be bruited abroad. Lord Grey, writes Sir Thomas Gorges, "is taken into custody at Sluys, and none is permitted to speak with him; nor is he permitted to write or send [receive?] any letter." Before the end of the month he was lodged in the Tower.

"My Lord Gray is now confessed," wrote Waad to Cecil on the 3rd of August, when forwarding to the Secretary, with great self-complacency, his Lordship's 'Declaration' in answer to a series of Interrogatories. That he had no traitorous purpose was his uniform assertion. But it is strange to find a man like Grey avowing another purpose which was, in some sort, the counterpart to Watson's plot within a plot. And it was to his mother,—the relict of that Lord Grey of Wilton

¹ Fitzwilliam's *Testimony of the Lord Gray*, MS. WHARTON, lxxx. fol. 439 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

who had fought so strenuously for English supremacy in the sister island, and under whom Raleigh's first home service was performed,—not to his Examiners, that Grey avowed his intention, had he not been prevented, of making, “for the safety of the King, the full discovery of all their designs” [*i.e.* the designs of the Papists]. In his days of leisure, Lord Grey had busied himself—amongst many other studious tasks—in the translation of Saint Cyprian concerning Patience. In this letter to his mother, written from the Tower, he entreats her to send him the book ; and then, amidst many ardent expressions of his filial affection, goes on to say :—“I fear not evil ; my heart is fixed ; I trust in the Lord ;” and again : “Madam, be not dismayed. I am in the Tower, but neither for deed nor thought against King or Country. You will hear I am combined with Papists ;”—a thought which seemed to him full of horror. Then follows the assertion that he had hoped to disconcert and discover their designs. “To compass this,” he continues, “*and to execute a purpose of mine own, good to the King, to the State, and, as I hold, justifiable before God and man,* I could not avoid danger of law. My friends with their own ruin have brought me into danger which, if I cannot shun, I will constantly suffer. . . . I see, I sorrow for, my faults. God will amend them, and I shall live yet to yield you comfort ; my religion, my country, service ; and myself right. Of Cobham's or Rawleigh's plot I neither knew nor, in my life, conferred counsaile with either of them touching their businesses ; yet would God that different ends, different ways, at once should be revealed. So soon as I have more liberty I will acquaint your Ladyship with all which may cleer mine innocency, which, doubt not, will never be stained.” This letter was written to Lady Grey on the same day (August 3rd) on which Waad had procured the ‘Declaration’ which he so complacently trusted might help the operation of other motives in impressing on George Brooke the wisdom and necessity “of being before, and not behind, the rest ; as well in ample declaracion, as in time.”

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
December.

Grey to
Dowager
Lady Grey;
MS.
WHAR-
TON, lxxx.
(Bodleian
Library,
Oxford).

Ibid.
fol. 43¹,
verso.

Waad to
Cecil ;
Aug. 3,
1603
(R. H.).

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
December.

Carleton's
Letters, in
MS.
WHAR-
TON, lxxx.
ff. 440,
seqq.
(Bodleian
Library,
Oxford).

Vol. I.
chap. xx.

Grey's demeanour at the Trial by his Peers was worthy of his ancestry, and of his education. Amongst those who looked on at not the least remarkable of the many historic scenes which have passed within the walls of the time-honoured Castle of Winchester, was that Dudley Carleton who, in after years, attained some distinction as a statesman, and who, in the reign of Charles I., bore the title of Lord Dorchester. When Raleigh and Grey fought their hard battles for life against terrible odds, with a courage so mingled with temperance and grace as to turn—as both of them did—some enemies into friends, Carleton was in the service, as a secretary, of their common acquaintance the Earl of Northumberland. When he tells us that Lord Grey “held the Court the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and scapes,” from the too well-arrayed evidence of ‘Declarations’ and ‘Confessions,’ I suppose he is scarcely to be taken at the strict letter. A speech of twelve hours, under such circumstances, would have been a marvel indeed. Carleton probably means that charge and answers together took up the day. When he adds that Grey’s old antagonist, the Earl of Southampton, “was mute before his face,” but when the Peers had retired to consult amongst themselves, “spake very much against him,” he is doubtless speaking from the best authority—that of the Earl his patron, who was there present.

When the last call was made upon him, before sentence was passed, Grey answered amidst breathless silence—“I have nothing to say.” The silence continued, and then, after a long pause, he added: “Yet a word of Tacitus comes into my mind. *Non eadem omnibus decora.* The House of the Wiltons have spent many lives in their Princes’ service. Grey cannot beg his. God send the King a long and prosperous reign, and your Lordships all honour.” And then calmly listened to his sentence. Of the strange scene which followed in the Castle-yard, some account has been given in the preceding volume. Lord Grey’s deportment in it was in keeping with his conduct before the Peers.

I believe that as Grey would not beg his life through any intercession by the Lords, so he refrained from any entreaty for it of the King. Very probably, this quietness and dignity of mind, when known by Raleigh to have been evinced by his fellow-prisoner,—as well in the solitude of his cell, and in the hours when Death must have seemed to come nearer and nearer with the beating of every pulse, as amidst the excitement of the crowded hall, and in contemplation of the possibilities of the weeks that would intervene before the final issue,—enhanced his regret for his own passionate supplication for life. Doubtless the reader remembers the earnest but fruitless request: “Get those letters,—if it be possible,—which I writ to the Lords, wherin I sued for my life. God knoweth it was for you and yours that I desired it. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it.” When those lines were penned, Grey’s abstinence from all supplication was probably known to their writer.

On the other hand, there is a phrase in Lord Grey’s subsequent letter of thanks for the unbegged mercy, addressed to the King, which most persons who read it are likely to regret to see there. And to it there is no parallel in the numerous letters of Raleigh, written before or after the mock-scaffold scene. “So long,” wrote Grey, whilst still at Winchester, “as your mercy draws out my life, I cannot deny it the only object it aspires to—*by unfeigned confession*, and contrition, to diminish my offence and your displeasure.” Surely, there was now no further need of victims; and the time of ‘confessions’ was fully past.

As the years in the Tower wore on, Grey’s impatience of imprisonment, and above all of inactivity, chafed his spirit by turns into ardent longings after liberty, and into occasional fits of despair. The prayers which he would not utter to King or Councillors for life, he was instant in offering for freedom. And there is no reason to doubt his sincerity when he told James: “My soul only desires life, to serve and to obey you till death.” More than most things, the interest with which he

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
—
1603.
December.

Letter
CXXIII.
p. 286.

Thus, Parker all is dispatched, the God of Heavens
direct, and bless it: let this briefly be your
direction: address your self first to mine own so:
of Northampton, and have the letter to the fl: us
a readiness that so soon as hee hath read his own
hee may peruse that: if hee alter any thing & 2
I that I hee of =

at most apposite pair of courtiers, the Lord Privy Seal Northampton and the Lord Chamberlain Rochester. Under their conjoint auspices, Grey drew up a letter to the King—for which I have hitherto sought in vain,—and sent it for Northampton's revision. It was then submitted to Salisbury, under precautions against his knowledge that it had first been seen by his colleague Northampton. Its subsequent fate cannot now be traced. It was Grey's intention that it should be given to the King by that Scottish page of his, John Gibb, who had forced his way with so much difficulty through the crowd at Winchester, when carrying the reprieve for Grey and his companions on the scaffold. "Perswade and inchant Gibb with goulden promises, which shall truly bee performed," was Grey's written instruction to the servant to whom he entrusted his Letter to the King. And then he adds: "When this is doon, deliver my Lord Chamberlin's with your soonest commodity, unto whome I am in the meantime promised to have a good office perfourmed." That this lost letter contained some secret or other connected with the plottings of 1603, I have a strong persuasion. Grey's written directions to the agent or confidential servant whom he employed in the business are preserved amongst the Wharton MSS. in the Bodleian Library. And of this enigmatical but interesting paper a fac-simile is here inserted. It is possible that the documents which once accompanied it—or some of them—may yet be found. Whatever their fate, Grey's effort on this as on so many previous occasions was unsuccessful.

That visit to the Tower on the occurrence of which,—in all probability,—Grey and "mine own Lord of Northampton" had concerted about the document to be laid before the King, by the instrumentality of John Gibb, took place on the 11th or 12th of July, 1611. It possesses interest in relation to Raleigh, as well as to Grey. The interview which Northampton and his companion had on this occasion with Raleigh was thus narrated by the Lord Privy Seal to his comrade Rochester: "We had afterwards a bout with Sir Walter Raleigh, in whom

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
1603.
December.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
December.

Northampton to
Somerset ;
July 12,
1611.

we find no change ; but the same boldness, pride, and passion that heretofore hath wrought more violently, but never expended itself in a stronger passion. Hereof his Majesty shall hear when the Lords come to him ; and yet you may assure his Majesty that by this publication ¹ he wanne ² little ground. The lawless liberty of that place [the Tower], so long cockered and fostered with hopes exorbitant, hath bred suitable desires and affections." Such, in 1611, was the confidential outburst of Northampton to Lord Chamberlain Rochester. The writer had fattened on the spoils of Cobham. The receiver was then fattening on the spoils of Raleigh. The man who had been, as Lord Northampton thought, indulged with overmuch tenderness and liberty, in the Tower, was then brightening his imprisonment by toiling at the *History of the World*. The men for whom Wardenships, Privy Seals, Lord Chamberlainships, and broad lands in half-a-dozen counties, were all too little, as the rewards of Court subserviency, were just about to vary their enjoyments by plotting together for the murder of poor Overbury. When a few months more had passed, the 'cockered' prisoner surrendered his apartment in the Tower to the courtier who had wrested from his wife and children the ownership of Sherborne ; and a sudden death saved, as by a hairbreadth, the prosperous successor of Cobham in the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports from the penalties of felony.

Whilst Raleigh was soon to leave his prison for a sharp but brief struggle with Spain and with Destiny in remote Guiana, and Somerset was, at the same moment, to enter upon a lingering death drawn out through almost thirty years of shame and degradation, Grey's trials were to have their appointed end much earlier. Probably, his efforts for liberation ceased with the failure of that which he had made by means of Northampton and of Somerset. He died in the Tower on the 9th of July, 1614,—just as he was about to enter on the twelfth year of his imprisonment.

¹ This word is doubtful.

² So in MS.

As Sherborne had passed to the royal favourite Somerset, and Cobham Hall to the royal favourite Lennox, so Whaddon passed to the new royal favourite, Villiers, soon to be Duke of Buckingham. The more beautiful and much older Herefordshire seat of the Greys, Wilton Castle, on the Wye, had been alienated, before the attainder of 1603, to the family of Brydges (afterwards Dukes of Chandos), and with other lands of that family came eventually to be part of the large estates belonging to Guy's Hospital.

Lord Grey's elder sister, of the half blood, carried the representation of this historic family to the Whartons of Westmoreland; Philip, fourth Lord Wharton (grandfather of the notorious Duke, familiar to all readers of Pope or of Horace Walpole), having married her granddaughter. It was by reason of this marriage that many of Lord Grey's papers passed to the Whartons, and from them to Carte the historian, —eventually to form part of the *Carte MSS.* in the Bodleian.

Bridget Grey, Lord Grey's own and only sister of the whole blood, married Sir Rowland Egerton of Cheshire (1st Baronet of his family), and is now lineally represented by Sir Philip De Malpas Grey Egerton, of Oulton, the descendant of their youngest son. The last representative of the elder line (seventh in descent from Sir Rowland) was created Baron Grey de Wilton in 1784 and Earl of Wilton in 1801. He died, without male issue, in 1814. His only daughter married Robert Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave (afterwards Marquess of Westminster), and, by virtue of a special remainder in the Patent of 1801, carried the Earldom of Wilton into the Grosvenor family, in the person of Thomas Grosvenor, second son of that marriage. The barony of Grey de Wilton became again extinct.

PREFATORY
NOTE TO
LETTER
XVII. OF
APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.
—
1603.
December.

XVII.

THOMAS, LORD GREY OF WILTON, TO SECRETARY
LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 40 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MY LORD,

I BEESEECH you forget not to moov the King for my scoller,¹ whoe will yield me much comfort. If the King think my letter imperfet, or myself recluse in confession of what I knew concerning this business, shall your Lordship or any whom the King shall command (but especially yourself) have occasion to cum this way, I will successivly relate what passed by mee, eaven from my first entrance with GEORG BROOK ; whearin, if I bee proved to have concealed any man or passage which your Lordship either had not in hand, or more, against them then I could informe, which concerned the King or State, let mee dy without judgment ; or if, from my begining with GEORG BROOK unto my breach with MARKHAM, I doe not demonstrate (soe farr as such a subject can permitt) a cleer heart of ill intension to the King and State of England. Think, then, how unfortunate I am, and prejudg not my ends, for I much doubdt you have to aunswear for your opinion of them. But with patience I will indure the King's pleasure, and doubdt not to live to make the King and the world see how I have been misjudged in this business,—to him

¹ Lord Grey had previously made application for leave to obtain the attendance upon him, during his imprisonment, of a youth who was to act as an amanuensis and reader.

APPENDIX
VI.

Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
December.

Lord Grey
to Lord
Cecil.
[From
Win-
chester?]

Offers to
relate fully
and cir-
cumstan-
tially his
entire
knowledge
of the
Conspiracy,
from the
date of his
first com-
plicity with
Brooke to
that of
his quarrel
with
Markham.

and my religion. And you will cleerly finde,—however you have judged mee,—yet I never deserved but to bee held your lovinge frend. And, as I desire the King's favour, I know not the gentleman in his kingdome—out of this place¹—that I can say hath thought of innovation.

GREY.

XVIII.

SIR GEORGE HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER,
TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 77 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MY SINGULER GOOD LORDE,

KNOWING howe easelie a man might be lymed in matters of treason, I did heretofore leave my sonne to him sellffe, without making of any apollogie for him (because I knewe not the quallitie of his offence). But now that the lawe and His Majesty's mercyes have had ther course, I am bold to acquaint your Lordship with these inclosed, written unto me by the Lord COBHAM, the 24 of October last, wherebie he hath, under his own hande, manifested the gret desire he had, of him sellffe (without any instigacion of my sonne), to justifie Sir W[ALTER] R[ALEGH]; which course of his being by me then stopped (as was fitt), he diverted it, as I conceive and as is verie lykely, unto Sir W. him sellffe;—which I leave unto your honorable considerations. And do humblie crave pardon to intreat your honorable commiserations towards my unworthie sonne, in releasing his restraint.

¹ Winchester?

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
December.

1603.
Dec. 17.

Sir G.
Harvey to
Lord
Cecil.
From the
Tower.

Enclosing
Lord
Cobham's
confession
of remorse
for his false
accusation
of Raleigh;
prior to the
message
sent
through
the
younger
Harvey.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Dec. 17.

In my last (in the anguise of my mynde for my sonne's offence) I certified your Lordships of my willignes to leave this place¹ which I hold (so as it might be without disgrace). But, if I shold uppon this suddain be putt from it (my sonne's errors being in fresh memorie), it wold touche my reputacion very much. Besids my hole provisions (to my great charge) being layd in heere, I cannot without infinite troble and hinderaunce in winter tyme remove them and my housholde; my humble sute therfore is that (in consideracion of my daungerous and faithfull services) his Majestie wilbe pleased to continewe me heere untill one yeare expired, or at the least untill Our Ladie daye next, in which tyme the memorye of errors wilbe well quenched, and I, with less troble and loss, inhabled to remove; wherin I humbly intreat your honorable furtherance.

Yesterday I receyved direction from your Lordships, for ease of my Lord GREY, to lodge him in the bricke tower—which, belonging to the Master of the Ordnance, I have thought good to acquaint your Lordship therwith, because he shold not therebie take any offence,—notwithstanding that, in my predecessor's tyme, I have knowen divers of the Prisoners there lodged. And so, being readie therein to do any thing that your Lordships shall think fitt, do humbly take my leave. The Tower, 17^o December, 1603.

Your Lordship's ever most bounden,

G. HARVY.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable my very singular good Lorde, the Lord CECILL,
His Majesties Principall Secretarie; att the Courte.*

Endorsed, in Lord Cecil's hand : "17 Dec. 1603. Sir G. Harvy."

¹ *I. e.* the Lieutenancy of the Tower.

ENCLOSURE IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

XIX.

HENRY, LORD COBHAM, TO SIR GEORGE HARVEY,
LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 76. Holograph. Without date. Enclosed in HARVEY'S Letter to CECIL of December 17th.

MR. LIEUTENANT,

If that I may wright unto the Lords I wold, toching
Sir WALTER RAWLYE; besyds my letter to my Lord
CISELL:¹ God is my wittnes, it doth troble my contiens:
As you shall send me word so I will do, that my letter
may be redy agaynst your sonn's going: I wold very
fain have the words that the Lords used of my bar-
berousnes in accusing him falsly. I ever troble you: if
God ever mayk me able, you shall find me thankfull: if
otherwis, God will requit your charitie towards me.

Your true prisoner,

HENRY COBHAM.

Noted, in the margin, by Sir G. Harvey: "*Recd. 24^o. Octobr.*"

¹ The *colons* printed in this letter are so written in the original MS.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Oct. 24

Lord
Cobham
to Sir G.
Harvey.

Remorse
concerning
his charge
against
Raleigh.

XX.

SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON TO SIR
GEORGE HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.

APPENDIX
VI.
Plots and
Counter-
plots of
1602-1603.

1603.
Dec. 20.

Lord
Cecil to
Sir G.
Harvey.

On the
return of
Papers
belonging
to Sir W.
Raleigh.—
Letter of
thanks to
the King.

S^r W. RALEGH being desirous to have this little trunk againe, I send it him. Only I have staid 3 papers: First, y^e K[ing] of Sp[ain's] Will; [2] a *Discourse of Spanish government*; [3] a little *Collection of Comon Places*. All things els are in it; and these shalbe restored when he will have them, or when I have redd them.

Your loving friend,

RO. CECYLL.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I pray you tell S^r W. R. y^t I will deliver any l^r¹ of his to the K[ing], to whom I think it very fitt y^t² he do write thanks; and, as they deserve, indeav[our]³ to shew that he, only, accompts them dew to him. For y^e rest of his l^r, by Sir ROB^t MANSFIELD, tell him he can be no more sensibell of my part towards him, then I confess I wold be gladd of his future good; w^{ch} I write *ingenue*; and can look for no more from him then he doth profess, nor will believe less.

Addressed: "*To my very loving friend, Sir GEORGE HARVY, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London.*"

Endorsed: "*Rec'd. 20 December, 1603. My Lo. Cecill. S^r W. R. his trunk.*"

¹ letter.

² that.

³ This word, which I read '*indeav*,' may possibly be '*indeed*.' Anyhow,—whether we read '*indeed*' or '*endeavour*,'—the precise meaning of the sentence is somewhat obscure. The punctuation—here, as elsewhere—is, of course, the Editor's. But in this instance I have thought it best to print the *abbreviations*, instead of extending them, as has been usually done.

VII.—*RALEGH'S EXECUTION.*

I.

QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING JAMES
THE FIRST, TO GEORGE VILLIERS, MARQUESS OF
BUCKINGHAM.

From a transcript made by Archbishop SANCROFT, from the original
Letter, then in his possession. MS. TANNER, vol. ccxcix. fol. 87
(Bodleian Library, Oxford). Without date.

ANNA R.

MY KIND DOGGE,

IF I have any power or credit with you, I pray you
let me have a trial of it, at this time, in dealing sincerely
and earnestly with the King that Sir WALTER RALEGH'S
life may not be called in question.

If you do it so that the success answer my expecta-
tion, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinarily
kindly at your hands; and rest one that wisheth you
well, and desires you to continew still, as you have been,
a true servant to your Master.

Addressed: "*To the Marquis of Buckingame.*"

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.

1618.
[October?]

Queen
Anne
to the
Marquess
of Buck-
ingham.

Entreaty
for his
influence
with the
King to
prevent
the exe-
cution.

II.

CAREW RALEGH TO THE KING.

From an early copy in MS. ASHMOLÉ, dcclxxxi. fol. 101 (**Bodleian Library, Oxford**). Without date, signature, or superscription.

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.

1618.
October?

Carew
Raleigh to
King
James.

Entreaty
for his
father's
pardon.

as/

IT may please your Majestic mercifully to looke downe upon the distressed estate of my poore Father, sometime honored with manie great places of commaund by the moste worthy Queene ELIZABETH, the possessor whereof she lefte him at her death, as a token of her good will to his loialtie. That the same may stand up as an example and protection of those whoe beare the stamp and marke of your Majesties favor, as alsoe to uphold that redeeminge hand of your princely goodnes which once saved him from destruction.

Greate Lord, conceit not too grievously the error of a despairated minde, torne with everie misfortune, whilst his lounge shiftings for life perswaded the fittest for the capacities of humors not his own. And, greate Lord, though merrit and reason cannot requier, yet let the priviledge of old age and the innocency of a fatherles child begg mercie from your Majestic,—~~and~~ from the Image of God, who pardons the greatest offences to the meanest sutor.

III.

DR. ROBERT TOUNSON, DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, TO
SIR JOHN ISHAM, BART.

From the Original, as communicated to THOMAS HEARNE, in 1731, by its then possessor, Sir JUSTINIAN ISHAM, Bart.; and by HEARNE printed in the Appendix to his Preface to WALTERI HEMINGFORDE *Historia* (vol. i. pp. clxxxi. seqq.). Holograph.

SIR,

THE last weeke was a busy weeke with me ; and the weeke afore that, was more. I would gladly have with yow, but could find no time: yet I hope yow had the relation of Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH'S death; for so I gave order, that it should be brought unto yow. I was commanded by the Lords of the Counsaile to be with him, both in prison and att his death, and so sett downe the manner of his death as nere as I could. There be other reports of itt, but that which yow have from me is trew; one CRAFORD, who was sometimes Mr. RODE-KNIGHT'S pupil, hath penned it prettily, and meaneth to putt it to the presse; and came to me about it, but I heare not that it is come forth. The summe of that which he spake att his death, yow have, I suppose, already: when he never made mention of his offence for which he dyed, namely his former treason; but only desired to cleare himself of new imputations, there mentioned. Privately, he told me in prison, that he was charged to have broken the peace of Spaine, but he put that, he sayd, out of the count of his offences; saving that he heard the King was displeas'd att it; for how could he breake peace with him, who within these 4 years, as he

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.

1618.
Nov. 9.

Dr. Robert
Tounson
(afterwards
Bishop of
Salisbury)
to Sir John
Isham.

Narrative
of the
manner of
Raleigh's
death.

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.1618.
Nov. 9.

sayd, tooke diverse of his men, and bound them backe to backe and drowned them? And for burning the towne, he sayd it stood upon the King's owne ground, and therefore he did no wrong in that. He was the most fearlesse of death that ever was knowen; and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience.

When I begann to encourage him against the feare of death, he seemed to make so light of itt that I wondred att him; and when I told him, that the deare servants of God, in better causes than his, had shrunke backe and trembled a little, he denyed not, but yet gave God thanks, he never feared death; and much lesse then, for it was but an opinion and imagination; and the manner of death though to others might seeme greevous, yet he had rather dye so then of a burning fever: with much more to that purpose, with such confidence and cheerefulnesse, that I was fain to divert my speach another way, and wished him not to flatter himselfe; for this extraordinary boldnesse, I was afraid, came from some false ground. If it sprong from the assurance he had of the love and favour of God, of the hope of his Salvation by Christ, and his own innocency, as he pleaded, I sayd he was an happy man; but if it were out of an humour of vain glory or carelesnesse or contempt of death, or senselesnesse of his own estate, he were much to be lamented, &c. For I told him, that Heathen Men had sett as little by their lives as he could doe, and seemed to dye as bravely. He answered that he was perswaded, that no man, that knew God and feared Him, could dye with cheerfullnesse and courage, except he were assured of the love and favour of God unto him; that other men might make shewes outwardly, but they felt no joy within; with much more

to that effect, very Christianly, so that he satisfied me then, as I thinke he did all his spectators at his death.

After he had received the Communion in the morning, he was very cheerfull and merry, and hoped to perswade the world, that he dyed an innocent man, as he sayd. Thereat I told him, that he should do well to advise what he sayd; men in these dayes did not dye in that sort innocent, and his pleading innocency was an oblique taxing of the Justice of the Realm upon him. He confessed Justice had been done, and by course of Law he must dye; but yet, I should give him leave, he sayd, to stand upon his innocency in the fact; and he thought, both the King, and all that heard his aunswers, thought verily he was innocent for that matter. I then pressed him, to call to mind what he had done formerly, and though perhaps in that particular, for which he was condemned, he was cleare, yet for some other matter, it might be, he was guilty; and now the hand of God had found him out, and therefore he should acknowledge the Justice of God in itt; though at the hands of men he had but hard measure. And here I putt him in mind of the death of my Lord of ESSEX: how it was generally reported that he was a great instrument of his death, which if his hert did charge him with, he should heartily repent, and ask God forgiveness. To which he made aunswere, as is in the former relation, and sayd moreover, that my Lord of ESSEX was fetcht off by a trick, which he privately told me of.

He was very cheerfull that morning he dyed; eate his breakfast hertily, and tooke tobacco; and made no more of his death, than if had bene to take a journey; and left a great impression in the minds of those that beheld him; inasmuch that Sir LEWIS STUKELY and the Frenchman grow very odious. This was the news a

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.
—
1618.
Nov. 9.

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.

1618.
Nov. 9.

weeke since ; but now it is blown over, and he allmost forgotten.

The newes which I hear is, that the promoter of Kowel hath gotten his charges of Sir THOMAS BROOKES, and Sir THOMAS much cheeted, and hath entered into a bond of a £100. to the promoter, never to molest or trouble him againe, and the promoter is as cranke, and triumpheth in his victory very much ; and Sir THOMAS glad he hath escaped so. I once saw HENRY TREMILL, and that is all. What is become of ROBIN DALLISON, I cannot tell ; but he was here in great expectation of a place, which I thinke now he has fallen from ; for all officers here are much younger than himselfe. The business of the Treasurer sleepeth ; and that of my Lord of EXETER and Sir THOMAS LAKE will not be called upon this terme. There be, as I heare, 17,000 sheets of paper in that Book, which, upon ordinary account, cometh to eight hundred and fifty pounds, the very writing. The King and Prince, thanks be to God, are very well. The Queen is still at Hampton Court, and crazy, they say. Yow will remember me kindly to my Lady and your mother ; and if yow have any imploiment for me here, yow shall find me allwayes

att your service,

ROBERT TOUNSON.

Westminster College, Nov. 9, 1618.

Addressed :

To the Right Worshipfull my very loving frend Sir JOHN ISHAM, at his House in Langport in Northamptonshire ; This.

IV.

RALEIGH'S FIRST TESTAMENTARY NOTE.

NOVEMBER 1618.

From Sir THOMAS WILSON's transcript. *Domestic Correspondence*: James I. vol. ciii. § 37 (Rolls House).

THERE is a lease of certaine parcells of land, claymed by one JOHN MEERE, near Sherborne Castle. MEERE clayming it by a grant of myne to one Captain THOMAS CAUFEILDE, I do protest before God I never made any lease or grant to CAUFEILDE of that land.

There is a lease in controversy betweene the Lord BOYLE and one HENRY PINE, of the Castle and lands of Mogile,¹ in the county of Corck in Ireland; and although I did write something at my going from Ireland towards Guiana to the prejudice of PINE'S lease, yet since that time better bethinking myself, I desire that the opinion which I gave of PINE'S lease may be no evidence in law against PINE, but that it may be left to other prooffs on both sydes.

I desire that my wife, if shee enjoy her goods, may have consideration of CHRISTOPHER HAMON'S wyfe. That my wife do in any case, according to her ability, releive Mr. JOHN TALBOT'S wife,² who, I feare me,—her sonn being deade,—will otherwise perish.

¹ So in MS. = "Moghealy" (Seat of Thomas, Lord of Down).

² John Talbot was one of his faithful servants, who had attended him throughout the long imprisonment in the Tower and had followed him to Guiana, where he died.

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.
1618.

Testa-
mentary
Note, de-
livered to
Sir
Thomas
Wilson.

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.
1618.

9/ Sir LEWIS STUKELEY sold all the tobacco at Plimouth of which, for the most part of it, I gave him a fift part of it, as also a role for my Lord Admirall and a role for himself. He had also tenn peeces of mee the Sunday that wee tooke boate, which he pretended to borrow to send his men into the country, which notwithstanding hee sent downe the river to joyne with Mr. HARBERT/I desire that hee may give his account for the tobacco.

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed by Sir Thomas Wilson :

A copy of the note written by Sir Walter Rawley, in his owne hand, which hee gave me for discharge of his conscience, &c.

V.

RALEGH'S SECOND TESTAMENTARY NOTE.

From a contemporary Transcript. MS. COTTON, Titus C vi § 93 (British Museum).

I DID never receive advise from my Lord CAREW to make any escape, neither did I tell ytt STUKELEY.

I did never name my Lord HEY¹ and my Lord CAREW to STUKELEY in other words or sence then as my honourable freinds, among other Lords my honourable freinds.

I did never shew unto STUKELEY any letter wherein there were £10,000 named, nor ance one pound. Onely

¹ James Hay, first Baron Hay of Sauley, created Viscount Doncaster, in 1618; and Earl of Carlisle, in 1622; K. G.

I told him I hoped to procure the paiment of his debts in his absence.

I never had Commission from the French king. I never saw the French king's hand nor seale in my life.

I never had any plot or practise with the French, directly or indirectly, nor with any other King, Prince, or State, unknowing to the King.

My true intent was to goe to a Mine of Gold in Guiana. Itt was not fained, but is true that such a Mine there is, within three miles of St. Tome.

I never had itt in my thought to goe for Trinidado, and leave my companies to come after to the Salvage Ilands, as hath by FERN bine falsly reported.

I did not carrie with me 100 peces (as I remember). I had with me 60 peeces, and I brought backe neare about the said somme.

I did never speake to the French MANNERING¹ anie one disloyall word, or dishonorable word, of the King. Noe; if I had not loved and honored the King truly, and trusted in his goodnesse somewhat too much, I had not suffred death.

These things are true, as there is a God, and as I am now to appeare before his tribunall-seate, where I renounce all mercy and salvacion if this be not a truth.

Att my death,

W. RALEIGH.

¹ Manourie, a French surgeon—or quack doctor—who at that time was established in London; and who is, "the Frenchman" mentioned in the preceding letter of Dr. Tounson (p. 491). The conversation alleged against Raleigh was said to have occurred at Salisbury, during the journey from Plymouth to London. (See Vol. I. Chap. XXVII.)

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.

1618.

VI.

AN INVENTORY OF SUCH THINGS AS WEARE
FOUND ON THE BODY OF SIR WALTER RAWLEY,
KNIGHT, THE 10TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1618.

From the Original (but with a supposititious signature). *Domestic Correspondence*: James I. vol. xcvi. § 79 (Rolls House). With the attestations and notes (marked *,*) of Secretary Sir ROBERT NAUNTON and of Sir ALLEN APSLEY, Lieutenant of the Tower.

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.
1618.

IMPRIMIS, in gowld about £50, in his pursse and owne custody.

Item, a Guiana idoll of gold and copper.

Item, a Jaccintt seale, set in gold, with a Neptun cut in yt; with certen Guiana oare tyed to yt.

Item, a Symson stone, set in gold.

Item, a loadstone, in a scarlett pursse.

Item, an aunciant seale of his own armes, in silver.

Item, one ownce of ambergrease; left with him for his own use.

Item, a spleene stone; left with him for his owne use.

Item, one wedge of fine gold at 22 carracts.

Item, one other stobb of courser gold.

Item, 63 gold buttons, with sparks of diamonds.

Item, a chayne of gold, with sparks of diamonds.

Item, one diamond ring of 9 sparks.

Item, one gold whistle, set owt with smale diomonds.

Item, one gold case of a pictuer set with diomonds which, according to Sir WALTER'S desier, is left apart with Mr. Levetennant.

Item, one ringe with a diamond which he weareth on his finger. *,* *Given him by the late Queen.*

Sir George Calvert.

+ Item, one Plott of Guiana and Nova Regnia,
and another of the river of Orenoque.

The Description of the River of Orienoque.

A Plott of Panama.

+ A Tryall of Guiana oare, with a description thereof.

+ A sprigg jewell, sett with soft stones and a made
ruby in the middest.

+ Fyve assayes of the Silver Mine.

APPENDIX
VII.
Raleigh's
Execution.
1618.

W. RAWLEY.

** * I thought fitt to send you this note of such thinges as
were left in his hands, that you might see whether he hath
used them in way of subornation, by your own discrete
observation, before examination. Those that be crossed
are delivered over by warrant.*

R. NAUNTON.

All these particulars noted within and the rest
crossed, except the picture, were delivered to Sir LEWIS
STUKLYE. Sealed uppon a bagg, by the hands of

ALLEN APSLEY.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER CLVIII.

(PAGE 372.)

From a transcript in the hand of Sir THOMAS WILSON. *Domestic Correspondence*: JAMES I., vol. ciii. No. 21, A. The Letter to which this is an authentic *Postscript* has been misbound; so that the *recto* of the leaf has been made the *verso*. Hence the omission.

1618.
Oct. 4.

Sir W.
Raleigh to
Lady
Raleigh.

Adventurers' shares
in the ship
Destiny,
employed
in the last
Guiana
expedition.
The lost
*Treatise on
the Art of
War by
Sea*. With
a Note by
Wilson.

WHEN the shipp shalbe praysed, Mr. HARBERT is to have a fourth part, wanting a thrice, for he adventured 11 hundred, and the fourth part came to seventeene hundred or thereabouts; and so, after that rate, he is to have a 4th part as the shipp is praysed; deducted a third.

Ther is in the bottome of the sedar chist some paper bookes of myne. I pray make them up alltogether, and send them me. The title of one of them is *The Art of War by Sea*.¹ The rest are notes belonging unto it.

Ther is amongst the litle glasses the powder of steele and pumex, for to stay the flux. If you can, finde it now; for I have had a greevous loosenes, and feare that it will turne to the bloody flux. Send some more bitony.

¹ See Chap. XXII. of *Life of Raleigh* (Vol. I. pp. 505-507). This treatise is now known only by fragments. Some of them are preserved in MS. COTTON, Titus B viii. These are in Raleigh's autograph. Others I have nowhere seen, save in MS. JONES 60, now in Dr. Williams' Library, in London. These are copies, transcribed into a mere compilation, by an unknown hand, of Raleigh's *Miscellaneous Tracts*.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE POSTSCRIPT, BY SIR T. WILSON.

1618.
Oct. 4

My Lady RAWLEY hath noe other wrytyngs but only articles of agreements what parts of the goods or treasur gotten in the viag . . .¹ shold have for furnishing or setting out their shipp: viz.—

PENNINGTON £24 6s. od. of every hundred; Sir J[OHN] FERNE £12 6s. od. on every hundred; Sir W[ARHAM] SELLENGER £10² 6d. They are ingrossed, and signed and sealed by Sir W. RAWLEY.

She saith that all other things that are mentioned in this letter were delivered to Sir G[EORGE] CALVERT, and the chests³ ar with Alderman COKAINE.

¹ Here occurs in MS. an omission of an intended word or two. Probably, the omitted words should read "*the Adventurers.*"

² No shillings are mentioned.

³ This word is conjectural. The note has been written in great haste, and in some parts is scarcely legible.

1
1

1
1

1

INDEX.

A.

- Act for Sowing Hemp*, Raleigh's remarks on the, i. 272.
- Act for Tillage*, Raleigh's remarks on the, i. 272.
- Act for Establishing the Succession to the Crown*, i. 283.
- Acuña, see Palomeque.
- Aguas Blancas, or Umadea, River, i. 170.
- Aguirre, Lope de, Expedition of, in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 167, 168.
- Alfinger, Ambrose von, Expedition of, in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 165.
- Allen, Sir Francis, i. 119.
- Allen, William, Cardinal, on the Succession of the Crown, i. 281.
- Alley, Peter, Captain, i. 612.
- Aloblaster, Mr., a merchant, Raleigh's dealings with, ii. 305.
- Amadas, Philip, takes possession of Roanoke under Raleigh's Charter of 1584, i. 86; made Deputy Lieut.-Governor of Virginia, 87.
- Amara, or Manamo, River ('*Bravo Macareo*'), in Guiana, i. 185.
- Amazon, or Orellana, River, i. 166; ii. 422.
- Anderson, Sir Edward, sits as a Commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, i. 386.
- Anjou, Duke of, i. 43, 60.
- Anne of Denmark, intercession of, for Raleigh's pardon, i. 492; her request that Raleigh would prepare an elixir for Prince Henry, 511; Raleigh's letter to her, containing proposals for the colonization of Virginia, ii. 333; another, containing proposals for an expedition to Guiana, 335; letter of the Queen to Villiers, entreating his influence with the King to prevent the execution of Raleigh, 487.
- Antonio, son to the claimant of the crown of Portugal, ii. 144.
- "Appesley's band," ii. 5.
- Aramball, Marco, ii. 184, 185.
- Arenbergh, Charles, Count of, intercourse between, and Lord Cobham, i. 355; Cobham's application to King James to know the answer he should give to Arenbergh, 357; arrival in England of, 359; alleged intercourse of, with Raleigh, 395, &c.; return of, to England, early in 1604, 485; King James' account of him, written to the Archdeacon Albert, 486; letter to Lord Cobham, ii. 445; letter of Cecil to him, 459.
- Ark Raleigh*, The, i. 83, 147.
- Armada, Spanish, of 1588, i. 108; Raleigh's service against it, 111.
- Artson, Walter, answer of Raleigh to his complaints, ii. 416.
- Arwacas, or Arawacks, an Indian tribe, in Guiana, i. 182.
- Ashley, Sir Anthony, serves in the expedition against Cadiz, i. 208, 222, 229; notice of, ii. 133.
- Assapana, see Yaya.
- Atahualpa, i. 164.
- Atienza, Inez de, i. 167.
- Audley, see Touchet.
- Azores, naval battle near the, i. 144.

B.

- Babington, Anthony, and his Conspiracy, i. 68; seeks to purchase Raleigh's intercession with the Queen, 69; his estates granted to Raleigh, 7c.

- Bacon, Francis, Viscount St. Albans, advice of, to Essex, as to places of command, and as to Secretary Cecil, i. 228; Raleigh's reply to, in a debate about taxation, 270; alleged conversation of, with Raleigh, on the effect of his commission of Admiralty for the Guiana Expedition of 1617, 589; and Raleigh's alleged bravado about an attack on the Spanish Plate fleet, 591; his advice to King James about Raleigh's execution, 689; conversation with the Queen respecting the Earl of Essex, ii. 215.
- Bagnoll, Captain, wounded at Cadiz, 1596, ii. 154.
- Bugot, Anthony, on the relation between Elizabeth and Lord Essex in 1587, i. 72.
- Bailey, Captain John, deserts the Guiana Expedition at Lancerota, i. 606, ii. 348; his arrival in England, and proceedings there, i. 612; is examined before the Privy Council, and protected by the intervention of the Spanish Ambassador, 614.
- Balfour, Michael, Lord Balfour of Burley, i. 325.
- Bancroft, Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, writes to Cecil concerning William Watson, i. 342; urges George Brooke to confession, 369; writes to Cecil on the subject, *ib.*
- Barbary, captives in, Report of Raleigh and Heneage to the Lords of Council respecting, ii. 30.
- Barima, Point, i. 617.
- Barkley, Edward, Report of the 1581 campaign of Cork, ii. 6, 14.
- Barlow, Arthur, takes possession of Roanoke under Raleigh's charter of 1584, i. 86.
- Barrancas, St. Raphael of, i. 185.
- Barry, David, proceedings of, ii. 9.
- Barry, Lady, ii. 15.
- Barry, Lord, letter of Raleigh in his favour, ii. 89.
- Barry, Rowe, his share in the Rebellion, ii. 15.
- Barrys, of Barrys' Court, note on, ii. 88.
- Barter, Nathaniel, enters into bond to Raleigh in relation to an enterprise in Munster, i. 103.
- Basing House, *in Hauts*, Raleigh's visit to, in attendance on the Queen, i. 277; ii. 229.
- Bath, William, Earl of, see Bourchier.
- Bathurst, Robert, becomes a partner with Raleigh in the enterprise for exportation of pipestaves from Munster, i. 101.
- Bayonne, capture of a ship belonging to, ii. 55, 56.
- Beauchamp, Lord, Deputy Vice-Admiral of Cornwall, i. 67.
- Beaumont, Christophe de Harlay, Count of, see Harlay.
- Beddington, Church of, ii. 413.
- Beddington Park, *in Surrey*, interview between King James I. and Raleigh at, i. 364; Raleigh's plantations there, *ib.*
- Belphœbe and Timias, i. 51.
- Bennett, Robert, Dean of Windsor, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, i. 464.
- Benson, Mr., ii. 455-458.
- Berreio, Antonio de, life and character of, i. 169; origin of his Guiana Expeditions, *ib.*; his voyage on the Orinoco, 170; his conversation with Raleigh, 171, 174; his imprisonment of Captain Whiddon, 172; and its punishment by Raleigh, 173; sends his Lieutenant into Spain, 175; results of the mission, 176.
- Berry, Leonard, is sent by Raleigh to Guiana, in 1596, as Commander of a third English Expedition, i. 198.
- Bethune, Maximilien de, Duke of Sully, conversation with Henry IV. about Arabella Stuart, i. 300; Raleigh's examination about his conferences with, 379; account of the interview between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke de Biron, ii. 231.
- Bevill, Sir William, ii. 106.
- Bingley, Sir John, ii. 412.
- Biron, Charles, Duke of, see Gontaut.
- Bishop's Down, near Sherborne, ii. 326.
- Blackwall, ii. 122.
- Blackwell, George, R. C. Arch-priest of England, appeal against him by Watson, i. 340; his Pastoral Letter against the plotters of 1603, 351.
- Blanshill, Robert, ii. 240.
- Blount, Charles, Earl of Devonshire, i. 119; his opinion on the Spanish invasion of Ireland in 1601, 320; sits as a Commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, 386; letters of, ii. 180, 186, 188.
- Blount, Sir Christopher, serves as a volunteer in the expedition against Cadiz, i. 208; account of his share in the spoils of Cadiz, 223; excites dissension between Essex and Raleigh

- during the Islands Voyage of 1597, 240; attempts to assassinate Raleigh on the Thames, 257; at the time of his expedition, solicits and receives Raleigh's forgiveness, 258.
- Borough, see Burgh.
- Bothwell, Francis, Earl of, see Stuart.
- Bourchier, William, Earl of Bath, jealousies between Earl of Bath and Raleigh as to the special jurisdiction of the Stannaries, i. 276; Raleigh confers with him respecting defence of the country, ii. 36.
- Bowden, of Plymouth, ii. 182, 184-186.
- Bowser, Sir George, ii. 14.
- Boyle, Richard, Earl of Cork, completes Raleigh's castle at Lismore, i. 97; purchases Raleigh's estates in Munster, 106; Raleigh's intervention in July 1617, whilst detained at Cork, in a suit between Boyle and H. Pine, 601, ii. 493.
- Brandon, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, see Grey.
- Brest, proceedings of the Spaniards at, ii. 94.
- Brett, Sir Alexander, i. 203, 312, 468.
- Brett, Mr., recommended by Lady Raleigh to Sir R. Cecil, ii. 400.
- Breviary of the History of England under William the First*, i. 513.
- Brigance, Mr. ii. 210.
- Brittonda, ii. 184.
- Brittany, intended expedition to, ii. 96.
- Brocheron, Diego, ii. 184, 190, 244.
- Brocheron y Orosa, Fernando, ii. 184.
- Broke, Sir William, ii. 178.
- Brooke, Frances, Countess Dowager of Kildare, i. 307, 309, 311.
- Brooke, George, i. 343; brings about a meeting between Grey and Sir Griffin Markham, 348; is employed by Markham to procure a passport for Lord Cobham, 352; alleges a plot to have been formed by Raleigh for seizing the King's fleet, 353; conversations between him and Watson on the designs of Cobham and Raleigh, *ib.*; execution of, 441, ii. 451, 455-458, 462-468; letter to Cecil, 448.
- Brooke, Henry, Lord Cobham, obtains the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, i. 225; accused by Essex of a design to kill him, 255; goes to Ostend in company with Raleigh, 317; they visit Lord Grey in the camp of the English contingent, as bearers of a message from Cecil, 317; confers with Duke of Lennox, 326; Henry Howard's account of his aim and motives, *ib.*; Joint Stock adventure of, with Raleigh and Cecil, in privateering, 333; conference between Watson and George Brooke about the alleged designs of Raleigh and Cobham, 352-354; his project in favour of Arabella Stuart, 354; and interview with the Count of Arenbergh, 355; conference between him and Raleigh, and Sir William Waad's report about them, 359; meets the King on his entering into England, 362; the King's reception at Burghley of a message about him, 362; a letter written by Raleigh to Cecil is shown to him, and with what result, 369, 397; his examinations and interrogatories, 371, 372, 376, 378, 379, 382; conversation between him and Sir John Peyton the younger, 373; intercourse with La Fontaine, 378; retracts his charge against Raleigh, and confesses its falsity, 380; examinations of, 394, 395, 402, 405; Raleigh's account of his character, 397; and of the reason of his frequent meetings with him in the spring of 1603, 401; his story about the book 'against the King's title,' alleged umbrage given him by Raleigh, 422; retractation and repetition of his charge against Raleigh, 431, 434, 435; intercourse between Cobham and Raleigh in the Tower, 430; his story as to a plot for the landing of Spaniards at Milford Haven, 439; behaviour in the mock-execution scene at Winchester, 452; asserts on the scaffold the truth of his charge against Raleigh, 453; his speech after the reprieve, 454; his letter to the King, *ib.*; letter of Raleigh to, 1600, ii. 206; journey into Cornwall, 226; Raleigh's letters to him, 227, 234, 249; Raleigh's answer to his accusations, 271, 274, 283; letter of Cobham to Sir R. Cecil, on the arrival of Raleigh at Sandwich, &c. 425; Lord H. Howard's letter to Cecil respecting him, 436; letter to Sir R. Cecil, correspondence with Count D'Arenbergh, 446; and with Cecil, giving thanks for the promotion of his suit to go abroad, 447; to the same, concerning the Lady Arabella Stuart, 449; letter

- of Sir W. Waad respecting him, 450 ;
Watson's declaration respecting him,
455-458 ; Sir E. Coke's 'Abstract
of the Treasons' of Cobham, Grey,
Raleigh, &c. 462-465 ; confession of
remorse for his false accusation of
Raleigh, 483-485.
- Brooke, Sir William, serves under
Raleigh at the taking of Fayal, i.
240 ; ii. 178.
- Broughton, Hugh, notice of, ii. 124 ;
letter of Raleigh, in his favour, to
Sir R. Cecil, 125.
- Brouncker, Sir Henry, has the cus-
tody of Arabella Stuart on her im-
prisonment in 1603, i. 301 ; letter to
him from the Lady Arabella Stuart,
acknowledging past kindness, &c. ii.
428 ; letter from him to Sir R. Cecil,
respecting the Lady Arabella, 435.
- Browne, Sir Anthony, i. 289.
- Browne, Richard, obtains a lease for
seven years, from Raleigh, of the
Farm of Wines, i. 03 ; suits, arising
thereout, 65 ; ii. 23, 40, 41.
- Brownists, Raleigh's speech in Parlia-
ment on the tenets of, and on the
motion to punish them with banish-
ment, i. 271.
- Bruce, Edward, Lord Kinloss, i. 307.
- Buisseaux, . . . de, French Ambassador
at London, and a Member of the
French Council of State, i. 597 ; Ra-
leigh's letter to him, ii. 346.
- Bulmer's assay of the metallic ores of
Guiana, i. 189.
- Burgh, Lady, widow of Thomas Lord
Burgh, K.G., i. 209, note.
- Burgh, or Borough, Sir John, serves as
Vice-Admiral of Raleigh's fleet
equipped against the Spaniards in
1592, i. 146, ii. 60 ; captures the
Great Carrack *Maire de Dios*, i. 49,
ii. 62.
- Burghley, William, Lord, see Cecil.
- Burghley House, in *Northamptonshire*,
interview between King James I. and
Raleigh at, i. 362.
- Burhill, Robert, and the *History of the
World*, i. 544, 545.
- Burley, Richard, ii. 185.
- Burre, Walter, and the continuation of
the *History of the World*, i. 541.
- Burrough, or Burroughs, an officer of
the Admiralty, ii. 123, 130.
- Butler, Thomas, Earl of Ormond, i.
39-41, ii. 2-16.
- Byron, Sir John, i. 344.
- C.
- Cadiz, project of Sir John Hawkins, in
1587, for an attack on Cadiz, i. 201 ;
its revival by the Lord Admiral
Howard in 1596, *ib.* ; the success of
the enterprise is imperilled by the
Queen, 202, 203 ; discourse in Council
on the plan of operations, 205 ; Ra-
leigh's delay in joining the expedition,
and its causes, 206 ; preparations for
its defence, 208 ; blockade of the har-
bour, 209 ; Raleigh leads the English
squadron past its fortifications, and
attacks the Spanish fleet, 211 ; debate
in the Munition House on the reten-
tion for the Queen on the razing of
its fortifications, and the result, 219 ;
results of the victory, 220 ; partition
of the spoils, 221, 229 ; letters relating
to the expedition against, ii. 122,
129 ; victory at, 134, 139.
- Caliana, Caiana, or Cayenne, i. 611,
615.
- Cambridge, licensing of vintners at, ii.
24, 27, 28.
- Canary Islands, Raleigh's visit to the,
in 1595, i. 173, 604-609.
- Captainship of the Guard, i. 262, 363.
- Capuri, or Macareo, River, i. 285.
- Carapana, a Guianian Chief, i. 171,
194.
- Carew, Sir George, afterwards Earl
Totnes, advises Raleigh on sale of
his Munster estates, i. 106 ; serves in
the Cadiz Expedition, 207, 211 ; his
account of Raleigh's service in it, 220 ;
Cecil's correspondence with him after
the death of Essex, 261 ; expresses
his thankfulness for the peaceable
succession of James, 302 ; his opinion
on the Spanish invasion of Ireland in
1601, 320 ; his account of an at-
tempt to kill John FitzThomas
FitzGerald, 323 ; extracts from his
accounts of Raleigh's preparations for
Guiana in 1616-17, and of the pro-
gress of the expedition, 598, 610 ;
letters to him from Raleigh, 1589, ii.
41, 148, 178, 468.
- Carew, Henry, ii. 204.
- Carew, Sir Nicholas, i. 364.
- Carew, Richard, of Antony, dedicates
to Raleigh his *Survey of Cornwall*, i.
275.
- Carey, George, of Cockington, i. 244.
- Carleton, Dudley, Viscount Dorchester,
account by, of the demeanour of the
people at Raleigh's trial, i. 410.

- Caroni ('Caroli' of Raleigh), River, a tributary of the Orinoco, i. 185, 186, 188.
- Carr, Robert, Earl of Somerset, grants and re-grants of the Manor and Castle of Sherborne and their dependencies to, i. 469, 480, 481; Raleigh's letter to him on receiving intelligence that Carr had obtained a grant of the Sherborne estate, ii. 326.
- Carrack, the Great, capture of, i. 149-158; ii. 59-74.
- Carte, Thomas, account of the battle in Cadiz harbour by, ii. 141.
- Cartie, Charles, ii. 127.
- Cary, Sir Robert, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, i. 74, 361.
- Cassanare, Meta, or Negro, River, i. 170.
- Caufeilde, Thomas, ii. 493.
- Caux, or Caix, Momon de, complaint of, against Raleigh, and Council directions therein, i. 117.
- Cavendish, Sir Charles, account of an interview between Raleigh and Arabella Stuart by, i. 75.
- Cavendish, Thomas, goes out to Virginia under Raleigh's charter of 1584, i. 87.
- Cebures, ii. 184.
- Cecil, Lady, notice of, ii. 157; Raleigh's letter to Sir R. Cecil on her death, 161.
- Cecil, Sir Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, is sent to Dartmouth as Commissioner for the spoils of the Great Carrack, i. 152; his account of the arrival and reception of Raleigh, 154; serves as joint commissioner with Raleigh and W. Killigrew, 155; contributes to the outfit of the Guiana Expedition of 1595, 173; his reception of Raleigh's proposals for the resumption of Guiana enterprise, 199; brings Raleigh into the Queen's presence to resume his command of the Royal Guard, 226; his appointment to the Secretaryship, 227; frequent political conferences between him, Essex, and Raleigh, *ib.*; Bacon's advice to Essex about him, 228; renewed conferences between Cecil, Essex, and Raleigh, 251; his diplomatic mission to France, 252; his account of the calumnious aspersions of the Earl of Essex, 255; Raleigh's advice to him on the treatment of Essex in 1600, 258; his correspondence with Sir G. Carew, 261; alleged desire to obtain for Raleigh a resignation of the Captaincy of the Guard in favour of Carew, 262; James the Sixth's distrust of, 265; his secret correspondence of 1601-1603, 266; Raleigh's reply to him, in a debate on taxation, 270; colloquy with Essex at his trial, 293; want of proof to substantiate Henry Howard's assertion of an identity of views between himself and Cecil in 1602, 312; extracts from Cecil's own correspondence with James about Raleigh and Cobham, 313; his message by Raleigh and Cobham to Lord Grey of Wilton, at Ostend, 317; conversation of, with Raleigh on the mission of the Duke of Lennox, 327; is a joint-stock adventurer with Raleigh in the ownership and equipment of privateers, 333; opinions on the toleration of Roman Catholic worship, 341; causes Raleigh to be examined in the Council Chamber at Windsor, as to his knowledge of any plot to surprise the King's person, 366; conflicting statements of Cecil and Raleigh, as to any questions having then been put about the intercourse between Cobham and D'Arenbergh, 367; directs the withholding of a letter addressed to the Council by Raleigh, 368; gives an account of an examination of Cobham, on the 29th July, in a despatch to Sir Thomas Parry, 372; and also of Raleigh's attempted suicide, 373; sits as a Commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, 386; friendly offices rendered to Raleigh by, after the conviction of 1603, 461; negotiation with the Dean of Windsor in relation to the bishopric of Salisbury and the manor of Sherborne, 464; correspondence of, with Sir Edward Coke and Sir John Popham, in relation to Raleigh's Dorsetshire manors, 469; his death, 508; contemporary opinions of him, 509; Sir Walter Cope's defence of his official career, *ib.*; Sir John Digby's statements as to his pension from Spain, 510, note; his purchase of portions of Durham House, ii. 266; Raleigh entreats his intercession for him with the King, 278; Raleigh's letter of thanks for his friendly offices, 288; letter to Sir G. Harvey, on the letters of supplication from the prisoners in the Tower, Aug. 20.

- 1603, 460; letter to Sir B. Tichborne, respecting the execution of G. Brooke, &c. 465; letter to Cecil, from Lord Grey, praying for his intercession with the King, &c. Dec. 1603, 482; letter to Sir G. Harvey on the return of papers belonging to Sir W. Raleigh, 486.
- Cecil, William, Second Earl of Salisbury, i. 259; ii. 202, 218, 223.
- Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, letter to Raleigh, May 1583, requesting his intercession with the Queen on behalf of the Earl of Oxford, i. 59; conversation with Raleigh about Arabella Stuart, 75; obtains Raleigh's enlargement from the Tower, in order to his mission to Dartmouth respecting the spoils of the *Madre de Dios*, 152; notice of his calculations respecting that prize, 157; his account of the Queen's anger at his counsel respecting the partition of the spoils of Cadiz, 222, note; letters from Raleigh to Burghley, Feb. 22, 1580-1581, ii. 7; May 12, 1583, 21; Dec. 20, 1587, 36.
- Chamberlain, John, his account of the prospects of Virginia in 1612, i. 92; letter respecting the Earl of Essex, ii. 214.
- Champernoun, Sir Arthur, i. 31.
- Champernoun, Henry, commands the contingent in which Raleigh commenced his military services in France, i. 26.
- Champernoun, Katherine, i. 13; see also Raleigh, Katherine.
- Champion, Richard, custodian of Lady Raleigh in August 1618, Council instructions to him, i. 685.
- Charles Emanuel I. Duke of Savoy, Raleigh's discourse on the propositions of, and on his relations with Spain, i. 497; Raleigh's alleged negotiation with the Ambassador of, respecting an attack on Genoa, 577, 579-584.
- Charles, Duke of Sudermania, afterwards Charles IX. King of Sweden, report to Lord Treasurer Buckhurst of the Duke's willingness, in 1598, to fit out a fleet for Guiana, to co-operate with Raleigh, i. 199.
- Cheshull, William, suit of, against Raleigh, in relation to the estate of Kilmachone, i. 103.
- Cheynes, a London goldsmith, ii. 299.
- Christian IV. King of Denmark, intercedes for the pardon of Raleigh, i. 493.
- Clara Isabella Eugenia, Infanta of Spain, i. 288, 292.
- Clerke, Francis [or William?], agency of, at the Court of Scotland, i. 340; execution of, 441; ii. 464.
- Clifford, Alexander, ii. 149.
- Clifford, Sir Conyers, serves in the expedition against Cadiz, i. 207, 212; ii. 149.
- Clifford, George, Earl of Cumberland, becomes joint-adventurer with Raleigh in an expedition against the Spanish Plate Fleet, and the settlement at Panama, i. 116; discourses and proceedings in reference to the spoils of the *Madre de Dios*, 156; results of the partition, 158; he escorts the Duke de Biron to Basing, ii. 231.
- Clyst Saint Mary, in Devon, anecdote of Walter Raleigh of Fardell, and the insurgents at, i. 16.
- Cobham, Henry, Lord, see Brooke.
- Coke, Sir Edward, i. 353, 355; assertion by, that Lord Grey refused to confer with Markham about the 'Surprising Plot,' and its falsity, 349; conducts the prosecution of Raleigh at Winchester, 387; his speech to the jury, 388; his scurrilous abuse of Raleigh, 391, 407; Cobham's offer of a cabinet to, for drawing the conveyance of a fee-farm, 401; final speech against Raleigh, and allusion to the death of Essex, 432; his argument on the treason statute of Edward VI. 390; correspondence with Lord Salisbury about the conveyance by Raleigh of the Sherborne manors, 468; 'Abstract of the Treasons' of Cobham, Grey, Raleigh, &c. ii. 462-465.
- Colaton Raleigh, notice of the history of the manor of, i. 12, note.
- Coldwell, John, Bishop of Salisbury, dealings of, with the Manor of Sherborne and its dependencies, i. 464.
- Coligni, Gaspar de, Admiral of France, i. 26.
- Colin Clout's come home again*, i. 120-130.
- Commercial Policy of England under Queen Elizabeth, notices of the, i. 62, 65, 97, 100, 102, 116, 158, 242.
- Compton, William, Earl of Northampton, is present at the execution of Raleigh, i. 699.

- Compton Castle, near Torquay, i. 76.
 Concini, Concino, Marshal d'Ancre, Raleigh's comment on the assassination of, i. 588.
 Condé, Lewis (I.) de Bourbon, Prince of, i. 26.
Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, i. 291.
 Conndon, Patrick, proceedings of, ii. 9.
 Conseil d'Etat, ii. 344.
 Copley, Anthony, antecedents of, i. 343; his confessions about the conspiracies of 1603, *ib.*; his subsequent employment in Holland, 344; his story about a plot by Raleigh 'to surprise the King's fleet,' 353; is befriended by Lord Cecil after his conviction, 460; particulars of his plot for surprising the Court, &c. ii. 458, 464.
 Coppinger, i. 323.
 Corn Laws, Raleigh on, i. 273.
 Cornish Miners, ii. 96, 210, 256.
 Cornwall, Duchy of, i. 68, 273, 275, 276; Raleigh's complaint as to injudicious treatment of Crown lands there, 363; proposals for defence of, ii. 38, 112, 118.
 Corsini, Filippo, suit of, in the Court of Admiralty, against Raleigh, i. 159; ii. 75.
 Cotterell, Edward, a servant of Sir W. Raleigh, i. 381.
 Cottington, Sir Francis, English Ambassador at Madrid, is directed to assure the Spanish Court that no harm will come to Spain by Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, i. 597; his account of the attack on Raleigh's men at Lancerota, 607; and of the chase of the French ship near Cape St. Vincent, *ib.*; reports to the Spanish Secretary of State Raleigh's attempted escape, and his re-committal to the Tower, 675.
 Cotton, Henry, Bishop of Salisbury, grants to Queen Elizabeth an estate of inheritance in the castle and manor of Sherborne, for assignment to Raleigh, i. 464.
 Cotton, Sir Robert, letter of Sir W. Raleigh to him, from the Tower, requesting the loan of various books of history, ii. 322.
 Craik, George L. i. 122, note.
 Cromwell, Edward, Lord Cromwell, serves as a volunteer in *Islands' Voyage of 1597*, i. 233.
 Cromwell, Oliver, intervenes on behalf of William Spenser, grandson of the poet, i. 128.
 Crosse, Sir Robert, accompanies Raleigh into Northamptonshire, on his journey to meet King James, i. 361; takes spoils from the 'Great Carrack,' to the value of £2,000, ii. 65.
 Crown of England, Succession of the, i. 266, 279.
 Crown Jewels of England, questions addressed to Raleigh about the treatment of the, after the death of Queen Elizabeth, i. 677.
 Crymes, Mr., ii. 211.
 Cumberland, George, Earl of, see Clifford.
 Cunnocke, Mr. ii. 210.
 Curiapan ('*Punto Gallo*,' '*Los Gallos*,' '*Point de Galle*'), now called 'Point Hicacos,' i. 185.
 Cynthia, i. 121.
- D.
- Dalrymple, David, Lord Hailes, edition of the *Secret Correspondence of 1601-3* on the Succession, published by, i. 306.
 Daniel, John, notice of, in a letter of Raleigh to Cecil, ii. 238, and note.
 Daniel, Samuel, remarks on the controverted question as to Daniel's authorship of the *Breviary of the History of William I.* attributed to Raleigh, i. 513; his own statement as to the compilation of his *History of England*, 515.
 Dartmouth, arrival of the Carrack *Madre de Dios* at, i. 149; Robert Cecil's adventures there, and his account of the reception of Raleigh after his release from the Tower, 154.
 Davis, John, incorporation of, with Raleigh, in the 'North-west Passage Company,' i. 84.
 Davys, John, see Davis.
Defence of the honour of Mary, Queen of Scotland: with a declaration of her right, title, and interest in the Crown of England, i. 289.
 Denny, Edward, i. 47.
 Dennys, Sir Robert, of Bicton, in *Devon*, had a feoffment of Colaton Moor from Walter Raleigh of Fardell, i. 12.

- Denshire and Stevens, case between, ii. 92.
- Des Marêts, Count, French Ambassador at London, visit of, to Raleigh's ship *Destiny*, on the eve of the expedition to Guiana in 1617, and his account of the conversation there, as reported to Richelieu, i. 592; extracts from his despatch of April 14th, containing an account of an interview, and of an alleged proffer of Raleigh's services to France, 595.
- Desmond estates, in Munster, grant of a portion to Raleigh, i. 94; their sale to Boyle, 106.
- Desmond, James of, commission to Raleigh and Sir W. St. Leger for the trial of, i. 38.
- Desmond, John, Earl of, see Fitzgerald.
- De Thou's account of the arrival of Champemoun's contingent in the Huguenot camp in 1569, i. 25.
- De titulo et jure Marie Scotorum Regina, quo Anglie successionem jure sibi vindical*, i. 289.
- Devereux, Robert, Earl of Essex, rivalries between Raleigh and, i. 71; his account of a scene at North Hall, during a progress of 1587, 72; his attempt to escape from court, 74; alleged combination with Raleigh in efforts to relieve persecuted Puritans, 132; parallelism in their fortunes, 135; is made general-in-chief of the expedition against Cadiz, 202; remonstrates against the Queen's ir-resolution, and against the changes in the plan of operations, 203; extracts from his correspondence on the enterprise, 204; urgently entreats the presence of Raleigh with the fleet, 206; determines, on the advice of Lord Admiral Howard, to assault the town before attacking the Spanish fleet, 210; consents, on the urgent remonstrance of Raleigh, to postpone the attack on the town, 211; and empowers Raleigh to lead the van in the attack on the fleet, *ib.*; thrusts his flagship into the van of the battle in Cadiz harbour, 214; heads the land attack on the town, 217; Raleigh's account of his gallantry and brilliant success, *ib.*; his disdain of plunder, 222; Philip the Second's remarks on him, 223; frequent political conferences between him, Cecil, and Raleigh, 227; Bacon's advice to him about the Secretary, and about places of command, 228; scene between him and Raleigh after the taking of Fayal, 240; interposition of Lord Thomas Howard, 242; has a cochineal contract, 243; his quarrel with Nottingham, and Raleigh's interposition to heal it, 249; renewed conferences between Essex, Cecil, and Raleigh, 250; created Earl Marshal, *ib.*; promotes the marriage of Southampton with Elizabeth Vernon, 252; his pledge to Robert Cecil on Cecil's departure for France, *ib.*; hesitates to accept the government of Ireland, 253; his acceptance, and immediate discontent, *ib.*; Raleigh's letter to Cecil on the treatment of Essex in 1600, 258; Raleigh's presence at his execution, and the sadness noticed in his bearing on returning from the scene, 260; incidents of his insurrection, 292; the colloquy with Robert Cecil at the trial, 293; allusion at Raleigh's trial to his execution, 430, 433; victory at Cadiz, ii. 134, 139, 146-156; Raleigh, Essex, and the *Richard the Second* of Shakespeare, 164, 169; Raleigh's advice to Cecil respecting his treatment in 1600, 213-223.
- Devonshire, state of, in Raleigh's youth, i. 20; proposals for raising forces in, ii. 36; defence of, 118.
- Digby, George, Earl of Bristol, i. 476.
- Digby, John, Earl of Bristol, has a grant of the castle and manor of Sherborne, i. 475, 481.
- Dimock's assay of the metallic ores of Guiana, i. 189.
- Discourse of the invention of ships*, i. 504.
- Discourse touching a marriage between Prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy*, i. 493.
- Discourse touching a match propounded by the Savoyan between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont*, i. 494.
- Discourse touching a war with Spain, and of the protecting of the Netherlands*, i. 365.
- Disraeli, Isaac, and his account of the composition of Raleigh's *History of the World*, i. 543-548.
- Discoverie of Guiana*, i. 196.
- Dobb, William, ii. 92.
- Doddridge, Sir John, i. 466; ii. 292, 299, 312.

- Dodge, Edward, becomes a partner in Raleigh's enterprise for exportation of pipestaves from Munster, i. 101.
- Dolbery, John, i. 471.
- Downe, William, ii. 423.
- Drake, Joan, first wife of Walter Raleigh of Fardell, i. 12.
- Drake, Sir Francis, furnishes supplies to Raleigh's colony in Virginia, i. 88; and brings the colonists back to England, 89; his warning to Burghley about the Armada of 1588, 109; Raleigh's service under him in the Portuguese expedition of 1589, 115; visit to the Netherlands, 1587, ii. 35; Panama expedition of 1595, 119, 120.
- Drexelius' (Dreschel), Jeremiah, account of Raleigh's magnificence in dress, i. 32.
- Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester, letters to him from Raleigh, Aug. 25, 1581, ii. 17; March 29, 1586, 33; Oct. 8, 1587, 35.
- Dudley, Sir Robert, serves in the expedition against Cadiz, i. 208; ii. 108, 149.
- Duke, Richard, of Otterton, grants a lease of Hayes to Walter Raleigh of Fardell, i. 11; letter to him, from Raleigh, for purchase of Hayes manor, ii. 26.
- Durham House, surrender of, by Raleigh, to Bishop Tobias Matthew, ii. 262; letter of Raleigh respecting it, 269; fire at, 404.
- Dyer, a pilot, called at Raleigh's trial to give evidence as to gossip at Lisbon about James' coronation, i. 427.
- E.
- Egerton, Sir Thomas, afterwards Viscount Brackley, letters to him from Raleigh, April 10, 1583, ii. 20; March 8, 1587, 1588, 40; conveys to the Earl of Essex the decision of the Commissioners respecting him in 1600, 215.
- El Dorado*, the fabled wealth of, i. 159; origin and meaning of the term, 164; the early expeditions in search of, 165, ii. 422; see also Guiana.
- Eliot, Sir John, is present at the execution of Raleigh, i. 699.
- Elizabeth, Queen of England, negotiation of, with the French Huguenots prior to the departure of Champernoun's contingent, i. 27; her treatment of the Count of Montgomery, 30; her person, 51; 'Timias and Belphebe,' 56; Raleigh's interview with, on behalf of the Earl of Oxford, 59; her conversation about Raleigh with the Earl of Essex in 1587, 72; her treatment of Raleigh's prediction of a new Irish rebellion, 99; Spenser's account of the quarrel between her and Raleigh, 121; her caprice in the choice of commanders for great enterprises, 202; her irresolution about the expedition against Cadiz, 204; her conduct in regard to the partition of the spoils, 222; her proposition for the marriage of James VI. with Arabella, 297; conversation with the French Ambassador about Arabella, 298; her seizure of Arabella's property, 299; state of parties in England at the time of her death, 340; sends a token by Raleigh to Sir H. Gilbert, ii. 19; Raleigh writes to her, expressing his regrets at being excluded from the Queen's presence, 259.
- Elwes, William, account of a portrait of Lady Raleigh, formerly belonging to, i. 137.
- England, Crown of, Succession of the, i. 266, 279.
- English soldiers, treatment of the, engaged in the capture of Cadiz, i. 224.
- Epernon, Duke of, Raleigh's notice of his flight from the French Court, ii. 247.
- Erinetta, —, i. 622.
- Erskine, John, Earl of Mar, i. 307.
- Erskine, Sir Thomas, mission to Calais of, i. 325; appointment of, by James I., to supersede Raleigh in the office of Captain of the Guard, 363.
- Essex, Robert, Earl of, see Devereux.
- Exeter, imprisonment of W. Raleigh of Fardell in, during the rising of the west, i. 17.
- F.
- Fachardo, Francisco, ii. 355.
- Faery Queen*, i. 123, 139.
- Faige, Charles, Raleigh's intercourse with, on the eve of the last expedition to Guiana, ii. 344, 346, 364.
- Falmouth, fortification of, i. 244.

- Fane, Sir Thomas, feigned correspondence between Lord Cobham and, i. 394.
- Fardell, in *Devonshire*, notice of the Raleigh manor-house of, i. 8.
- Fayal, capture of, by the English squadron, under Raleigh, i. 239.
- Featley (or Fairclough), Daniel, D.D., extracts from his letters to Raleigh on the education of his eldest son, Walter Raleigh, i. 624.
- Federmann's Expedition in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 165.
- Fellowship for the discovery of a North-west Passage, i. 84.
- Fenton, James, i. 46.
- Feogh, Mac Hugh, i. 105.
- Ferne, Sir John, accusation of intended piracy against Raleigh, i. 683; ii. 373.
- Field, Richard, D.D., i. 451.
- FitzEdmonds, John, of Cloyne, recommended by Raleigh to Leicester, ii. 18.
- FitzEdmonds, John, Seneschal of Imokelly, lays an ambush for Raleigh on the road to Bally, i. 44.
- FitzGerald, Catherine, Countess of Desmond, widow of Thomas, twelfth earl, i. 107.
- FitzGerald, James Fitz-Thomas, i. 319.
- FitzGerald, John Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Desmond, i. 319; attempt to assassinate him near Arklow, 323.
- FitzJames, John, dealings of the Dean and Chapter of Sarum with, ii. 97.
- Fitzwilliam, Sir William, orders distraint to be levied on Raleigh's tenants in Munster. i. 98; seizes a castle belonging to Raleigh in Munster, *ib.*, ii. 49, 50.
- Fleet, proceedings of the English, in 1597, ii. 172, 177, 180.
- Flemish ships, treatment of, by Raleigh, ii. 47.
- Fletcher, George, statement of, that he had been deceived by calumnies of the Earl of Essex being in personal danger at the hands of Raleigh, i. 255.
- Floire, John, see Floyer.
- Flores, Pedro Gutierrez, see Gutierrez.
- Floyer, John, captures a ship of Bayonne, ii. 55, 56.
- Fortescue, Sir John, remonstrates with Burghley on the proceedings in relation to the partition of the spoils of the Carrack *Madre de Dios*, i. 156.
- Fowler, Sir Thomas, foreman of the jury at Winchester, in Nov. 1603, i. 405.
- Fowler, Thomas, trustee for Arabella Stuart, i. 298.
- France. Attorney-General Yelverton's assertion that Raleigh had obtained, in 1617, a French Commission 'to assail Spaniards,' i. 678.
- Franchi Conestaggio, Girolamo dei, ii. 200.
- Freake, Thomas, ii. 246.
- Free Trade, Raleigh on, i. 273.
- Frobisher, Sir Martin, is sent to recall Raleigh from the expedition against Panama, and to act for him as Admiral of the Fleet, i. 147; Raleigh's instructions to him, 149; note on, ii. 45.
- Frontino, Hernan, ii. 355.

G.

- Gage, John, writes to the Archbishop Blackwell about the Romanist plotters of 1603, i. 351.
- Gascoigne, George, verses alleged to have been addressed by Raleigh to, i. 36; publishes Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Discourse on a North-west Passage, 77.
- Gawdy, Sir Francis, a Justice of the King's Bench, sits as a commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, i. 386; his alleged saying about that trial when on his death-bed, 388.
- Gawen, Walter, i. 480.
- Genoa, alleged negotiation between Raleigh and the Ambassador of Savoy respecting an attack upon, i. 577, 579-584.
- Geographical discovery, Raleigh's liberal promotion of the literature of, i. 163.
- Geraldines, rising of the, ii. 6.
- Gerard, Miles, i. 353.
- Gerard, Thomas, Lord Gerard of Gerards Bromley, serves as a volunteer in the expedition against Cadiz, i. 208; apprehends Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, on a charge of treason, 405.
- Geronimo de la Concepcion, account of the English attack on Cadiz by, i. 209, 212, 213.
- Gibb, John, is employed by James I. to convey the secret warrant for staying

- the execution at Winchester, i. 448, 450.
- Gilbert, Adrian, is joined with Raleigh and John Davys in a North-west Passage Company, i. 84; controversy with John Meere about the Constableness of Sherborne Castle, 470; Raleigh's mention of him in a testamentary letter written in 1603, ii. 386.
- Gilbert, Captain, voyage to Virginia of, ii. 251.
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, service in the Netherlands, i. 35, 77; discourse on a North-west Passage to China, *ib.*; his intended voyage to Newfoundland, in 1579, interrupted by Privy Council, 78; alleged attack by one of his ships on a Spanish barque at Warfleet, 79; Royal Charter to, in 1578, for the prosecution of voyages of discovery, 80; correspondence with Sir F. Walsingham on his voyage of 1583, 82; and with Sir G. Peckham, 83; death, *ib.*; Raleigh's account of the suppression of Irish insurrections by, ii. 2; Raleigh's letter to, accompanying a token of the Queen's favour, 19.
- Gilbert, Sir John, i. 78; Deputy Vice-Admiral of Devon, 67; prepares for an expedition to Guiana in 1598, 199; letter to Cecil, on privateering enterprises in 1601, 333; letter to him from Raleigh, on the victualling of ships at Plymouth, ii. 34; Raleigh confers with him respecting defence of the country, 36.
- Gillingham, falconry at, ii. 85.
- Godolphin, Sir Francis, ii. 186.
- Godwin, Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, falsehood of an assertion that Raleigh organized or concocted a scandalous report against, i. 131.
- Gondomar, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of, tradition of his personal dislike of Raleigh, i. 568; his pedigree, 569, note; his portraits, 569; his early career in Spain, 570; his embassy to England, 571; proofs of his power over King James, 573; and of his personal estimate of James, 574; protests against Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, 587; obtains detailed account of Raleigh's plans, and a chart of his intended route, and sends them to Madrid, 588; induces James to alter some of the terms employed in Raleigh's commission, 589; interposes on behalf of the deserter from Raleigh's fleet, Captain John Bailey, 642; accuses Raleigh of piracy, 646; has a parting interview with James on leaving London, 651; and goes to Madrid, *ib.*
- Gontaut, Charles de, Duke of Biron, Marshal of France, Raleigh's attendance on the Duke of Biron in London, and at Basing House, i. 277; ii. 229-235.
- Good, John, ii. 431.
- Goodman, Godfrey, Bishop of Gloucester, anecdote about Raleigh's embalmed head by, i. 706.
- Goodwin, Hugh, an English boy, left in Guiana, i. 192; Oldys' statement as to his fate, *ib.* note. [The contrary statement in the text is an error, arising out of a misconception of the passage in Raleigh's M.S. journal, there referred to.]
- Gorges, Sir Arthur, describes, in a letter to Robert Cecil, a scene in the Tower, in 1592, between Raleigh and Sir George Carew, i. 141; account by, of the interview between Essex and Raleigh, after the taking of Fayal, 241, ii. 233.
- Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, interview of, with Sir W. Raleigh, on the Thames, at the time of the Essex Conspiracy, i. 256; allusions to, in Raleigh's trial at Winchester, 396; Raleigh's quarrel with, ii. 312.
- Goring, George, becomes lessee of part of Raleigh's estate in Munster, i. 103.
- Grados, Geronimo de, ii. 622, 632.
- Grant, Patrick, ii. 127.
- Grenville, Bernard, ii. 197.
- Grenville, Sir Richard, made commander of an expedition to Virginia, in 1585, i. 87; arrives at Roanoke, 89; death in a combat at the Azores, with one ship against five, 144; Raleigh's relation of the event, 145, 214; Raleigh's conference with him respecting defence of the country, ii. 36.
- Grey, Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, i. 37, 48; letter to Burghley respecting Raleigh, ii. 4; letter to Walsingham, *ib.*; letter in reply to Walsingham, 5.
- Grey, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, i. 288.
- Grey, Henry, Duke of Suffolk, i. 288.

- Grey, Lady Katherine, see Seymour.
- Grey, Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, serves as a volunteer in the Islands' Voyage of 1597, i. 233; conferences at Ostend, July 1600, with Raleigh and Cobham, as bearer of a message for Sir R. Cecil, 317; his account of their visit, 318; career and character of, 345; dispute between him and Lord Southampton in the presence chamber of Queen Anne at Windsor, 346; extent of his complicity in the plot for surprising the court, 347; his conference with Sir Griffin Markham, 348; Watson's plot against him, 350; behaviour of, at the mock-execution scene at Winchester, 451; his speech after the reprieve, 454; Watson's account of his conspiracy, ii. 456-458; message to him, while a prisoner in the Tower, from Cecil, Aug. 20, 1603, 461; Sir E. Coke's 'Abstract of the Treasons' of Lord Grey and others, 462-465; extent of his participation in the plot of 1603, his life, character, &c., 469-481; letter to Cecil, from Winchester, Dec. 1603, praying for his intercession with the King, &c., 482.
- Guanipa, River and Bay of, i. 179.
- Guiana, the early explorations of, i. 163; Philip von Hutten's account of, 166; journeys of Ursua and Aguirre in, 167; and those of Antonio de Berreo, 169; pilot voyage of Jacob Whiddon, 172; Raleigh's first voyage, 173; his pictures of its scenery, 181-183; his account of the ores of Guiana, and of the experiments in their assaying, 189, 196; conversation between Raleigh and the chieftain Topiawari, on its productions, climate, and inhabitants, 187, 190, 192; publication of Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana*, 196; his MS. treatise *Of the Voyage for Guiana*, 198; new preparations for the voyage to, ii. 100, 103, 105; colonization and wealth of, 109-111, 118; proposals for an expedition to, made to Queen Anne of Denmark, 335; further proposals, 336, 347; account of the final voyage and its misfortunes, &c., 347-380; charts of, 420.
- Gutierrez Florez, Pedro, i. 212.
- Guzman, Fernando de, expedition of, in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 167; murder of, by Lope de Aguirre, 168.
- Haddington, John, Viscount, see Ramsay.
- Hailes, David, Lord, see Dalrymple.
- Hakluyt, Richard, i. 33, 163.
- Hakluyt, Richard, the Elder, i. 163.
- Hales, John, notice of an *Invective against the Succession of the Queen of Scots*, written by, i. 288.
- Harcourt, Robert, voyage of, to Guiana, i. 191.
- Harington, Sir John, i. 131; he obtains a promise from King James of the forfeitures of the Markhams, i. 457.
- Hariot, Thomas, goes out to Virginia under Raleigh's Charter of 1584, i. 87; dedicates the *Brief and True Report of Virginia* to Raleigh, 88; defamation of, by Chief Justice Popham, in passing sentence at the trial of Raleigh, in Nov. 1603, 436; help rendered by him to Raleigh in the revision of the *History of the World*, 545; letter to Sir R. Cecil, with proposals for framing charts of Guiana, &c., ii. 420.
- Harlay, Christophe de, Count of Beaumont, statement of, as to the relations between Lord Cobham and Sir Robert Cecil, in May 1603, i. 358; account of the examination of Cobham, in his correspondence addressed to King Henry IV. 377; account of the conference between D'Arenbergh and Cobham, 378; his account of a conversation with Lady Raleigh, 379; his comments on the dying words of George Brooke, 442; account of the hesitation of King James in deciding on the fate of Raleigh, and of the other condemned persons, 443; and of the alleged intervention of the Spanish Ambassador, 445; his statement as to Raleigh's behaviour at the mock-execution scene, 450.
- Harlay, Countess of Beaumont, visit of, to the Tower of London, and conversation with Raleigh, i. 489.
- Harry, 'the Indian,' i. 611, 612.
- Harvey, Sir George, suppresses a retraction of the charges against Raleigh, made by Lord Cobham, until after the trials at Winchester, i. 381, 434; removal of, from the Lieutenancy of the Tower, 486; his letter to Cecil,

- inclosing Lord Cobham's confession of remorse for his false accusation of Raleigh, ii. 483.
- Hastings, Edward, a volunteer in the Guiana expedition of 1617, i. 567.
- Hawkins, Sir John, Spenser's portrait of him as 'Proteus,' i. 124; his intervention on behalf of Raleigh, in 1592, 150; projects, in 1587, an attack on Cadiz, 201; Raleigh asks his opinion respecting the *Great Susan*, ii. 52; his Panama expedition, 1595, with Sir Francis Drake, and Raleigh's proposals in relation to it, 119, 120.
- Hay, James, 1st Earl of Carlisle, i. 449; ii. 494.
- Hayes, near Otterton, in Devon, the birthplace of Raleigh, i. 9.
- Hayes, Edward, account of Raleigh's voyage in 1579 by, i. 81.
- Hayward, Sir John, i. 294.
- Hele, John, Serjeant-at-Law, opens the indictment of Raleigh in the trial at Winchester, i. 387.
- Heneage, Sir Thomas, report of, to Lords of Council respecting captives in Barbary, ii. 30.
- Henry IV., King of England, Sir John Hayward's *History of*, i. 294.
- Henry IV., King of France, conversation of, with Sully about Arabella Stuart, i. 300; Elizabeth's eagerness for a personal interview with Henry, 330; comment of, on the conduct of King James in relation to the trial at Winchester, in 1603, 456; his commission to René Maree de Montbariot for the 'Conquest and Planting of Guiana,' 596.
- Henry, Prince of Wales, fruitless suits of, for the pardon of Raleigh, i. 492; his request that Raleigh would advise him on the Savoyan proposition of a double marriage, 494; has a ship built after the suggestion of Raleigh, 510; his death, 511; Raleigh's letter to him, with plans for building a warship, ii. 330.
- Herbert, Henry, Earl of Pembroke, asks Raleigh's mediation with the Queen for a grant of the New Forest, i. 119.
- Herbert, William, a volunteer in the Guiana expedition, i. 567; ii. 353, 358, 372, 494.
- Hertford, Edward, Earl of, see Seymour.
- Hey, Lord, see Hay, James, 1st Earl of Carlisle.
- Hickes, Sir Michael, Secretary to Lord Burghley, letter to him from Raleigh in favour of Captain Spring, ii. 382.
- Highbington, Robert, i. 290.
- Hill, James, a Diplomatic Agent in Finland, report to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst of the willingness of Duke Charles, of Sudermania, to join in an English expedition, under Raleigh, to Guiana, i. 199.
- Hilliard, William, Raleigh recommends him for a prebend in Exeter Cathedral, ii. 131.
- History of the World*, i. 25, 33, 111, 239; where was it written? 488; its design and plan, 517; the History of the Four Monarchies of Antiquity intended as an Introduction to a History of England, 518; its new portraits in old dresses, 523; its chronology, 535; its ethics, 536; causes of its having remained unfinished, 541; the helpers in its composition, 543.
- Hoby, Sir Edward, ii. 425.
- Hody, Pierre de, complaint of, against Raleigh, and Council determination therein, i. 117.
- Holderness, John, Earl of, see Ramsay.
- Holford, Mr. ii. 431.
- Holland, Joseph, a pedigree of Raleigh [now in 'MS. Harl. 1500'] drawn by, i. 8.
- Hooker, —, tutor of Walter Raleigh the Younger, at Oxford, i. 624.
- Hooker, John, addresses Raleigh on the Raleigh alliances and pedigree, i. 3; and draws a moral therefrom, 4; Pole's criticism on Hooker's statements, 5; Hooker's account of a Raleigh tradition connected with Smallridge Chapel, 6; notice of Raleigh's stay in France, 33; notices Raleigh's encounter with Spaniards in 1579, 81.
- Horsely, Sir Edward, i. 65, 66.
- Horsely, Sir Ralph, ii. 401; letters to Sir R. Cecil, written in 1596, 423, 424.
- Hoskyns, Sir John, and the *History of the World*, i. 544, 545.
- Howard, Anne, Lady Howard of Effingham, ii. 388.
- Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord High Admiral of England, Raleigh's commendation of his tactics for the defeat of the Spanish Armada of 1588, i. 111; revives, in 1596, a project for an enterprise against Cadiz, 201; is joined in

- commission with Essex, as general-in-chief, 202; advises an attack on the town of Cadiz before attacking the Spanish fleet, 210; but on the urgent protest and entreaty of Raleigh consents to a change of plan, 211; his summary of the results of the expedition, 219; quarrels with Essex, 249; Raleigh interposes to heal the breach, 250; allegation by Henry Howard that Lord Nottingham had expressed a wish, in 1602, that he had a commission to carry artillery against Raleigh's house, 311; has a grant of the Wine Licensing Patent, 458; claims the outstanding arrears, 459; Raleigh thanks him for his interposition with the Queen, ii. 53; letter to him respecting the capture of a ship of Bayonne, 55; letter on the victory at Cadiz, 134, 139, 146-156; letter to the Earl of Essex, 159, 180; letter to the Lords of the Council, 159, 186; to the same, 188.
- Howard, Frances, see Brooke.
- Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton, secret correspondence of, with James I., i. 265; his account of the conferences between Lennox, Raleigh, and Cobham, 326; character of the man and his writings, 328; the minutes of his secret letters to Cecil preserved in his *Common-place Book*, 329; conflict of opinions between him and Cecil on the toleration of Roman Catholic worship, 341; aphorism of, on the art of juggling, 382; sits as a commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, 386; account by, of the examination of Cobham about the book 'against the King's title,' alleged to have been given him by Raleigh, 422; succeeds Cobham in wardenship of Cinque Ports, 458; letter to Sir R. Cecil, on the means of injuring Raleigh and Cobham, ii. 436.
- Howard, Lady, of Effingham, wife of the Lord High Admiral, on the partition of the spoils of Cadiz, i. 222.
- Howard, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, &c. conversation with Raleigh on the scaffold, i. 703; ii. 356.
- Howard, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, shares with Raleigh in certain privateering enterprises, i. 116; joined in commission with Raleigh, in 1591, for an attack on the Spanish fleet, 143; Raleigh is superseded, and Lord Thomas Howard sails, with Grenville as his Vice-Admiral, 144; results of the expedition, 146; serves as Vice-Admiral in the expedition, or Islands' Voyage, of 1597, 233; interposes to heal the breach between Essex and Raleigh about the capture of Fayal, 242; sits as a commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, 386; notice of, ii. 217.
- Howard, Thomas, Lord Howard of Bindon, intervention of, in the lawsuits between Raleigh and John Meere, his bailiff of Sherborne, i. 471; ii. 250.
- Humboldt, Alexander von, researches of in Guiana, i. 168, 183, 190.
- Hurault de Maisse, conversation of, with Queen Elizabeth, i. 330, note.
- Hutten, Philip von, Expedition of, in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 166.
- I.
- Ireland, colonial and industrial enterprises of Raleigh in, i. 94; planting of the potato in, 106; government of, by the Earl of Essex, 253; his views of English policy in relation to that country, 254, 320; and about the killing of Irish rebels, 321; invasion of, by the Spaniards, in Sept. 1601, 319; Raleigh's complaint that it was not a Commonwealth, but a Common-woe, ii. 18; progress of the war in, 78; invasion of, by the Spaniards, 243, 245.
- Irish insurrections, Raleigh on the suppression of, ii. 2.
- Islands' Voyage of 1597, i. 230, 233; ii. 171, 174, 177.
- Iwana, or Tortola, Island of, i. 185.
- J.
- James I., King of England, Secret Correspondence of, with Cecil and Henry Howard, i. 265; notice of Blackstone's assertion of the exhaustiveness of James' title to the English crown, 279; Romanist manifesto thereon, 283; tract on that subject, of which a copy was made for Raleigh, 290; despoils Arabella Stuart of her paternal lands, 288; proofs, in the Secret Correspondence, that his mind was poisoned against Raleigh by Howard rather than by Cecil, 304; opinion and promises on the toleration of Roman Catholic wor-

- ship, 341; interviews between the King and Raleigh, at Burghley, in Northamptonshire, 362; and at Beddington Park, in Surrey, 364; his hesitation as to the fate of Raleigh and the other prisoners convicted at Winchester, 443; his answer to the intercession of the Lords of the Council, 447; signs the death-warrants for Markham, Cobham, and Grey, and another and secret warrant for stay of the execution, 448; his assertion that George Brooke was the chief plotter, *ib.*; his speech to the courtiers at Wilton, 455; visits the Tower of London, in March 1604, for a bull-baiting, having previously commanded the removal thence of Raleigh and others, 484; character of the Count of Arenbergh written by King James to the Archduke Albert, 486; reception by, of a proposal made by the Ambassador of Savoy, for an attack, by a combined English and Dutch fleet under Raleigh, upon Genoa, 577; he exacts minute particulars of Raleigh's plans for the expedition to Guiana, and a chart of his intended route, and delivers them to Gondomar, 588; Raleigh's letter to him, protesting against the injustice of his conviction of treason, ii. 280; letter of thanks to the King for sparing his life, 289; letter appealing to the King's justice and mercy, 296.
- Jersey, government of, the compromise for the, in 1600, i. 262; results of Raleigh's administration there, 263; new letters patent issued to Raleigh for the governorship of, 364; Jurats of, address Raleigh on the King's accession, *ib.*; Raleigh desires to have its government, ii. 203; his first visit to the island, 404; his account of the expected arrival of Normans in, 247; defences of, 249.
- Johnson, Saunders, ii. 451.
- Jones, Rev. Mr., chaplain on board the *Flying Chudleigh*, quotation from his MS. narrative of the Guiana expedition of 1617, preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, i. 604, 605, 643, note.
- Jonson, Benjamin, literary assistance alleged to have been rendered by him in the compilation of Raleigh's *History of the World*, i. 545.
- Juy, Paul, a Flemish engineer, employed under Raleigh in the fortifications of Falmouth, i. 245; and in those of the Isle of Jersey, ii. 207, 208; letter of Raleigh respecting him, to Sir R. Cecil, 206.

K.

- Keemish, Lawrence, see Keymis.
- Kelly, a merchant of Dartmouth, letter of Raleigh respecting him, ii. 83.
- Keymer, John, licensed by Raleigh to sell wines in Cambridge, i. 63; ii. 25.
- Keymis, Lawrence, second voyage to Guiana of, in 1596, i. 195; his report to Raleigh on his return to England, 197; serves under Raleigh at the taking of Fayal, 240; examination of, in relation to the plots of 1603, 422; and the threat to put him to the rack, 423; his letter to Lord Salisbury about the surrender of copyholds at Sherborne, 480; acts as trustee for Lady Raleigh in the conveyance, *ib.*; imprisoned in the Tower and Fleet in 1603-4, 483; has the special charge of the search for the gold mine, in the expedition up the Orinoco, 615; the Admiral's instructions to him, 616; is attacked by Spaniards in ambush, near Seiba, 633; abandons the expedition, 634; returns to St. Thomas, 636; and to Trinidad, 638; his report to Raleigh, and its results, 639; writes to Lord Arundel, *ib.*; commits suicide, *ib.*; Raleigh's opinion of him, in 1603, ii. 336, 337-339, 348, 351, 354-357, 360; his proceedings in the final Guiana expedition of 1617, 379, 402, 420.
- Kilcolman Castle, Raleigh's visit to, i. 120; its descent in the Spenser family, and subsequent alienation, 129.
- Kildare, Lady, see Brooke (Frances).
- Killigrew, William, brings a message to Raleigh from Queen Elizabeth, i. 148; serves as joint commissioner with Raleigh and Robert Cecil in the proceedings for partition of spoils of the *Madre de Dios*, 155.
- Killmackow, castle and lands of, i. 103.
- Kinsale, Raleigh's opinion of the causes of the Spanish landing at, in Sept. 1601, i. 319.
- Knollys, William, Earl of Banbury, i. 253, 292; notice of, ii. 229.
- Knowls, see Knollys.

L.

- La Fayla, Martin de, employment of, as an agent between Lord Cobham and the Count of Arenbergh, i. 358.
- La Fontaine, —, a French Huguenot Minister, conversation and correspondence between him and Lord Cobham, &c. i. 378, 379.
- Lake, Sir Thomas, i. 363.
- Lambarde, William, conversation of, with Queen Elizabeth about *King Richard the Second*, i. 294.
- Lambert, Sir Oliver, i. 229.
- Lancerota, Island of (one of the 'Great Canaries'), Raleigh's visit to, i. 604; ii. 348; its sufferings from the attacks of Barbary corsairs, i. 605.
- Lane, Ralph, made Lieut.-Governor of Virginia, i. 87.
- Languedoc, Raleigh's account of an adventure in certain caves of, i. 33.
- La Renzi, or Laurencie, Matthew, employment of, as an agent between Lord Cobham and the Count of Arenbergh, i. 359, 397, 415, 425; ii. 275.
- Lascelles, Sir Philip, i. 344.
- La Touche, Daniel de, Lord of Ravardies, i. 596.
- Laurencie, Matthew, see La Renzi.
- Leigh, Captain, killing of an insurgent in Ireland by, and Raleigh's commentary on grant of head-money, i. 105.
- Leomans, Michael, answer of Raleigh to his complaints, ii. 417.
- Lesley, John, Bishop of Ross, i. 289.
- Leveson, Sir Richard, serves in the expedition against Cadiz, and captures three Hamburg vessels, i. 209.
- Lionello, John Baptist, account by, of King James' festive visit to the Tower, and of Raleigh's removal thence, i. 484.
- Lismore Castle, built by Raleigh, i. 96; and finished by the Great Earl of Cork, 97; lawsuits concerning, ii. 42.
- Llantwit (Llan-Illydd-Vawr), in *Glamorganshire*, Raleigh monuments formerly in the church of, i. 6.
- Lova, Juan de, ii. 184.
- Low Countries, see Netherlands.
- Luscombe, ii. 105.
- M.
- Macartey, Finin, proceedings of, in Ireland, ii. 9, 15.
- MacCarthy, Florence, Raleigh on the intrigues with Spain of, i. 319; letter of Raleigh respecting him, ii. 90.
- MacDermod, Cormac, Raleigh's advice to the Queen on the treatment of, i. 323.
- MacGrath, Meyler, Bishop of Lismore, grants to Raleigh a lease of the castle and manor of Lismore, i. 96; ii. 124, 125.
- MacThomas, John, see Fitzgerald.
- Macareo River, a branch of the oceanic delta of the Orinoco ('Capuri' of Raleigh), i. 185; Raleigh returns to Trinidad by this branch, 194.
- Mace, Samuel, is sent by Raleigh to reinforce the colony of Virginia, i. 91; ii. 423.
- Maadre de Dios*, a Spanish Carrack, is captured by Raleigh's ship, *The Roebuck*, commanded by Sir John Borough, i. 149; proceedings and discussion relating to the partition of her spoils, 151-158; ii. 59-73.
- Makerell, Master of a merchantman, gives news of the Spanish fleet, ii. 93.
- Manamo River, or 'River of the Red Cross' ('Brazo Macareo'), i. 184, 185.
- Mannering, a French surgeon, see Manourie.
- Manners, Roger, Earl of Rutland, serves as volunteer in the Islands' Voyage of 1597, i. 233.
- Manoa, legends of the city of, named by Martinez the capital of 'El Dorado,' i. 178; ii. 109.
- Manourie, Guillaume, a French surgeon, is employed as a spy on Raleigh, in the journey from Plymouth, i. 656; his account of their conversations, 657-665; his reward, 673; Raleigh's dying assertion of the falsehood of his allegations against him, 701; ii. 495.
- Maree, René, Lord of Montbariot, commission to, for the conquest and planting of Guiana, i. 596.
- Markham, Charles, plot of, for surprising the Court, &c. ii. 453.
- Markham, Sir Griffin, i. 343; career and character of, 344; the conference at Beskwood Park between him and two of his brothers, in June 1603, *ib.*; his conference with Lord Grey of Wilton, 348; behaviour of, in the mock-execution scene at Winchester, 449; subsequent fortunes in

- exile, 460; particulars of his plot for surprising the Court, &c. ii. 452, 455-458, 462.
 Markham, Thomas, declaration and confession of, ii. 452.
 Martens, Veronio, becomes a partner with Raleigh in the enterprise for exportation of pipestaves from Munster, i. 101.
 Martinez, Juan, marvellous deposition made by, at S. Juan de Puerto Rico, of his visit to Manoa, the capital of 'El Dorado,' i. 178.
 Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, i. 69, 108.
 Matthew, Tobias, Bishop of Durham, lays claim to the possession of Durham House, ii. 263.
 Medick, Captain, wounded at Cadiz, 1596, ii. 154.
 Medina Sidonia, Duke of, attempts to substitute mercantile bills for the sum stipulated as the ransom of Cadiz, and orders the Spanish fleet to be burned, i. 218; ii. 145.
 Meere, John, and his lawsuits with Raleigh, i. 470; ii. 227, 236, 237, 245, 250, 493.
 Mexico fleet, Raleigh's alleged purpose to attack the, i. 591, 643, 678, 679.
 Meyrick, Sir Gilly, shares in the spoils of Cadiz, i. 223, 294; excites disension between Essex and Raleigh during the Islands' Voyage of 1597, 240.
 Mezerai, Eudes de, account of the interview between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke de Biron by, ii. 232.
 Middleburgh, merchants of, Raleigh's answer to their complaint, ii. 46.
 Milford Haven, Cobham's story about Raleigh's plot for the landing of Spaniards at, i. 439.
 Moncontour, Raleigh's account of the retreat after the battle of, i. 26.
 Monmouth, see Cary.
 Monopolies, Raleigh on, i. 273.
 Monson, Sir William, reflection by, on Raleigh's capture of Fayal, i. 242; account of the battle in Cadiz Harbour, ii. 141.
 Montagu, C. J., address of, on granting execution, in Oct. 1618, of the Winchester verdict of Nov. 1603, 691.
 Monthariot, René, Seigneur de, see Maree.
 Montezuma, tradition of the escape into Guiana of fugitive adherents of, i. 164.
 Montgomery, Gabriel de, Count, i. 26, 30.
 Montorgueil Castle, in the Isle of Jersey, Raleigh's visit to, i. 263; ii. 208.
 Morgan, Miles, i. 81.
 Morgan, Thomas, i. 289.
 Mountjoy, Charles, Lord, see Blount.
 Munster, rebellion in, i. 35-45, 254; ii. 3, 78, 198, 243, 319; colonial and industrial enterprises of Raleigh in, i. 96; sale of his Munster estates to Boyle, 106.
 Musica, Antonio, ii. 354.
- N.
- Nassau, Lewis, Count of, i. 26; serves as a volunteer in the expedition against Cadiz, 208.
 Naunton, Sir Robert, account by, of a dispute between Raleigh and Lord Grey of Wilton, i. 48; intercepts Lady Raleigh's letters, 683; his correspondence with Sir Thomas Wilson during Wilson's employment in the Tower, 688; letter in reply to one of Sir T. Wilson, concerning his examination of Raleigh, ii. 366.
 Netherlands, co-operation of the States-General of the, with the English, in the expedition against Cadiz, i. 206, 216; letters on the sending of pioneers to, ii. 33; news of the war in the, 425.
 New Exchange, ii. 267.
 Newfoundland, Raleigh's establishment of a trade between Jersey and, i. 263; fleet, ii. 95.
 Normans, expected arrival of, in Jersey, ii. 247.
 Norreys, Sir John, Raleigh's alleged service under, in the Netherlands, i. 33; ii. 194.
 Northampton, Henry, Earl of, see Howard.
 Northumberland, Henry, Earl of, see Percy.
 North-west Passage, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's discourse on a, i. 77; royal charter of 1584, creating a fellowship for discovery of, 84.
- O.
- O'Dodall has a band of soldiers in Youghal, ii. 49.
 Oldys, William, his account of the literary help rendered to Raleigh in

- Pipestaves, exporting of, from Munster, ii. 81, 84, 418.
- Pizarro, Gonzalo, expedition of, in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 165.
- Plessington, John, i. 622.
- Plots and counterplots of 1602-1603, ii. 436-482.
- Plymouth, Raleigh's views as to the importance of, i. 269.
- Pole, Sir William, on John Hooker's account of the Raleigh alliances and pedigree, i. 5.
- Ponte, Isabel, or Elizabeth de, second wife of Walter Raleigh of Fardell, i. 12.
- Pope, Marshal of the Admiralty, ii. 129.
- Popham, Sir John, sits as chief commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, i. 386; his exposition of the law of treason as to testimony, 411, 417; speech on passing sentence, 435; his defamation of Thomas Hariot, 436; correspondence with Lord Salisbury about the Sherborne Manors, 469.
- Poulet, Sir George, letter to Raleigh, Sept. 1602, ii. 254.
- Powell, Thomas, a captive in Barbary, 1581, ii. 31.
- Prerogative of Parliaments*, i. 552.
- Prest, Agnes, a martyr for Protestantism at Exeter, visit of Katherine Raleigh to, i. 19.
- Preston, Sir Amias, challenge of combat given to Raleigh by, i. 419; ii. 312, 389.
- Privateering adventures, i. 114, 149, 153, 216, 221, 229, 243; ii. 193, 246.
- Privy Council, proceedings in relation to the charges against Raleigh for the capture of St. Thomas, and other alleged offences, arising out of the expedition to Guiana, 677-680; instructions to Wollaston and to Champion, respecting the custody of Lady Raleigh, 685.
- Prizes, prize-takers, and prize-money, under Queen Elizabeth, i. 114, 149, 153, 216, 221, 229, 243.
- Prugs, John, ii. 144.
- Q.
- Quesada, Francisco de, account of victory at Cadiz by, ii. 134.
- Quesada, Herman Perez de, expedition of, in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 165.
- Quito, entrance of the survivors of Gonzalo Pizarro's Guiana expedition into, i. 166.
- R.
- Radford, Arthur, is recommended by Lady Raleigh to Sir R. Cecil, ii. 399.
- Rakele, Raleigh's treatment of the Irish insurgents at, i. 38.
- Raleigh families of Devonshire, i. 7.
- Raleigh, of Nettlecombe in Somerset, pedigree of the family of, i. 6.
- Raleigh, in Virginia, town of, i. 90.
- Raleigh, Sir Carew, i. 467.
- Raleigh, Carew, son of Sir Walter Raleigh, i. 475, ii. 352; entreaty to the King for his father's pardon, 488.
- Raleigh, Elizabeth, Lady, wife of Sir W. Raleigh, marriage, i. 135; parentage, 136; notice of a family portrait of her, 137; her trust in Sir Robert Cecil, 159; Henry Howard's assertion of her intimacy with Lady Shrewsbury in 1602, 311; Countess of Beaumont's statement of a conversation with her about the examination of Raleigh, 379; letter about the Wine Patent, 458, ii. 408; her residence at Sherborne, in 1605, i. 472; has an annuity from the Exchequer, 477, 480; payment to her, for forbearance of a sum of £500 due to her from the King, 480; removal of, from the Tower, 483; sells an estate at Mitcham, in Surrey, in aid of the preparations for the Guiana expedition, 567; supplies Captain Pennington to free his ship from detention at the Isle of Wight, 600; her imprisonment in her house at Broad Street, 684; her last interview with Sir Walter, 696; letter to Sir N. Carew respecting the burial of her husband, 697; buries him in St. Margaret's chancel, 706.
- Letters of, ii. 397-414. [*See their Table of Contents*, ii. xxxi., xxxii.]; letter of farewell and consolation to her from Raleigh, on the eve of his expected execution, Dec. 1603, 284; Raleigh asks for leave for her return to the Tower, 328; Raleigh's letter of farewell to her, July 1603, 383.
- Raleigh, George, nephew of Sir Walter,

- i. 567; succeeds Sir Warham St. Leger, and has the command-in-chief of the expedition up the Orinoco, 615; the Admiral's instructions to him, 616; sails on 10th Dec., arrives at Yaya ('Assapana' of Raleigh), 619; Jan. 1, 1618, makes Point Araya, 620; and lands the men for the expedition to the mine on same day, *ib.*; is attacked at nightfall by Spanish soldiers, and driven into St. Thomas, 621, ii. 352; he ascends the Orinoco for its exploration, I. 636; and rejoins Sir Walter at Trinidad, 638.
- Raleigh, Katherine, mother of Sir Walter, anecdote of the visit of, to Agnes Prest, one of the Marian martyrs at Exeter, i. 19, 76.
- Raleigh, Walter, of Fardell, marriage of, i. 11; anecdote of his imprisonment in St. Sidwell's church, Exeter, during the rising of the West, 15.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, pedigree and genealogy of, i. 2; books dedicated to him, 3, 88, 275; his residence at Oriel, 24; campaigns in France, 25; is engaged in the retreat under Charles Lewis of Nassau, after the battle of Moncontour, *ib.*; his alleged service in the Netherlands, under Sir John Norreys, 33; was he author of the verses prefixed to Gascoigne's *Steele Glasse*, in 1576? 36; serves in the wars of Ireland, 37; is joined in commission with Sir W. St. Leger for the trial of James of Desmond, 38; lays an ambush for Irish rebels at Rakele, *ib.*; attends the Earl of Leicester to the Netherlands, and is present at the 'joyful entrance' of the Duke of Anjou into Antwerp, 43; brings despatches from Cork, 46; Council warrant for payment to him, for service in Ireland, 47; Naunton's account of his dispute with Lord Grey, 49; is at Court, 51; 'Timias and Belphebe,' 56; wishes to be bearer of despatches to Leicester, 61; collects Devonshire miners for the Netherland service, 62; obtains licences for exportation of woollen broad-cloths, *ib.*; obtains grant of the farm of wines, 63; leases it to Richard Browne, *ib.*; licenses Keymer to sell wines at Cambridge, *ib.*; correspondence with the University and with Lord Burghley thereon, 64; suits with Browne on the wine patent, 65; correspondence with Solicitor-General Egerton, 65; and minute of Privy Council thereon, *ib.*; succeeds Francis, Earl of Bedford, in the wardenship of the Stannaries, 67; succeeds Sir Christopher Hutton, as Captain of the Queen's Guard, *ib.*; Babington seeks his intervention with the Queen, 69; grant to Raleigh of Babington's estates, 70; his rivalries with Essex, 71; the scene at North Hall during a royal progress, 72; his first interview with Arabella Stuart, 74; his presence at Dartmouth, 79; is about to sail with Sir H. Gilbert for Newfoundland, but prohibited by the Privy Council, *ib.*; Captain Hayes' account of his venturing to sea, despite the prohibition, and fighting with the Spaniards, 81; resumes the enterprise of Sir H. Gilbert, and obtains a royal charter for creating a fellowship for discovery of Northwest Passage, 84; founds the first colony of Virginia at Roanoke, 86; equips a new expedition, and gives the command of it to Sir Richard Grenville, 87; founds the town of Raleigh in Virginia, 90; receives a grant of a tract of land of 12,000 acres in the counties of Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary, 95; has a grant of the castle and manor of Lismore, 96; builds Lismore Castle, *ib.*; establishes a commerce in Irish timber, 97; has a lawsuit with Wingfield about a castle in Munster, 98; complains of the dealings of Sir William Fitzwilliam with the tenantry of the Raleigh estate in Munster, 98; opinion of Raleigh on the danger of a new rebellion, 99; his commentary on head-money for the killing of rebels, 105, ii. 198; planting of the potato in Ireland, i. 106; service against the Spanish Armada, 111; commentary on the tactics of Howard, 112; his reprisals on Spaniards, 115, 116; suit of Reynardson and others against him, 114; service in the Portugal expedition under Drake, 115; is directed by Council to enforce the restoration of certain Dutch ships, which had been taken into Dartmouth, 117; supports a suit of Lord Pembroke for grant of the New Forest, 119; retirement from Court, *ib.*; his relations with Essex, 120; visits Spenser at Kilcolman Castle,

120; their conversation and its results, 121; Raleigh's advice concerning the "Faëry Queen," 123; Spenser addresses Raleigh in prose and verse, 126; parallels in the fortunes of Raleigh and Spenser, 127; services rendered by him to Spenser, 131; returns to Court in 1591, 132; alleged combination with Essex in relief to persecuted Puritans, *ib.*; his zealous efforts on behalf of John Udall, 133; parallelisms in fortune of Essex and Raleigh, 135; his courtship and marriage of Elizabeth Throgmorton, *ib.*; imprisonment in the Tower, 140; scene there with Sir G. Carew, 141; his correspondence from thence with Cecil, 142; first appearance as an author, in his *Report of the Truth of the Fight at the Isles of the Azores*, 144; narrates the death of Grenville at the Azores, *ib.*; *Report of the Service at Sea performed by the Fleet of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 149; intervention of Hawkins on his behalf, and his letters to Burghley, 151; release from the Tower, under charge of a keeper, 152; his journey to Dartmouth, and reception there, 154; his meeting with his brother, Sir J. Gilbert, *ib.*; his account of his treatment in the partition of the spoils of the Great Carrack of 1592, 157; his first ponderings about the fabled 'El Dorado,' 159; residence at Sherborne, 160; his love of gardening, *ib.*; and of the enjoyments of a country retirement, 161; his preparations for the first expedition to Guiana, 172; sends Captain Whiddon to Trinidad, *ib.*; and himself sets sail from Plymouth, 173; conversations of, at Trinidad, with Antonio de Berreo, 170, 174, 176; captures a Spanish ship near the Canary Islands, 173; attacks and captures the Spanish town of St. Joseph, and liberates five Indian caciques, who had been tortured by Berreo, 174; his word-pictures of the scenery of Guiana, 181; account of the metallic ores of Guiana, and of their assay, 189, 196; and of the furious inundations of the Guiana rivers, 183, 186; his voyage down the Brazo Macareo and Cano Macareo to Point Hicacos, 185; notice of his conversations with Topiawari on the productions, climate, geography, and inhabitants of Guiana, 187, 190,

192; causes the ores of Guiana to be assayed by London goldsmiths and refiners, 189; the voyage homeward, 195; calls at Cumana, St. Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha, *ib.*; reaches England, *ib.*; despatches Keymis on a second voyage to Guiana, 196; urgent request for his services in the expedition against Cadiz, 206; his delay to join the fleet and its causes, 207; has to press mariners in Kent, *ib.*; is detached from the main body of the fleet, at the head of his own squadron and that of the Netherlands, in order to a blockade of Cadiz Harbour, 209; on his return, protests against the resolve to attack the town before attacking the Spanish fleet, 210; his successive remonstrances with Essex and with the Lord Admiral, 211; writes to the Lord Admiral as to the best order of battle, *ib.*; is chosen to head the attack, *ib.*; leads the van of the English fleet into Cadiz harbour, 212; captures the *St. Philip* and the *St. Matteo*, 216; is severely wounded, *ib.*; but causes himself to be carried in a litter to the land-fight, *ib.*; his despatch to Secretary Cecil on the gallantry of Essex, 217; brings the first authentic details of the Cadiz victory to England, *ib.*; is still excluded from Court, 225; reappears at Court, 226; resumes the personal command of the Queen's Guard, *ib.*; frequent conferences between him, Essex, and Sir R. Cecil, 227; draws up a State paper on the defence of the English coasts, 231; acts, with Essex, as purveyor and contractor for the equipment of the fleet newly prepared against Spain, 232; commands, as Rear-Admiral, a squadron in the 'Islands' Voyage,' 233; his account of the great storm of July, 234; sends a message to the Lord General Essex, 237; and rejoins the other squadron at Flores, *ib.*; the scene in the flag-ship, 238; particulars of the capture of *Fayal*, 239; his estimate of the strength and weakness of Spain, 245; extent and variety of his opposition to Spanish policy, 246; his intervention to heal the quarrel between Essex and Nottingham, 250; renewed conferences between Raleigh, Essex, and Cecil, 251; incident in the Presence Chamber during a game of *Primero*, 251;

doubtful allegation of an offer to him of the government of Ireland, 253; renewal of Essex's ill-will to him, 254; allegation by Essex of a plot by Raleigh and Cobham to kill the Earl after his return from Ireland, 255; Blount's attempt to assassinate him on the Thames, 257; his entreaty for Raleigh's forgiveness, and the assurance of it, 258; Raleigh's counsel to Sir Robert Cecil on the treatment of Essex, in 1600, 259, ii. 213-223; tradition of his sadness after witnessing the execution of Essex, i. 260; is returned to Parliament as knight of shire for Devon, 268; parliamentary labours of, *ib.*; his speeches on the power and resources of Spain, 269; on subsidies and on the incidence of taxation, 270; on compulsory church-going, 272; on the Tillage and Hemp Acts, *ib.*; on tillage and on a free trade in corn, *ib.*; on the tin mines of Cornwall, and on other monopolies, 273; advocates a free trade in corn, *ib.*; his administration of the Stannaries and of the Duchy of Cornwall, 273, 276; attends the Duke of Biron and his train in London and at Basing, 277; causes copies to be made by one of his servants of a tract on the Succession, entitled *Reasons why the King of Scots is unacceptable to the People of England*, 291; addresses to Elizabeth a discourse "In defence of the Queen's not nominating a Successor," 295; proofs, in the "*Secret Correspondence*," that James' mind was poisoned against Raleigh rather by H. Howard than by Cecil, 304; his counsel to Cecil on the Spanish invasion of Ireland, 320; his opinion as to the giving of head-money for the killing of Irish rebels, 321; his advice to Queen Elizabeth on the treatment of Cormac Mac-Dermot, 323; conference with Lennox, 326; conversation with Cecil on the mission of Lennox, and on what had passed between them, 327; his meeting with Sully at Dover, 330; his view of the relations between England and France, 331; joint-stock privateering adventure with Cecil and others, 333; alleged conversations between Watson and G. Brooke about the supposed designs and plots of Raleigh, 353; alleged con-

ference between Lord Grey and Raleigh at Cobham House, 353; intimacy, and frequent conferences, between Raleigh and Cobham, 359; journeys into Northamptonshire to meet King James, accompanied by Sir R. Crosse, 362; meets the King at Burghley, *ib.*; Secretary Lake's account of his reception, 363; is summoned to the Council Chamber, and informed of the King's pleasure that the office of Captain of the Guard should thenceforth be discharged by Sir Thomas Erskine, *ib.*; has a new warrant, by letters patent, for the government of Jersey, 364; his interview with James at Beddington Park, *ib.*; presents the King with a *Discourse touching a War with Spain*, 365; writes to Cobham about the arrest of Copley in Sussex, *ib.*; attends the Court at Windsor, 366; is summoned from the terrace to the Council Chamber, *ib.*; denies all knowledge of a plot to surprise the King's person, or of any plot contrived between Cobham and Arenbergh, 367; writes afterwards to the Lords of the Council to suggest that Matthew La Renzi had probably been an agent of some communication between Cobham and Arenbergh, 368; Raleigh's subsequent committal to the Tower, 373; Cecil's account of his attempt, or alleged attempt, to commit suicide, 375; Beaumont's account and comment, 377; Beaumont asserts, on the authority of Lady Raleigh, that Raleigh was examined about his visits to the Marquis of Rosny, 379; his indictment at Staines, 383; erasures on the jury panel, 385, note; is deprived of the Lieutenantcy of Cornwall, 386; notices of the character and authority of the MS. reports of his trial at Winchester, 385, note; goes from London to Winchester to take his trial, 386; opening of the indictment, 387; trial, 388-436; his account of the character of Cobham, 397; and of the reasons of their frequent meetings in the spring of 1603, 401; his appeal to the jury on the condition and policy of Spain, 398; demand for Cobham's production before him, *face to face*, 407, 425, 426; Chief Justice Popham's answer, 409; Lord Cecil's interposition on that point, 426; Raleigh

produces Cobham's second letter of retraction, 435; his speech after the verdict of the jury, *ib.*; his message to the King, *ib.*; Count Beaumont's account of the King's long hesitation as to the execution of the sentence, 442; and of the intercession of Lords of the Council, 443; and of that of the Spanish Ambassador, 445; his own eager suit for life unworthy of him, 446; witnesses the mock-execution scene of the 10th of Dec. 449; Beaumont's account of his behaviour there, 450; is succeeded in the Wine Patent by Lord Nottingham, 458; is befriended by Lord Cecil, 461; obtains the assignment of a lease of the manor of Sherborne and its dependencies, 463; retrospective account of his endeavours to convert the lease of Sherborne into an estate of inheritance, *ib.*; conveyance of his landed estates in trust for his son Walter, 465; execution of a new conveyance of his landed estates in trust for his son Walter Raleigh, 467; memorials of him at Sherborne, 478; grants an annuity to Walter Gawen, 480; returns to the Tower, 482; is removed to the prison of the Fleet, and why, 483; decline of his health during his imprisonment in the Tower, 491; is befriended by Prince Henry, who makes repeated intercessions for his pardon, 492; his Discourses on the Savoyan, or Spanish, propositions of 1611, for a double marriage with England, 497; his *Discourse of the Invention of Ships*, 504; his *Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service*, *ib.*; the lost treatise *Of the Art of War by Sea*, 505; his interview with Lord Salisbury, 502; and with Lord Northampton and other members of the Privy Council, *ib.*; is put for several months under close imprisonment, 503; sends an elixir to Prince Henry in the Prince's last illness, 511; his unadvised expression about its potency, and Queen Anne's inference therefrom, 512; the *History of the World*, where was it written? 488; its design and plan, 517; the History of the Four Monarchies of Antiquity intended as an Introduction to a History of England, 518; its new portraits in old dresses, 523; Raleigh's treatment in it of ques-

tions of morals, 538; probable falsity of Winstanley's story as to the cause of its remaining incomplete, 541; the helpers in the work, and the origin of Mr. Isaac Disraeli's 'Discoveries of its Secret History,' 543; Raleigh's other pursuits during his imprisonment in the Tower, 548; the statements of Oldys and of Disraeli as to the assistance rendered to Raleigh in the composition of the *History of the World*, 543-548; the *Prerogative of Parliaments*, and the occasion of its composition, 552; his proffers of service to the King of Denmark, and to the French Huguenots, 560; negotiations for his liberation from the Tower with Sir George Villiers and his relatives, 562; Council Minute on the liberation, 563; he makes a tour of London, 564; negotiations of the Ambassador of Savoy with Secretary Winwood and King James I. respecting a projected expedition, under the command of Raleigh, for an attack on Genoa, 576, 579-584; is obliged to furnish the King with minute particulars of the plan and projected route of the expedition to Guiana, which are communicated to Gondomar, 588; his alleged conversations with Lord Keeper Bacon about the terms and legal effect of his commission for Guiana, 589; and his bravado about an alleged purpose to attack the Spanish Plate fleet, if the mine should fail, 591; Count des Marêts' account of a visit to Raleigh, on board the ship *Destiny*, 592; survey of his fleet in the Thames, made by officers of the English Admiralty, and a copy of it given to Gondomar, 597; second visit of Des Marêts, and allegation of Raleigh's proffer of service to the King of France, 595; receives, from Sylvanus Scory, a poetical remonstrance against his departure from England, 598; his fleet sails from the Thames, 599; his orders to the fleet, issued at Plymouth, 600; the fleet sails from Plymouth, *ib.*; meets with a gale near Scilly, 601; its long detention at Cork, *ib.*; his intervention there in suits between Pine and Lord Boyle, *ib.*; departure from Cork, 602; extracts from the journal of his voyage, 604, 610, 612, 616; gives chase to four French vessels near Cape St.

- as a volunteer in the Islands' Voyage of 1597, i. 233.
- Richard the Second*. Raleigh, Essex, and the 'Richard the Second' of Shakespeare, i. 294; ii. 164, 169.
- Richelieu, Cardinal, notice of Raleigh and of the fleet in preparation for Guiana, written to the Marshal D'Ancre by, i. 593; Count des Marêts' despatches to him, about Raleigh and his alleged proffer of service to France, 595.
- Roanoke, in Virginia, i. 86.
- Roborough Down, ii. 211.
- Roche, Lord, captured by Raleigh at Bally, i. 44.
- Roche, Morrice, proceedings of, ii. 9.
- Roe, Sir Thomas, i. 598.
- Rugway, Captain, ii. 181.
- Rushmore, Raleigh on the purchase of, by Sir R. Cecil, ii. 226.
- Russell, Sir William, rumoured negotiation between Raleigh and, to exchange the wardenship of the Stannaries for the government of Jersey, i. 262.
- Rutland, Roger, Earl of, see Manners.
- S.
- Sackville, Thomas, Earl of Dorset, i. 222, note; Raleigh's complaint to King James about the injudicious dealings of, with crown lands in the Duchy of Cornwall, i. 363.
- Sage, Charles, see Faige.
- Saint John, Oliver, Lord Tregoz, i. 553.
- Saint John, Sir William, i. 562.
- Saint Leger, Sir Warham, i. 38.
- Saint Leger, Sir Warham (II.) i. 567; drives off, at Lancerota, the assaults on the English watering-parties, 611; his illness, in the Cayenne, 615, 617; is succeeded, as second in command, by Captain George Raleigh, *ib.*; his testimony respecting an alleged intention to attack the Mexico fleet in the homeward voyage from Guiana in 1618, 679.
- Saint Margaret's Church, Westminster, Raleigh's burial there, and the inscribed brass above his grave, i. 706.
- Saint Thomas, in Guiana, account by Raleigh of the fortification of the second settlement of, i. 620; arrival of the retreating Spaniards at, and capture of the town by the English, 621; proceedings before the Privy Council in relation to the capture of, 678.
- Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon, account by, of Elizabeth's negotiations with the French Huguenots, i. 28.
- Salisbury, Robert, Earl of, see Cecil.
- Salisbury, William, Earl of, see Cecil.
- Sanchez de Ulloa receives the instructions of Philip III. as to the execution of Raleigh, i. 688.
- Sancroft, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, statement by, as to the authorship of the *Breviary of the History of William the First*, i. 513.
- Sanderson, William, i. 459.
- San Felipe, a great galleon of Spain, capture of the, i. 216; it serves against Spain in the expedition of 1597, 233.
- San Matteo, the, is disabled in the storm near Cape Ortegual, i. 236.
- Sarmiento de Acuña, Diego, see Gondomar.
- Sarmiento de Genaboa, Pedro, i. 568.
- Sarum, Dean and Chapter of, Raleigh on the dealings of, with one Fitzjames, ii. 97.
- Savage, Sir Arthur, brings together Raleigh and the Duke of Lennox towards the close of 1601, i. 326; ii. 136, 137, 233.
- Savage, Robert, see Snagge.
- Savoy. Raleigh's discourses on the Savoyan propositions of 1611, and their origin, i. 497.
- Scarnafissi, Antonio de, Count, Ambassador of Charles Emanuel I. Duke of Savoy, at the Court of London, i. 575; his negotiations with Secretary Winwood and with Raleigh, respecting a projected expedition against Genoa, 577, 579-584.
- Schomburgk, Sir Robert, researches of, in Guiana, i. 168, 180, 183, 200.
- Scory, Sylvanus, poetical remonstrance addressed to Raleigh by, against his departure, in 1617, for Guiana, i. 598, note.
- Scotland, Raleigh's advice to Queen Elizabeth on the danger which might grow by a Spanish faction in, i. 318.
- Scott, Thomas, a merchant, Raleigh on the fraudulent dealings of, ii. 305.
- Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with King James the Sixth*, i. 310.
- Seymour, Edward, Earl of Hertford, notice of, ii. 218; Raleigh's allusion to him, 222.

- Spenser, William, Cromwell's intervention on behalf of, i. 128.
- Spilman, Sir J. ii. 320.
- Spring, Captain, letter in his favour, from Raleigh to Michael Hicckes, ii. 382.
- Standen, Sir Anthony, account of Raleigh's behaviour at Cadiz, by, i. 221.
- Stanhope, Sir John, sits as a commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, i. 386.
- Stannaries, Lord Wardenship of the, i. 68, 262, 275, 276; Raleigh on the affairs of the Stannaries, 273; ii. 210.
- Stannary Court, ii. 92.
- Star Chamber, ii. 92.
- Stourton, Lady. Raleigh's report of the capture of a Jesuit in her house, ii. 91.
- Stow's account of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Basing, and of the Duke de Biron's embassy, ii. 229.
- Stuart, Arabella, first interview between Raleigh and, i. 74; Burghley's account of her accomplishments, 75; Arabella and the succession of the crown, 266; is called by the Venetian resident, in 1603, '*Omicida della Regina*,' 296; proposition of a marriage between her and James VI. of Scotland, in 1585, 297; other marriage propositions, 298; Elizabeth's conversation with a French Ambassador about her, *ib.*; Lord Cobham's allegation that she sought his friendship, 301; her imprisonment in 1603, *ib.*, ii. 427-434; Cobham's cogitations about a possible successorship to the crown in the person of, i. 354; and what came of it, 355; her appearance and protestation at the trial of Raleigh, 425; Coke's admission that 'she was never acquainted with the matter,' 427; death of, 556; the Council warrant to Raleigh and others about her jewels, 558; further particulars of her imprisonment in 1602-3, ii. 427; letter of, to Sir H. Brouncker, 428; letter of, to the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, 434; letter of Sir H. Brouncker respecting her imprisonment, 435.
- Stuart, Esme, Duke of Lennox, James' proposition of a marriage between Arabella Stuart and, 297; his mission into England, in Nov. 1602, 309, 325; and conferences with Raleigh, 327; Lord Henry Howard's account of those conferences, in his letter to Markham and Kinloss, 310; his conferences with Cobham, 326; conversation between Raleigh and Cecil about Lennox's mission, and his conference with Raleigh, 327; Raleigh's negotiations with him for a fee-farm to be granted to Cobham, 401.
- Stuart, Francis, Earl of Bothwell, notice of, ii. 220; Raleigh's allusion to him, 223.
- Stucley, Mr. recommendation of, by Raleigh, to Sir R. Cecil, ii. 243.
- Stukeley, Sir Lewis, is commissioned to apprehend Raleigh at Plymouth, i. 653; incidents of the journey to London, 655-666; has the custody of Raleigh during his stay in Broad Street, 667; contrives a plan to entrap him into a futile attempt to escape, 668; his reward, 673; Raleigh's dying assertion of the falsehood of several charges made against him by, 701, ii. 494.
- Stupney, Clement, assignment to him of leases from Raleigh, ii. 21.
- Succession to the crown, i. 266, 279; ii. 259, 435.
- Summer, George, ii. 180.
- Sydney, Francis, *see* Devereux.
- Sydney, Robert, Earl of Leicester, i. 225.
- Sydney, Sir Henry, letter to Burghley, 4th January, 1570, ii. 2.
- Symcots, William, proceedings with respect to captives in Barbary, ii. 30.

T.

- Talbot, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, letter to Sir R. Cecil, on the imprisonment of Lady Arabella Stuart, ii. 427.
- Talbot, Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G., i. 261.
- Talbot, John, character and death of, i. 610.
- Taverners, or Vintners, of England, letters of Raleigh respecting their licences, ii. 23-25, 27-29, 40, 256.
- Taxis, Don Juan Baptista de, alleged intervention of, on behalf of Raleigh, after the verdict at Winchester, in 1603, i. 444, 456; King James' account of, 568.
- Thorne, Mr., of Tower Street, in London, murdered by the Spaniards in Guiana, ii. 377.

- Thornix, Captain, ii. 355, 361.
 Thou, J. A. de, notice of his story about 'Raleigh's Sister,' and the plot of 1603, i. 351, note.
 Throgmorton, Elizabeth, see Raleigh.
 Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas, i. 136.
 Thynne, Francis, Raleigh's last conversation with, i. 694.
 Thynne, Henry, letter of Raleigh in favour of, ii. 86.
 Tichborne, Sir Benjamin, i. 448, 454.
 Tillage, Raleigh on compulsory, i. 272.
 'Timias and Amoret,' i. 139.
 'Timias and Belphebe,' i. 51.
 Timitwara, a Guianian chief, i. 193.
 Tin mines, Raleigh on, i. 273.
 Topiawari, an Indian chieftain of Guiana, i. 187; Raleigh's conversations with him, 187, 190, 192; sends his son to England with Raleigh, 192, ii. 402.
 Tortola ('Iwana' of Raleigh), island of, i. 185.
 Touchet, George, Earl of Castlehaven, serves as a volunteer in the Islands' Voyage of 1597, i. 233.
 Tounson, Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, conversations of, with Raleigh in the Gate-house at Westminster, i. 694; his account of Raleigh's death, 694, 695; ii. 489.
 Touse, William, assignment of leases to him from Raleigh, ii. 20.
 Tower of London, and its prisons, i. 487; Raleigh's abode in the Bloody Tower, 488; the Venetian resident's account of the festivities there, in March 1604, 484; appearance of the plague in, ii. 314.
 Trenchard, Sir George, letters of, to Sir R. Cecil, 1596, ii. 423, 424.
 Trew, William, letter respecting the Earl of Essex, ii. 214.
 Triego, Juan, ii. 187, 190.
 Turner, Peter, M.D., account of the decline of Raleigh's health by, i. 491.
- U.
- Udall, John, character and works, i. 132; Raleigh's zealous efforts to befriend him, 133; his correspondence with Raleigh and with Essex, 134; his death, *ib.*
 Uggera Salvagnia, the ship, ii. 75.
 Ulloa, Sanchez de, see Sanchez.
- Ursini, Virginio, see Orsini.
 Ursua, Pedro de, expedition of, in search of 'El Dorado,' i. 167.
- V.
- Vander Woord, Admiral of the Dutch squadron of 1597, i. 233.
 Vanlore, Peter, ii. 110, 320, 342.
 Vavasour, Sir Thomas, i. 405.
 Velasco, Fernan de, Duke of Frias and Constable of Castile, i. 568.
 Vera, Domingo de, expedition of, on the banks of the Orinoco, i. 171; his mission by Berreo to Spain, 175; his accounts of Manoa, and of 'El Dorado,' 176; his successes in Spain, and their results, 177; fate of his expedition, 197.
 Vere, Edward de, 17th Earl of Oxford, Raleigh's interview with Queen Elizabeth on behalf of, i. 59; letter respecting him, from Raleigh to Burghley, ii. 21.
 Vere, Sir Francis, serves in the expedition against Cadiz, i. 207, 211, 215; ii. 148, 186.
 Vernon, Elizabeth, see Wriothlesley.
 Villiers, Sir Edward, i. 562.
 Villiers, George, 1st Duke of Buckingham, refuses a proffered grant of Raleigh's Sherborne manor, i. 475, 481; procures Raleigh's discharge from the Tower, 562; Raleigh's letter to him on the Guiana expedition, 683; Raleigh's letter of thanks for procuring his liberation from the Tower, ii. 341.
 Vintners, licensing of, i. 63; ii. 23, 24, 27, 28, 256, 408.
 Virginia, Raleigh's first expedition for the colonization of, i. 86; establishment of a colony at Roanoke, *ib.*; reinforcements, 87; misfortunes of the early colonists, 88; Drake's visit, and its result in the return of the colonists, 89; third expedition, under White, 90; further expeditions sent by Raleigh, and their failure, 91; successful revival of the enterprise in 1608, 92; Raleigh's purposed visit to, in 1595, and how it was defeated, 195; continued efforts of Raleigh for its colonization, ii. 251; his letter respecting it to Queen Anne of Denmark, 333.
 Viveres, Juan, ii. 185.

W.

- Waad, Sir William, i. 343, 352, 359 ; sits as a commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, 386 ; has a grant of manors in Lancashire, as a reward for his services in 1603, 457 ; is made Lieutenant of the Tower, 486 ; his account of Raleigh's distillations, 489 ; his new ordinances for the government of the Tower, 490 ; letter to R. Cecil, on the examination of one Penycuik, &c. ii. 450 ; his abstract of a 'Large Declaration of W. Watson, &c.,' 455.
- Walsingham, Frances, see Devereux.
- Walsingham, Sir Francis, letter of, to Leicester about Raleigh, i. 61 ; notification to Lord Deputy Grey respecting Raleigh, ii. 5 ; letters of Raleigh to him, 9, 11.
- Warburton, Mr. Justice, sits as a commissioner for the trial of Raleigh, i. 386 ; his argument on the law of treason, as to testimony, 411.
- Watson, Captain, ii. 172.
- Watson, Anthony, Bishop of Chichester, letters respecting G. Brooke, his retraction, and statements, prior to his execution, ii. 466-468.
- Watson, William, agency of, at the foot of the scaffold, i. 340 ; his imprisonment before the death of Queen Elizabeth, and liberation by Bishop Bancroft, 342 ; confers with Brooke and Copley about a plot to surprise the King and seize the Tower, 348 ; contrives a new plot against Lord Grey, 349 ; his conversation thereon with Sir Edward Parham, *ib.* ; conversation between him and George Brooke about Raleigh, 353 ; execution, 440 ; "Certen Queeries ministred unto," ii. 454 ; Sir E. Coke's "Abstract of the Treasons" of Cobham, Grey, Watson, &c., 462-465.
- Western Counties, Raleigh's proposals for defence of, ii. 36-39.
- Westminster Gate-house, i. 693.
- Westwood's assay of the metallic ores of Guiana, i. 189.
- Wharton MS. of the *Trial of Raleigh* noticed, i. 385, note.
- Whiddon, Jacob, pilot voyage of, to Trinidad and the Orinoco, i. 172 ; is imprisoned by Antonio de Berreo, *ib.*
- White, John, is sent by Raleigh, at the head of a third expedition, to Virginia, i. 89.
- White, Martin, letter of, to Lady Raleigh, containing news of Raleigh's first Guiana voyage, i. 173.
- Whitelock, Captain, a retainer of the Earl of Northumberland, examination of Raleigh respecting his intercourse with, i. 490 ; ii. 387.
- Whitford, Thomas, ii. 92.
- Whitney, Captain, i. 615, 642, 643 ; ii. 356, 362.
- Whyte, Edward, letter of, to Walsingham, ii. 6.
- Whyte, Rowland, account by, of Raleigh's return to court in 1597, i. 226.
- William I., King of England, Raleigh's *Breviary of the History of*, i. 513.
- William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, message of, sent by Raleigh to Elizabeth, i. 61.
- Williams, George, of London, Raleigh on the proceedings of, with respect to captives in Barbary, ii. 31.
- Williams, Peter, a captive in Barbary, 1581, ii. 31.
- Willoughby, 'Esquire of the Body' to Queen Elizabeth, and the Earl of Southampton, i. 251.
- Wilson, Edward, under-keeper of Raleigh in the Tower, 1618 ; letter of Raleigh, introducing him to Lady Raleigh, ii. 370.
- Wilson, Sir Thomas, is employed in the Tower as a spy, i. 680 ; his character, and previous mission to Spain, 681 ; his reports to the King and to Secretary Naunton, of Raleigh's conversations about the Guiana expedition, and about intercourse with Frenchmen, 682 ; intercepts Lady Raleigh's letters, 683 ; acts as Raleigh's gaoler and spy of the King ; his letter to the King, enclosing one from Raleigh, ii. 364 ; Lady Raleigh's letter to Lady Carew, entreating her aid to prevent the seizure, by Sir T. Wilson, of Raleigh's library, 413.
- Windsor, Henry, Lord Windsor, serves as a volunteer in the Islands' Voyage of 1597, i. 233.
- Windsor Castle, Raleigh's visits to, in 1583 and 1603, i. 366, 367 ; alarm excited in the court, whilst at Windsor, by the appearance of a Frenchman, supposed to have paid a visit to Raleigh, 680.

LONDON :
R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR PRINTERS,
BREAD STREET HILL.



August, 1868.

16, BEDFORD STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

MACMILLAN AND CO.'S

List of Publications.

A Son of the Soil.

Crown 8vo. 6s.

Æschyli Eumenides.

The Greek Text with English Notes, and an Introduction. By
BERNARD DRAKE, M.A. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Agnes Hopetoun.

16mo. cloth. See OLIPHANT.

AIRY.—*Works by G. B. AIRY, M.A. I.L.D. D.C.L. Astronomer
Royal, &c.*

*Treatise on the Algebraical and Numerical Theory of
Errors of Observations and the Combination of Obser-
vations.*

Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Popular Astronomy.

A Series of Lectures delivered at Ipswich. 18mo. cloth, 4s. 6d.
With Illustrations. Uniform with MACMILLAN'S SCHOOL CLASS
BOOKS.

*An Elementary Treatise on Partial Differential
Equations.*

With Stereoscopic Cards of Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

On the Undulatory Theory of Optics.

Designed for the use of Students in the University. Crown
8vo. 6s. 6d.

On Sound and Atmospheric Vibrations,

With the Mathematical Elements of Music. Designed for the
use of Students of the Universities. Crown 8vo. 9s.

Algebraical Exercises.

Progressively arranged by Rev. C. A. JONES, M.A. and C. H.
CHEYNE, M.A. Mathematical Masters in Westminster School.
13mo. 2s. 6d.

A

- Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.*
By LEWIS CARROLL. With Forty-two Illustrations by TENNIEL.
12th Thousand. Crown 8vo. cloth. 6s.
- ALLINGHAM.—*Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland.*
A Modern Poem. By WILLIAM ALLINGHAM. Fcap. 8vo. 7s.
- ANSTED.—*The Great Stone Book of Nature.*
By DAVID THOMAS ANSTED, M.A. F.R.S. F.G.S. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- ANSTIE.—*Stimulants and Narcotics, their Mutual Relations,*
With Special Researches on the Action of Alcohol, Æther, and
Chloroform on the Vital Organism. By FRANCIS E. ANSTIE,
M.D. M.R.C.P. 8vo. 14s.
- Neuralgia and Diseases which resemble it.*
8vo. [In the Press.]
- Aristotle on Fallacies ; or, the Sophistici Elenchi.*
With a Translation and Notes by EDWARD POSTE, M.A. 8vo.
8s. 6d.
- ARNOLD.—*Works by MATTHEW ARNOLD.*
New Poems. Second Edition.
Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
*A French Eton ; or, Middle-Class Education and
the State.*
Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
Essays in Criticism.
Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.
Schools and Universities on the Continent.
8vo. 10s. 6d.
- BAKER.—*Works by SIR SAMUEL W. BAKER, M.A. F.R.G.S.*
*The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia, and the Sword
Hunters of the Hamran Arabs.*
With Portraits, Maps, and Illustrations. *Third Edition.* 8vo. 21s.
*The Albert N'yanza Great Basin of the Nile, and
Exploration of the Nile Sources. New and cheaper
Edition.*
With Portraits, Maps, and Illustrations. Two Vols. Crown
8vo. 16s.
- BARWELL.—*Guide in the Sick Room.*
By RICHARD BARWELL, F.R.C.S. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- BARNES.—*Poems of Rural Life in Common English.*
By the Rev. W. BARNES, Author of "Poems of Rural Life in
the Dorset Dialect." Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

- BAXTER.**—*National Income.*
By R. DUDLEY BAXTER, M.A. With Coloured Diagram.
8vo. 3s. 6d.
- BAYMA.**—*Elements of Molecular Mechanics.*
By JOSEPH BAYMA, S. J. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- BEASLEY.**—*An Elementary Treatise on Plane Trigonometry.*
With a Numerous Collection of Examples. By R. D. BEASLEY,
M.A. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- BELL.**—*Romances and Minor Poems.*
By HENRY GLASSFORD BELL. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.
- BERNARD.**—*The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament.*
In Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford.
By THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo.
8s. 6d.
- BERNARD.**—*Four Lectures on Subjects connected with
Diplomacy.*
By MOUNTAGUE BERNARD, M.A., Chichele Professor of Inter-
national Law and Diplomacy, Oxford. 8vo. 9s.
- BERNARD (ST.)**—*The Life and Times of St. Bernard, Abbot of
Clairvaux.*
By J. C. MORISON, M.A. *New Edition.* [Nearly ready.]
- BIRKS.**—*Works by THOMAS RAWSON BIRKS, M.A.*
*The Difficulties of Belief in connexion with the Creation
and the Fall.*
Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
*On Matter and Ether ; or, the Secret Laws of Physical
Change.*
Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- BLAKE.**—*The Life of William Blake, the Artist.*
By ALEXANDER GILCHRIST. With numerous Illustrations from
Blake's Designs and Fac-similes of his Studies of the "Book of
Job." Two Vols. Medium 8vo. 32s.
- BLAKE.**—*A Visit to some American Schools and Colleges.*
By SOPHIA JEX BLAKE. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Blanche Lisle, and other Poems.*
By CECIL HOME. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- BOOLE.**—*Works by the late GEORGE BOOLE, F.R.S. Professor
of Mathematics in the Queen's University, Ireland, &c.*
A Treatise on Differential Equations.
New Edition. Edited by I. TODHUNTER, M.A. F.R.S. Crown
8vo. 14s.

- BUTLER (ARCHER).—*A Second Series of Sermons.*
 Edited by J. A. JEREMIE, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity at
 Cambridge. *Fifth and Cheaper Edition.* 8vo. 7s.
- History of Ancient Philosophy.*
 Edited by WM. H. THOMPSON, M.A. Master of Trinity College,
 Cambridge. Two Vols. 8vo. 1l. 5s.
- Letters on Romanism, in reply to Dr. Newman's Essay
 on Development.*
 Edited by the Dean of Down. *Second Edition*, revised by
 Archdeacon HARDWICK. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- BUTLER (MONTAGU).—*Sermons preached in the Chapel of
 Harrow School.*
 By H. MONTAGU BUTLER, Head Master. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- BUTLER (GEORGE).—*Works by the Rev. GEORGE BUTLER.*
Family Prayers.
 Crown 8vo. 5s.
- Sermons preached in Cheltenham College Chapel.*
 Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- CAIRNES.—*The Slave Power; its Character, Career, and
 Probable Designs.*
 Being an Attempt to Explain the Real Issues Involved in the
 American Contest. By J. E. CAIRNES, M.A. *Second Edition.*
 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- CALDERWOOD.—*Philosophy of the Infinite.*
 A Treatise on Man's Knowledge of the Infinite Being, in answer
 to Sir W. Hamilton and Dr. Mansel. By the Rev. HENEY
 CALDERWOOD, M.A. Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edin-
 burgh. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 14s.
- Cambridge Senate-House Problems and Riders, with
 Solutions.*
- 1848—1851.—*Problems.*
 By FERRERS and JACKSON. 15s. 6d.
- 1848—1851.—*Riders.*
 By JAMESON. 7s. 6d.
- 1854.—*Problems and Riders.*
 By WALTON and MACKENZIE, M.A. 10s. 6d.
- 1857.—*Problems and Riders.*
 By CAMPION and WALTON. 8s. 6d.

*Cambridge Senate-House Problems and Riders—continued.*1860.—*Problems and Riders.*

By WATSON and ROUTH. 7s. 6d.

1864.—*Problems and Riders.*

By WALTON and WILKINSON. 10s. 6d.

Cambridge Lent Sermons.—

Sermons preached during Lent, 1864, in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge. By the BISHOP OF OXFORD, Rev. H. P. LIDDON, T. L. CLAUGHTON, J. R. WOODFORD, Dr. GOULBURN, J. W. BURGON, T. T. CARTER, Dr. PUSEY, DEAN HOOK, W. J. BUTLER, DEAN GOODWIN. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Cambridge Course of Elementary Natural Philosophy, for the Degree of B.A.

Originally compiled by J. C. SNOWBALL, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College. *Fifth Edition*, revised and enlarged, and adapted for the Middle-Class Examinations by THOMAS LUND, B.D. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Cambridge and Dublin Mathematical Journal.

The Complete Work, in Nine Vols. 8vo. Cloth. 7l. 4s. Only a few copies remain on hand.

Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century.

By JAMES BASS MULLINGER, B.A. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

CAMPBELL.—*Works by JOHN M'LEOD CAMPBELL.*

Thoughts on Revelation, with Special Reference to the Present Time.

Crown 8vo. 5s.

The Nature of the Atonement, and its Relation to Remission of Sins and Eternal Life.

Second Edition revised. 8vo. 10s. 6d.CARTER.—*King's College Chapel: Notes on its History and present condition.*

By T. J. P. CARTER, M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. With Photographs. 8vo. 5s.

Catulli Veronensis Liber.

Recognovit R. ELLIS. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

CHALLIS.—*Creation in Plan and in Progress:*

Being an Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis. By the Rev. JAMES CHALLIS, M.A. F.R.S. F.R.A.S. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

- CHATTERTON.—*Leonore; a Tale.*
By GEORGIANA LADY CHATTERTON. *A New Edition.* Beautifully printed on thick toned paper. Crown 8vo. with Frontispiece and Vignette Title engraved by JEENS. 7s. 6d.
- CHEYNE.—*Works by C. H. H. CHEYNE, B.A.*
An Elementary Treatise on the Planetary Theory.
With a Collection of Problems. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.
The Earth's Motion of Rotation (including the Theory of Precession and Nutation).
Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Choice Notes on St. Matthew, drawn from Old and New Sources.*
Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- CHRISTIE (J. R.)—*Elementary Test Questions in Pure and Mixed Mathematics.*
Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Church Congress (Authorized Report of) held at Wolverhampton in October, 1867.*
8vo. 3s. 6d.
- CICERO.—*The Second Philippic Oration.*
With an Introduction and Notes, translated from KARL HALM. Edited, with Corrections and Additions, by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- CLARK.—*Four Sermons preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge.*
By W. G. CLARK, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- CLAY.—*The Prison Chaplain.*
A Memoir of the Rev. JOHN CLAY, B.D. late Chaplain of the Preston Goal. With Selections from his Reports and Correspondence, and a Sketch of Prison Discipline in England. By his Son, the Rev. W. L. CLAY, M.A. 8vo. 15s.
The Power of the Keys.
Sermons preached in Coventry. By the Rev. W. L. CLAY, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Clemency Franklyn.*
By the Author of "Janet's Home. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Clergyman's Self-Examination concerning the Apostles' Creed.*
Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Clever Woman of the Family.

By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." Crown 8vo. 6s.

CLOUGH.—*The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough,*sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. With a Memoir by F. T. PALGRAVE. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6s.COLENSO.—*Works by the Right Rev. J. W. COLENSO, D.D.
Bishop of Natal.**The Colony of Natal.*

A Journal of Visitation. With a Map and Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

*Village Sermons.**Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*Four Sermons on Ordination and on Missions.*

18mo. 1s.

*Companion to the Holy Communion,*Containing the Service and Select Readings from the writings of Mr. MAURICE. *Fine Edition,* morocco, antique style, 6s. *Common paper,* 1s.*Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,*Upon the Question of Polygamy, as found already existing in Converts from Heathenism. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.*Connells of Castle Connell.*

By JANET GORDON. Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 21s.

COOPER.—*Athenae Cantabrigienses.*

By CHARLES HENRY COOPER, F.S.A. and THOMPSON COOPER, F.S.A. Vol. I. 8vo. 1500—85, 18s. Vol. II. 1586—1609, 18s.

COPE.—*An Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric.*

With Analysis, Notes, and Appendices. By E. M. COPE, Senior Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 14s.

COTTON.—*Works by the late GEORGE EDWARD LYNCH
COTTON, D.D. Bishop of Calcutta.**Sermons and Addresses delivered in Marlborough College
during Six Years.*

Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

- COTTON.—*Sermons, chiefly connected with Public Events of 1854.*
Fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- Sermons preached to English Congregations in India.*
Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Expository Sermons on the Epistles for the Sundays of the Christian Year.*
Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 15s.
- CRAIK.—*My First Journal.*
A Book for the Young. By GEORGIANA M. CRAIK, Author of "Riverston," "Lost and Won," &c. Royal 16mo. Cloth, gilt leaves, 3s. 6d.
- CURE.—*The Seven Words of Christ on the Cross.*
Sermons preached at St. George's, Bloomsbury. By the Rev. E. CAPEL CURE, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- DALTON.—*Arithmetical Examples progressively arranged; together with Miscellaneous Exercises and Examination Papers.*
By the Rev. T. DALTON, M.A. Assistant Master at Eton College. 18mo. 2s. 6d.
- DANTE.—*Dante's Comedy, The Hell.*
Translated by W. M. ROSSETTI. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s.
- DAVIES.—*Works by the Rev. J. LLEWELYN DAVIES, M.A. Rector of Christ Church, St. Marylebone, &c.*
Sermons on the Manifestation of the Son of God.
With a Preface addressed to Laymen on the present position of the Clergy of the Church of England; and an Appendix, on the Testimony of Scripture and the Church as to the Possibility of Pardon in the Future State. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- The Work of Christ; or, the World Reconciled to God.*
With a Preface on the Atonement Controversy. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.
- Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper.*
As interpreted by their outward signs. Three Expository Addresses for Parochial Use. Fcap. 8vo. Limp cloth. 1s. 6d.
- Morality according to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*
Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- The Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, the Colossians, and Philemon.*
With Introductions and Notes, and an Essay on the Traces of Foreign Elements in the Theology of these Epistles. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

- DREW.**—*Solutions to Problems contained in Drew's Treatise on Conic Sections.*
Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Early Egyptian History for the Young.**
With Descriptions of the Tombs and Monuments. *New Edition,*
with Frontispiece. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- East India Association Journal.**
Parts 1—8, each 2s. 6d.
- EASTWOOD.**—*The Bible Word Book.*
A Glossary of Old English Bible Words. By J. EASTWOOD,
M.A. of St. John's College, and W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.
Trinity College, Cambridge. 18mo. 5s. 6d. Uniform with
Macmillan's School Class Books.
- Ecce Homo.**
A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ. 20th Thousand.
Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Echoes of Many Voices from Many Lands.**
By A. F. 18mo. cloth, extra gilt. 3s. 6d.
- ELLICE.**—*English Idylls.*
By JANE ELLICE. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 6s.
- ELLIOTT.**—*Life of Henry Venn Elliott, of Brighton.*
By JOSIAH RATEMAN, M.A. Author of "Life of Daniel Wilson,
Bishop of Calcutta," &c. With Portrait, engraved by JEENS.
Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- Essays on Church Policy.**
Edited by the Rev. W. L. CLAY, M.A. Incumbent of Rainhill,
Lancashire. 8vo. 9s.
- Essays on a Liberal Education.**
By Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. F. W. FARRAR, M.A.
F.R.S. &c. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- EVANS.**—*Brother Fabian's Manuscript, and other Poems.*
By SEBASTIAN EVANS. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 6s.
- FARRAR.**—*The Fall of Man, and other Sermons.*
By the Rev. F. W. FARRAR, M.A. late Fellow of Trinity
College, Cambridge. 6s.
- FAWCETT.**—*Works by HENRY FAWCETT, M.P.*
The Economic Position of the British Labourer.
Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.
Manual of Political Economy.
Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 12s.
- Fellowship: Letters addressed to my Sister Mourners.**
Fcap. 8vo. cloth gilt. 3s. 6d.

I N D E X

- FLETCHER**—*A Treatise on the Linear Transformation for the Method of Least Squares, and the Theory of Projections.*
By the late F. H. FLETCHER, F.R.S. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*Trigonometry from a Geometrical Point of View.*
By the late FLETCHER. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*Logarithmic Forme F.F.S.*
By the late FLETCHER, F.R.S. and FLETCHER. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*The Theory of Sines and the Functions.*
By the late FLETCHER. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*On the Comparison and Treatment of the Variations of Temperature, considered in Relation to the Psychological Aspects of the Different Forms of Insanity.*
By FLETCHER, F.R.S. and FLETCHER, F.R.S. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*The Foundation of Youth.*
Translated from the Danish of FREDERICK PAULSEN MILLER. By FLETCHER, F.R.S. and FLETCHER, F.R.S. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*History of Federal Government from the Foundation of the American League to the Disruption of the United States.*
By EDWARD A. FLETCHER, M.A. With General Introduction. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*The First Three Sections of Newton's Principia.*
With Notes and Problems in Discussion of the Subject. By FLETCHER, F.R.S. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- FLETCHER AND WOLSTENHOLME**—*A Treatise on Solid Geometry.*
By the late FLETCHER, F.R.S. and the Rev. J. WOLSTENHOLME, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- The Sicilian Expedition.*
Being Books VI and VII. of THUCYDIDES, with Notes. By the late FLETCHER, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- FLETCHER**—*Le Morte Arthur.*
Edited from the Harleian M.S. 2252, in the British Museum. By F. J. FLETCHER, M.A. With Essay by the late HERBERT COLLINGRIDGE. Fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

- GALTON.—*Meteorographica, or Methods of Mapping the Weather.*
 Illustrated by upwards of 600 Printed Lithographed Diagrams.
 By FRANCIS GALTON, F.R.S. 4to. 9s.
- GEIKIE.—*Works by ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S. Director of the Geological Survey of Scotland.*
Story of a Boulder; or, Gleanings by a Field Geologist.
 Illustrated with Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 5s.
Scenery of Scotland, viewed in connexion with its Physical Geology.
 With Illustrations and a New Geological Map. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
Elementary Lessons in Physical Geology. [Preparing.]
- GIFFORD.—*The Glory of God in Man.*
 By E. H. GIFFORD, D.D. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Globe Editions :*
The Complete Works of William Shakespeare.
 Edited by W. G. CLARK and W. ALDIS WRIGHT. Eighty-fifth Thousand. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.; paper covers, 2s. 6d.
Morte D'Arthur.
 SIR THOMAS MALORY'S Book of KING ARTHUR and of his noble KNIGHTS of the ROUND TABLE. The Edition of Caxton, revised for Modern use. With an Introduction by SIR EDWARD STRACHEY, Bart. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.
The Poetical Works of John Milton.
 Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Professor MASSON. [In the Press.]
The Poetical Works and Letters of Robert Burns.
 Edited, with Life, by ALEXANDER SMITH. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.
The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.
 Edited, with Introduction, by HENRY KINGSLEY. Globe 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Globe Atlas of Europe.*
 Uniform in Size with MACMILLAN'S GLOBE SERIES. Containing Forty-Eight Coloured Maps on the same scale, Plans of London and Paris, and a Copious Index. Strongly bound in half morocco, with flexible back, 9s.
- GODFRAY.—*An Elementary Treatise on the Lunar Theory.*
 With a brief Sketch of the Problem up to the time of Newton.
 By HUGH GODFRAY, M.A. *Second Edition revised.* Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

GRIFFIN—A Treatise on Astronomy, for the Use of Colleges and Schools.

By HENRY GRIFFIN, M.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

Golden Treasury Series :

Uniformly printed in 16mo with Vignette Titles by SIR NOEL PATON, T. WILKINSON, W. HERMAN HUNT, J. E. MILLAR, &c. Engraved in Steel by JENKS. Bound in extra cloth, 4s. 6d.; half-bound paper, 7s. 6d.; morocco extra, 10s. 6d. each volume.

The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language.

Selected and arranged, with Notes, by FRANCIS TURNER PALMER.

The Children's Garland from the Best Poets.

Selected and arranged by COVENTRY PATMORE.

The Book of Prose.

From the Best English Prose Writers. Selected and arranged by SIR BUNSELL PALMER. A New and Enlarged Edition.

The Fairy Book: the Best Popular Fairy Stories.

Selected and rendered anew by the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman."

The Ballad Book.

A Selection of the choicest British Ballads. Edited by WILLIAM ARDENBARK.

The Jest Book.

The choicest Anecdotes and Sayings. Selected and arranged by MARK LINDSAY.

Scott's Essays and Colours of Good and Evil.

With Notes and Glossarial Index, by W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A.
 * * * Large paper copies, crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.; or bound in half morocco, 10s. 6d.

The Prophet's Progress

From this World to that which is to Come. By JOHN BUNYAN.

* * * Large paper copies, crown 8vo. cloth, 7s. 6d.; or bound in half morocco, 10s. 6d.

The Sunday Book of Poetry for the Young.

Selected and arranged by C. F. ALEXANDER.

A Book of Golden Deeds of all Times and all Countries.

Gathered and Narrated anew by the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe."

The Poetical Works of Robert Burns.

Edited, with Biographical Memoir, by ALEXANDER SMITH.
 Two Vols.

*Golden Treasury Series—continued.**The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.*

Edited from the Original Editions by J. W. CLARK, M.A.

The Republic of Plato.

Translated into English with Notes by J. LL. DAVIES, M.A. and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A. New Edition, with Vignette Portraits of Plato and Socrates engraved by JEENS from an Antique Gem.

The Song Book.

Words and Tunes from the best Poets and Musicians, selected and arranged by JOHN HULLAH. With Vignette by CAROLINE E. HULLAH, engraved by JEENS.

La Lyre Française.

Selected and arranged, with Notes, by GUSTAVE MASSON. With Vignette of BERANGER, engraved by JEENS.

Tom Brown's School Days.

By an OLD BOY. With Vignette by ARTHUR HUGHES, engraved by JEENS.

Milton.

Edited by DAVID MASSON.

[In the Press.

Book of Worthies.

By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe."

[In the Press.

Religio Medici.

By SIR T. BROWNE.

[In the Press.

GREEN.—*Spiritual Philosophy.*

Founded on the Teaching of the late SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. By the late JOSEPH HENRY GREEN, F.R.S. D.C.L. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by JOHN SIMON, F.R.S. Two Vols. 8vo. cloth. 25s.

Guesses at Truth.

By TWO BROTHERS. With Vignette Title and Frontispiece. *New Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

GUIZOT, M.—*Memoir of M. de Barante.*

Translated by the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Guide to the Unprotected

In Every Day Matters relating to Property and Income. By a BANKER'S DAUGHTER. *Third Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

- HAMBERTON.**—*A Painter's Camp in the Highlands;*
By P. G. HAMBERTON. *New and Cheaper Edition*, one vol.
Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.
- Etching and Etchers.*
A Treatise Critical and Practical. By P. G. HAMBERTON. With
Original Plates by REMBRANDT, CALLOT, DUJARDIN, PAUL
POTTER, &c. Royal 8vo. Half morocco. 31s. 6d.
- HAMILTON.**—*On Truth and Error.*
Thoughts on the Principles of Truth, and the Causes and Effect
of Error. By JOHN HAMILTON. Crown 8vo. 5s.
- HARDWICK.**—*Works by the Ven. ARCHDEACON HARDWICK.*
- Christ and other Masters.*
A Historical Inquiry into some of the Chief Parallelisms and
Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the
Ancient World. *New Edition*, revised, and a Prefatory Memoir
by the Rev. FRANCIS PROCTER. Two Vols. crown 8vo. 15s.
- A History of the Christian Church.*
Middle Age. From Gregory the Great to the Excommunication
of Luther. Edited by FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A. With Four
Maps constructed for this work by A. KEITH JOHNSTON. *Second
Edition.* Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- A History of the Christian Church during the Refor-
mation.*
Revised by FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A. *Second Edition.* Crown
8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Twenty Sermons for Town Congregations.*
Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- HEMMING.**—*An Elementary Treatise on the Differential and
Integral Calculus.*
By G. W. HEMMING, M.A. *Second Edition.* 8vo. 9s.
- HERSCHEL.**—*The Iliad of Homer.*
Translated into English Hexameters. By Sir JOHN HERSCHEL,
Bart. 8vo. 18s.
- HERVEY.**—*The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ,*
As contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke,
reconciled with each other, and shown to be in harmony with
the true Chronology of the Times. By Lord ARTHUR HERVEY,
M.A. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

HERVEY (ROSAMOND). *Works by ROSAMOND HERVEY.*

The Aarbergs.

Two Vols. crown 8vo. cloth. 21s.

Duke Ernest,

A Tragedy; and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

HILL (FLORENCE).—*Children of the State. The Training of Juvenile Paupers.*

Extra fcap. cloth. 5s.

Historical Extracts.

A Series of Readings from the best Authorities on English and European History. Selected and Arranged by E. M. SEWELL and C. M. YONGE. Extra fcap. 8vo. [Shortly.]

HISTORICUS.—*Letters on some Questions of International Law.*

Reprinted from the *Times*, with considerable Additions. 8vo. 7s. 6d. Also, ADDITIONAL LETTERS. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

HODGSON.—*Mythology for Latin Versification.*

A Brief Sketch of the Fables of the Ancients, prepared to be rendered into Latin Verse for Schools. By F. HODGSON, B.D. late Provost of Eton. *New Edition*, revised by F. C. HODGSON, M.A. 18mo. 3s.

HOLE.—*Works by CHARLES HOLE, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.*

A Brief Biographical Dictionary.

Compiled and arranged by CHARLES HOLE, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. In Pott 8vo. neatly and strongly bound in cloth. *Second Edition.* 4s. 6d.

Genealogical Stemma of the Kings of England and France.

In One Sheet. 1s.

HORNER.—*The Tuscan Poet Guiseppe Giusti and his Times.*

By SUSAN HORNER. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Household (A) Book of English Poetry.

Selected and Arranged with Notes by R. C. TRENCH, D.D. Archbishop of Dublin. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

HOWARD.—*The Pentateuch;*

Or, the Five Books of Moses. Translated into English from the Version of the LXX. With Notes on its Omissions and Insertions, and also on the Passages in which it differs from the Authorized Version. By the Hon. HENRY HOWARD, D.D. Crown 8vo. GENESIS, One Volume, 8s. 6d.; EXODUS AND LEVITICUS, One Volume, 10s. 6d.; NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY One Volume, 10s. 6d.

- HOZIER.**—*The Seven Weeks' War ;*
Its Antecedents, and its Incidents. By H. M. HOZIER. With
Maps and Plans. Two Vols. 8vo. 28s.
- HUMPHRY.**—*The Human Skeleton (including the Joints).*
By G. M. HUMPHRY, M.D., F.R.S. With Two Hundred and
Sixty Illustrations drawn from Nature. Medium 8vo. 17. 8s.
- HUXLEY.**—*Lessons in Elementary Physiology.*
With numerous Illustrations. By T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S.
Professor of Natural History in the Royal School of Mines.
Uniform with Macmillans' School Class Books. *Second Edition.*
18mo. 4s. 6d.
- Hymni Ecclesiae.*
Fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- JAMESON.**—*Works by the Rev. F. J. JAMESON, M.A.*
Life's Work, in Preparation and in Retrospect.
Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. Fcap.
8vo. 1s. 6d.
Brotherly Counsels to Students.
Sermons preached in the Chapel of St. Catharine's College,
Cambridge. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- Janet's Home.*
A Novel. *New Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.
- JEVONS.**—*The Coal Question.*
By W. STANLEY JEVONS, M.A. Fellow of University College,
London. *Second Edition, revised.* 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- JONES.**—*The Church of England and Common Sense.*
By HARRY JONES, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- JONES.**—*Algebraical Exercises,*
Progressively Arranged by the Rev. C. A. JONES, M.A. and
C. H. CHEYNE, M.A. Mathematical Masters in Westminster
School. 18mo. 2s. 6d.
- Journal of Anatomy and Physiology.*
Conducted by Professors HUMPHRY and NEWTON, and Mr.
CLARK of Cambridge ; Professor TURNER, of Edinburgh ; and
Dr. WRIGHT, of Dublin. Published twice a year. Price to
subscribers, 14s. per annum. Price 7s. 6d. each Part. Vol. I.
containing Parts I. and II. Royal 8vo. 16s. Part III. 6s.
- JUVENAL,** *for Schools.*
With English Notes. By J. E. B. MAYOR, M.A. *New and*
Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. [In the Press.]

- KEARY.**—*The Little Wanderlin*,
And other Fairy Tales. By A. and E. KEARY. 18mo. 3s. 6d.
- KEMPIS (THOS. A.).**—*De Imitatione Christi. Libri IV.*
Borders in the ancient style, after Holbein, Durer, and other old Masters, containing Dances of Death, Acts of Mercy, Emblems, and a variety of curious ornamentation. In white cloth, extra gilt. 7s. 6d.
- KENNEDY.**—*Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts.*
Collected and Narrated by PATRICK KENNEDY. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- KINGSBURY.**—*Spiritual Sacrifice and Holy Communion.*
Seven Sermons preached during the Lent of 1867 at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, with Notes. By T. L. KINGSBURY, M.A. late Rector of Chetwynd. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- KINGSLEY.**—*Works by the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A. Rector of Eversley, and Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.*
- The Roman and the Teuton.*
A Series of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge. 8vo. 12s.
- Two Years Ago.*
Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- "*Westward Ho!*"
Fifth Edition. Crown vo. 6s.
- Alton Locke.*
New Edition. With a New Preface. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Hypatia.*
Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Yeast.*
Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.
- Hereward the Wake—Last of the English.*
Crown 8vo. 6s.
- The Saint's Tragedy.*
Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Andromeda,*
And other Poems. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- The Water Babies.*
A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby. With Two Illustrations by Sir NOEL PATON, R.S.A. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

KINGSLEY (*Rev. CHARLES*).—*The Heroes*;
Or, Greek Fairy Tales for my Children. With Eight Illustrations.
New Edition. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

*Three Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution on the
Ancien Regime.*

Crown 8vo. 6s.

The Water of Life,

And other Sermons. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Village Sermons.

Seventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Gospel of the Pentateuch.

Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Good News of God.

Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Sermons for the Times.

Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Town and Country Sermons.

Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Sermons on National Subjects.

First Series. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

Second Series. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

Discipline,

And other Sermons. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Alexandria and her Schools.

With a Preface. Crown 8vo. 5s.

The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History.

An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 2s.

Phaethon ; or, Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers.

Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 2s.

David.

Four Sermons : David's Weakness—David's Strength—David's Anger—David's Deserts. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 2s. 6d.

KINGSLEY.—*Works by HENRY KINGSLEY.*

Austin Elliot.

New Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

- KINGSLEY (HENRY).**—*The Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn.*
Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- The Hillyars and the Burtons: A Story of Two Families.*
 Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Ravenshoe.*
New Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Leighton Court.*
New Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Silcote of Silcotes.*
 Three Vols. Crown 8vo. 31s. 6d.
- KIRCHHOFF.**—*Researches on the Solar Spectrum and the Spectra of the Chemical Elements.*
 By G. KIRCHHOFF, of Heidelberg. Translated by HENRY E. ROSCOE, B.A. Second Part. 4to. 5s. with 2 Plates.
- KITCHENER.**—*Geometrical Note Book,*
 Containing Easy Problems in Geometrical Drawing, preparatory to the Study of Geometry. For the Use of Schools. By F. E. KITCHENER, M.A., Mathematical Master at Rugby. 4to. 2s.
- LANCASTER.**—*Works by WILLIAM LANCASTER.*
- Præterita.*
 Poems. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Studies in Verse.*
 Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Eclogues and Mono-dramas; or, a Collection of Verses.*
 Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- LATHAM.**—*The Construction of Wrought-iron Bridges.*
 Embracing the Practical Application of the Principles of Mechanics to Wrought-Iron Girder Work. By J. H. LATHAM, Civil Engineer. 8vo. With numerous detail Plates. *Second Edition.* [Preparing.]
- LATHAM.**—*Black and White: A Three Months' Tour in the United States.*
 By H. LATHAM, M.A. Barrister-at-Law. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- LAW.**—*The Alps of Hannibal.*
 By WILLIAM JOHN LAW, M.A. Two Vols. 8vo. 21s.
- Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects.*
Third Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

LEMON.—*Legends of Number Nip.*

By MARK LEMON. With Six Illustrations by CHARLES KEENE.
Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

LIGHTFOOT.—*Works by J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D. D. Hulsean Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.**St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.*

A Revised Text, with Notes and Dissertations. *Second Edition, revised.* 8vo. 12s.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians.

A Revised Text, with Notes and Dissertations. [In the Press.

Little Estella.

And other Fairy Tales for the Young. Royal 16mo. 3s. 6d.

LOCKYER.—*Elementary Lessons in Astronomy. With numerous Illustrations.*

By J. NORMAN LOCKYER, F.R.A.S. 18mo. 5s. 6d.

LUCKOCK.—*The Tables of Stone.*

A Course of Sermons preached in All Saints', Cambridge, by H. M. LUCKOCK, M.A., Vicar. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LUDLOW and HUGHES.—*A Sketch of the History of the United States from Independence to Secession.*

By J. M. LUDLOW, Author of "British India, its Races and its History," "The Policy of the Crown towards India," &c.
To which is added, "The Struggle for Kansas." By THOMAS HUGHES, Author of "Tom Brown's School Days," "Tom Brown at Oxford," &c. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

LUSHINGTON.—*The Italian War, 1848-9, and the Last Italian Poet.*

By the late HENRY LUSHINGTON. With a Biographical Preface by G. S. VENABLES. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

LYTTELTON.—*Works by LORD LYTTELTON.**The Comus of Milton rendered into Greek Verse.*

Extra fcap. 8vo. *Second Edition.* 5s.

The Samson Agonistes of Milton rendered into Greek Verse.

Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

MACKENZIE.—*The Christian Clergy of the First Ten Centuries, and their Influence on European Civilization.*

By HENRY MACKENZIE, B.A. Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

- MACLAREN.**—*Sermons preached at Manchester.*
By ALEXANDER MACLAREN. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo.
4s. 6d. A Second Series in the Press.
- MACLAREN.**—*Training, in Theory and Practice.*
By A. MACLAREN, Oxford. With Frontispiece, and other Illustrations. 8vo. Handsomely bound in cloth. 7s. 6d.
- MACLEAR.**—*Works by G. F. MACLEAR, B.D. Head Master of King's College School, and Preacher at the Temple Church:—*
- A History of Christian Missions during the Middle Ages.*
Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- The Witness of the Eucharist; or, The Institution and Early Celebration of the Lord's Supper, considered as an Evidence of the Historical Truth of the Gospel Narrative and of the Atonement.*
Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- A Class-Book of Old Testament History.*
With Four Maps. *Fourth Edition.* 18mo. 4s. 6d.
- A Class-Book of New Testament History.*
Including the connexion of the Old and New Testament. *Second Edition.* 18mo. 5s. 6d.
- A Class-Book of the Catechism of the Church of England.*
18mo. cloth. 2s. 6d.
- A Shilling Book of Old Testament History.*
18mo. cloth limp. 1s.
- A Shilling Book of New Testament History.*
18mo. cloth limp. 1s.
- MACMILLAN.**—*Works by the Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN.*
- Bible Teachings in Nature.*
Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Foot-notes from the Page of Nature.*
With numerous Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Macmillan's Magazine.**
Published Monthly, price One Shilling. Volumes I.—XVII. are now ready, 7s. 6d. each.

McCOSH—Works by JAMES MCCOSH, LL.D. *Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast, &c.*

The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral.

Fourth Edition. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

The Supernatural in Relation to the Natural.

Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Intuition of the Mind.

A New Edition. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

An Examination of Mr. J. S. Mill's Philosophy.

Being a Defense of Fundamental Truths. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

MANFIELD—Works by C. B. MANFIELD, M.A.

Porphyry, Boetius, and the Platon.

With a Map, and numerous Woodcuts. With a Sketch of his Life, by the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

A Theory of Salt.

A Treatise on the Constitution of Potash (two members) and other Compounds. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

MANNING—*Sermons preached to Young Boys.*

By E. T. MANNING. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

MANNING—*A Table of Impulsive Greek Verbs.*

8vo. 2s.

MARTIN—*The Scotsman's Year Book for 1868.* By

FREDERICK MARTIN. (Fifth Annual Publication.)

A Statistical, Anecdotal, and Historical Account of the Scottish Year for the Year 1868. Forming a Manual for Politicians and Merchants. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

MARTIN—Works by TATE MARTIN, M.A. *Professor of History and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh.*

Essays, Biographical and Critical.

chiefly on the English Poets. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

MASSON.—*British Novelists and their Styles.*

Being a Critical Sketch of the History of British Prose Fiction.
Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Life of John Milton.

Narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and
Literary History of his Time. Vol. I. with Portraits. 8vo. 18s.

Recent British Philosophy.

A Review, with Criticisms, including some Comments on Mr.
Mill's Answer to Sir William Hamilton. *New and Cheaper
Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.

MAUDSLEY.—*The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind.*

By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D. *New and Revised Edition.*
8vo. 16s.

MAURICE.—*Works by the Rev. FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M.A. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge.**The Claims of the Bible and of Science.*

A Correspondence on some questions respecting the Pentateuch.
Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Dialogues on Family Worship.

Crown 8vo. 6s.

The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament.

Third and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

This volume contains Discourses on the Pentateuch, Joshua,
Judges, and the beginning of the First Book of Samuel.

The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament.

Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

This volume contains Discourses on Samuel I. and II.; Kings I.
and II.; Amos, Joel, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk,
Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven.

A Series of Lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke. Crown 8vo. 9s.

The Gospel of St. John.

A Series of Discourses. *Third and Cheaper Edition.* Crown
8vo. 6s.

The Epistles of St. John.

A Series of Lectures on Christian Ethics. *Second and Cheaper
Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.

- MAYOR.—*A First Greek Reader.*
 Edited after Karl Halm, with Corrections and Additions. By
 JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.
- Autobiography of Matthew Robinson.*
 By JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- MERIVALE.—*Sallust for Schools.*
 By C. MERIVALE, B.D. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
 * * The Jugurtha and the Catalina may be had separately, price
 2s. 6d. each.
- Keats' Hyperion rendered into Latin Verse.*
 By C. MERIVALE, B.D. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo.
 3s. 6d.
- Moor Cottage.*
 A Tale of Home Life. By the Author of "Little Estella."
 Crown 8vo. 6s.
- MOORHOUSE.—*Works by JAMES MOORHOUSE, M.A.*
*Some Modern Difficulties respecting the Facts of Nature
 and Revelation.*
 Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- The Hulsean Lectures for 1865.*
 Crown 8vo. 5s.
- MORGAN.—*A Collection of Mathematical Problems and
 Examples.*
 By H. A. MORGAN, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- MORLEY, JOHN.—*Edmund Burke—a Historical Study.*
 Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- MORSE.—*Working for God,*
 And other Practical Sermons. By FRANCIS MORSE, M.A.
Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- MULLINGER.—*Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth
 Century.*
 By J. B. MULLINGER, B.A. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- MYERS.—*St. Paul.*
 A Poem. By F. W. H. MYERS. *Second Edition.* Extra fcap.
 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- NETTLESHIP.—*Essays on Robert Browning's Poetry.*
 By JOHN T. NETTLESHIP. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- New Landlord, The.*
 Translated from the Hungarian of MAURICE JOKAI by A. J.
 PATTERSON. Two Vols. crown 8vo. 21s.

- STEELE**.—*Beyond the Veil*,
And other Poems. By the Hon. EDWARD STEELE. Fcap. 8vo. 7s.
- STURTEVANT**.
Brief Notes of Travel in Sweden, Finland, and Russia. With a Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. 5s.
- STURTEVANT**.—*The Lady of La Garaye*.
By the Hon. Mrs. STURTEVANT. With Vignette and Frontispiece.
New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- O'BRIEN**.—*Works by JAMES THOMAS O'BRIEN, D.D. Bishop of Ossory*.
An Attempt to Explain and Establish the Doctrine of Justification by Faith only.
First Edition. 8vo. 12s.
Charge delivered at the Visitation in 1863.
Second Edition. 8vo. 2s.
- OLIPHANT**.—*Aynes Hopeston's Schools and Holidays*.
By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Royal 16mo. gilt leaves. 3s. 6d.
- OLIVER**.—*Lessons in Elementary Botany*.
With nearly 200 Illustrations. By DANIEL OLIVER, F.R.S.
F.L.S. 15mo. 4s. 6d.
- OPPEN**.—*French Reader*,
For the Use of Colleges and Schools. By EDWARD A. OPPEN.
Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- ORWELL**.—*The Bishop's Walk and the Bishop's Times*.
POEMS IN THE DAYS OF ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON AND THE SCOTTISH
COVERLAND. By ORWELL. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Our Year*.
A CHILD'S Book, in Prose and Verse. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." Illustrated by CLARENCE DORELL. Royal 16mo. 3s. 6d.
- PALGRAVE**.—*History of Normandy and of England*.
By Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. Completing the History to the
Death of William Rufus. Vols. I. to IV. 8vo. each 21s.
- PALGRAVE**.—*A Narrative of a Year's Journey through
Central and Eastern Arabia, 1862-3*.
By WILLIAM GIFFORD PALGRAVE (late of the Eighth Regiment
Bombay N.I.) *Fourth and Cheaper Edition*. With Map, Plans,
and Portrait of Author, engraved on Steel by JEENS. Crown
8vo. 7s. 6d.

PALGRAVE.—*Works by FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE, M.A.*
late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Essays on Art.

Mulready—Dyce—Holman Hunt—Herbert—Poetry, Prose, and
Sensationalism in Art—Sculpture in England—The Albert Cross,
&c. Extra fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Sonnets and Songs.

By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. GEM EDITION. With Vignette
Title by JENNS. 3s. 6d.

Original Hymns.

Second Edition, enlarged. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

PALMER.—*The Book of Praise:*

From the Best English Hymn Writers. Selected and arranged
by SIR ROUNDELL PALMER. With Vignette by WOOLNER.
18mo. 4s. 6d. *Large Type Edition*, demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.;
morocco, 21s.

A Hymnal.

Chiefly from the BOOK OF PRAISE. In various sizes.

A.—In Royal 32mo. cloth limp. 6d.
B.—Small 18mo. larger type, cloth limp. 1s.
C.—Same Edition, fine paper, cloth. 1s. 6d.

An Edition with Music, Selected, Harmonized, and Composed by
JOHN HULLAH. Square 18mo. 3s. 6d.

PARKINSON. *Works by S. PARKINSON, B.D.*

A Treatise on Elementary Mechanics.

For the Use of the Junior Classes at the University and the
Higher Classes in Schools. With a Collection of Examples.
Third Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 9s. 6d.

A Treatise on Optics.

Second Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

PATMORE.—*Works by COVENTRY PATMORE.*

The Angel in the House.

Book I. The Betrothal.—Book II. The Espousals.—Book III.
Faithful for Ever. With Tamerton Church Tower. Two Vols.
fcap. 8vo. 12s.

. A New and Cheap Edition, in One Vol. 18mo. beautifully
printed on toned paper, price 2s. 6d.

The Victories of Love.

Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

PHEAR.—*Elementary Hydrostatics.*

By J. B. PHEAR, M.A. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

LECTURES ON THE FUTURE LIFE AMONG THE ROMANS.
From the Lectures by JOHN HENRY PEARSON, D.D.
1871. 2s.

Illustrations.

The Human Skeleton and Internal Physiology. Four Plates, fols.
12s. 6d.

The Human Eye. New Series. Edited by V. C. CLARK,
M.D., and F. J. HAYES, M.A., and V. JAMES WATSON, M.A.
1871. 2s. 6d. Half-bound.

Plates.—The Republic of Plato.

Illustrated and Explained, with Notes. By Two Fellows of Trinity
College, Cambridge: F. M. LAYTON, M.A. and D. J. TAYLOR,
M.A. With Two Maps. Part of the Cambridge University Press
Library of Theology. Cambridge University Series. Four
Plates. 1871. 2s. 6d.

Plato's Republic.

By the late V. W. WATSON, D.D. F.R.S.
Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I. Second Edition,
containing The Republic. 1871. 2s. 6d. Vol. II.
containing The Laws. 1871. 2s. 6d. Vol. III. con-
taining The Republic. 1871. 2s. 6d.

Plato's True Indian Version of the Scriptures.

By a Member of the Church of Scotland. 1871. 2s.

Plato's True Indian Version of the Scriptures.

Series preached in Melbourne. By the Rev. RUSSELL PORTER,
M.A. 1871. 2s. 6d.

Plato's True Indian Version of the Scriptures.

Edited by FRANK J. ALFORD, M.A. and HENRY LAWSON,
M.A. 1871. 2s. 6d. (No. I. in July.)

**Plato's True Indian Version of the Scriptures. La Plati's Functions,
and the Future of the Earth.**

By F. M. LAYTON, M.A. Four Plates. Crown fols. 2s. 6d.

Plato's True Indian Version of the Scriptures.

Series preached before the University of Cambridge by
F. M. LAYTON, M.A. 1871. 2s. 6d.

Plato's True Indian Version of the Scriptures.

A History of the Book of Common Prayer:

With a Catalogue of its Offices. Seventh Edition, revised and en-
larged. 1871. 2s. 6d.

A Concise History of the Book of Common

Prayer. Second Edition.

1871. 2s. 6d.

- Psalms of David chronologically arranged.*
An Amended Version, with Historical Introductions and Explanatory Notes. By FOUR FRIENDS. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- PUCKLE.—*An Elementary Treatise on Conic Sections and Algebraic Geometry, with numerous Examples and Hints for their Solution,*
Especially designed for the Use of Beginners. By G. HALE PUCKLE, M.A. Head Master of Windermere College. *Third Edition, enlarged.* Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- PULLEN.—*The Psalter and Canticles, Pointed for Chanting,* With Marks of Expression, and a List of Appropriate Chants. By the Rev. HENRY PULLEN, M.A. 8vo. 5s.
- RALEGH, SIR WALTER.—*Life.*
By E. EDWARDS. [In the Press.]
- RAMSAY.—*The Catechiser's Manual;*
Or, the Church Catechism Illustrated and Explained, for the Use of Clergymen, Schoolmasters, and Teachers. By ARTHUR RAMSAY, M.A. *Second Edition.* 18mo. 1s. 6d.
- RAWLINSON.—*Elementary Statics.*
By G. RAWLINSON, M.A. Edited by EDWARD STURGES, M.A. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Rays of Sunlight for Dark Days.*
A Book of Selections for the Suffering. With a Preface by C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. 18mo. *New Edition.* 3s. 6d. Morocco, old style, 7s. 6d.
- Reform.—Essays on Reform.*
By the Hon. G. C. BRODRICK, R. H. HUTTON, LORD HOUGHTON, A. V. DICEY, LESLIE STEPHEN, J. B. KINNEAR, B. CRACROFT, C. H. PEARSON, GOLDWIN SMITH, JAMES BRYCE, A. L. RUTSON, and Sir GEO. YOUNG. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Questions for a Reformed Parliament.*
By F. H. HILL, GODFREY LUSHINGTON, MEREDITH TOWNSEND, W. L. NEWMAN, C. S. PARKER, J. B. KINNEAR, G. HOOPER, F. HARRISON, Rev. J. E. T. ROGERS, J. M. LUDLOW, and LLOYD JONES. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- REYNOLDS.—*A System of Medicine. Vol. I.*
Edited by J. RUSSELL REYNOLDS, M.D. F.R.C.P. London. PART I. GENERAL DISEASES, or Affections of the Whole System. § I.—Those determined by agents operating from without, such as the exanthemata, malarial diseases, and their allies. § II.—Those determined by conditions existing within the body, such as Gout, Rheumatism, Rickets, &c. PART II. LOCAL DISEASES, or Affections of particular Systems. § I.—Diseases of the Skin. 8vo. 25s.

KEITHLEY.—A System of Medicine. Vol. II.

Part I. § 1.—Diseases of the Nervous System. A. General Nervous Diseases. B. Particular Diseases of the Nervous System. — Diseases of the Head. C. Diseases of the Special Senses. 1. Diseases of the Nervous System. § 2.—Diseases of the Digestive System. A. Diseases of the Stomach. 8vo. 25s.

KEITHLEY.—Notes of the Chromatic Light.

A Selection of Specimens by HERBERT ALBERT KEITHLEY, B.A. President of Christ Church College, and Fellow of University College, London. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

KEITHLEY.—Modern Methods of Elementary Geometry.

By H. M. KEITHLEY, M.A. Mathematics Master in Christ Church College. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

KEITHLEY.—Lectures on the Groupa.

By the Rev. ALEXANDER KEITHLEY, B.D. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. 15s.

KEITHLEY.—Poetry. Course.

By the late JAMES KEITHLEY, D.D. of Glasgow Cathedral, New Edition. With Biographical Sketch by the Author of "Lectures on a Country Parson." 12mo. 7s. 6d.

KEITHLEY.—Life and Reminiscences. [In the Press.]**KEITHLEY.—A Latin Grammar for the Higher Classes in Grammar Schools, based on the "Elementary Latin Grammar."**

By H. J. KEITH, M.A. [In the Press.]

KEITH.—Story of a Household, and other Poems.

By MARY K. KEITH. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

KEITH.—Sermons preached at St. Mary's, Reading.

By WILLIAM KEITH, M.A. First Series. Fcap. 8vo. 6s. Second Series. 6s.

KEITH.—Lectures in Elementary Chemistry, Inorganic and Organic.

By H. E. KEITH, F.R.S. Eighth Edition. 18mo. 4s. 6d.

KEITH.—Works by CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.**Golden Market, and other Poems.**

With Two Designs by D. G. ROSSETTI. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

The Prince's Progress, and other Poems.

With Two Designs by D. G. ROSSETTI. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

KEITH.—Works by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI.**Dante's Comedy, The Hell.**

Translated into Literal Blank Verse. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Five Art, chiefly Contemporary.

Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

- ROUTH.**—*Treatise on Dynamics of Rigid Bodies.*
With Numerous Examples. By E. J. ROUTH, M.A. Crown 8vo.
10s. 6d.
- ROWSSELL.**—*Works by T. J. ROWSELL, M. A.*
The English Universities and the English Poor.
Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. Fcap.
8vo. 2s.
Man's Labour and God's Harvest.
Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in Lent.
1861. Fcap. 8vo. 3s.
- RUFFINI.**—*Vincenzo ; or, Sunken Rocks.*
By JOHN RUFFINI. Three Vols. crown 8vo. 31s. 6d.
- Ruth and her Friends.*
A Story for Girls. With a Frontispiece. *Fourth Edition.*
Royal 16mo. 3s. 6d.
- SCOTT.**—*Discourses.*
By A. J. SCOTT, M.A. late Professor of Logic in Owens College,
Manchester. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Scouring of the White Horse.*
Or, the Long Vacation Ramble of a London Clerk. By the
Author of "Tom Brown's School Days." Illustrated by DOYLE.
Eighth Thousand. Imp. 16mo. 8s. 6d.
- SEATON.**—*A Hand-Book of Vaccination.*
By EDWARD C. SEATON, M.D. Medical Inspector to the Privy
Council. Extra fcap. 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- SELKIRK.**—*Guide to the Cricket Ground.*
By G. H. SELKIRK. With Woodcuts. Extra Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- SELWYN.**—*The Work of Christ in the World.*
By G. A. SELWYN, D.D. Bishop of Lichfield. *Third Edition.*
Crown 8vo. 2s.
- SHAKESPEARE.**—*The Works of William Shakespeare. Cam-
bridge Edition.*
Edited by WM. GEORGE CLARK, M.A. and W. ALDIS WRIGHT,
M.A. Nine Vols. 8vo. cloth. 4l. 14s. 6d.
Shakespeare's Tempest.
With Glossarial and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. J. M.
JEPHSON. 18mo. 1s. 6d.
- SHAIRP.**—*Kilmahoc, and other Poems.*
By J. CAMPBELL SHAIRP. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- SHIRLEY.**—*Elijah ; Four University Sermons.*
I. Samaria. II. Carmel. III. Kishon. IV. Horeb. By W. W.
SHIRLEY, D.D. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

- SMITH (BARNARD).—*Answers to the Shilling Book of Arithmetic.*
18mo. 6d.
- Key to the Shilling Book of Arithmetic.*
18mo. 4s. 6d.
- Examination Papers in Arithmetic.*
In Four Parts. 18mo. 1s. 6d. With Answers, 1s. 9d.
- Key to Examination Papers in Arithmetic.*
18mo. 4s. 6d.
- SMITH.—*Hymns of Christ and the Christian Life.*
By the Rev. WALTER C. SMITH, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.
- SMITH.—*Obstacles to Missionary Success among the Heathen.*
The Maitland Prize Essay for 1867. By W. S. SMITH, M.A.
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- SMITH.—*A Treatise on Elementary Statics.*
By J. H. SMITH, M.A. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
Royal 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- SNOWBALL.—*The Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry.*
By J. C. SNOWBALL, M.A. Tenth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Social Duties considered with Reference to the Organization of Effort in Works of Benevolence and Public Utility.*
By a MAN OF BUSINESS. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- SPENCER.—*Elements of Qualitative Chemical Analysis.*
By W. H. SPENCER, B.A. 4to. 10s. 6d.
- Spring Songs.*
By a WEST HIGHLANDER. With a Vignette Illustration by
GOURLAY STEELE. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.
- STEPHEN.—*General View of the Criminal Law of England.*
By J. FITZ-JAMES STEPHEN. 8vo. 18s.
- STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.—*Shadows of the Past, in Verse.*
By VISCOUNT STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- STRICKLAND.—*On Cottage Construction and Design.*
By C. W. STRICKLAND. With Specifications and Plans. Svo.
7s. 6d.
- Sunday Library for Household Reading. Illustrated.*
Monthly Parts, 1s. ; Quarterly Vols. 4s. Gilt edges, 4s. 6d.
Vol. I.—The Pupils of St. John the Divine, by the Author of
"The Heir of Redclyffe."
Vol. II.—The Hermits, by PROFESSOR KINGSLEY.
Vol. III.—Seekers after God, by the Rev. F. W. FARRAR.

THRING.— *Works by EDWARD THRING, M.A. Head Master of Uppingham.*

A Construing Book.
Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

A Latin Gradual.
A First Latin Construing Book for Beginners. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

The Elements of Grammar taught in English.
Fourth Edition. 18mo. 2s.

The Child's Grammar.
A New Edition. 18mo. 1s.

Sermons delivered at Uppingham School.
Crown 8vo. 5s.

School Songs.
With the Music arranged for Four Voices. Edited by the Rev. EDWARD THRING, M.A. and H. RICCIUS. Small folio. 7s. 6d.

Education and School.
Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

A Manual of Mood Constructions.
Extra fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

THRUPP.— *Works by the Rev. J. F. THRUPP.*

The Song of Songs.
A New Translation, with a Commentary and an Introduction. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Introduction to the Study and Use of the Psalms.
Two Vols. 8vo. 21s.

Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship.
Selected and Edited by the Rev. J. F. THRUPP, M.A. 18mo. 2s. Common paper, 1s. 4d.

The Burden of Human Sin as borne by Christ.
Three Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in Lent, 1865, Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

THUCYDIDES.— *The Sicilian Expedition :*

Being Books VI. and VII. of Thucydides, with Notes. By the Rev. PERCIVAL FROST, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

TODHUNTER (ISAAC).—*Critical History of the Progress of the Calculus of Variations during the Nineteenth Century.*

8vo. 12s.

Examples of Analytical Geometry of Three Dimensions.
Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 4s.

A Treatise on the Theory of Equations.
Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Mathematical Theory of Probability.
8vo. 18s.

Tom Brown's School Days.

By an OLD BOY. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.

Golden Treasury Edition, 4s. 6d.

PEOPLE'S EDITION, 2s.

Tom Brown at Oxford.

By the Author of "Tom Brown's School Days." *New Edition.*

Crown 8vo. 6s.

Tracts for Priests and People. (By various Writers.)

THE FIRST SERIES, Crown 8vo. 8s.

THE SECOND SERIES, Crown 8vo. 8s.

The whole Series of Fifteen Tracts may be had separately, price One Shilling each.

TRENCH.—*Works by R. CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D. Archbishop of Dublin.*

Notes on the Parables of Our Lord.

Tenth Edition. 8vo. 12s.

Notes on the Miracles of Our Lord.

Eighth Edition. 8vo. 12s.

Synonyms of the New Testament.

New Edition. One Vol. 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d.

On the Study of Words.

Twelfth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4s.

English Past and Present.

Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Proverbs and their Lessons.

Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s.

Select Glossary of English Words used formerly in Senses different from the present.

Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4s.

TRENCH (R. CHENEVIX)—*On some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries.*

Second Edition. 8vo. 3s.

Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey.

Second Edition. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Fitness of Holy Scripture for Unfolding the Spiritual Life of Man :

Christ the Desire of all Nations ; or, the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom. Hulsean Lectures. Fcap. 8vo. *Fourth Edition.* 5s.

On the Authorized Version of the New Testament.

Second Edition. 8vo. 7s.

Justin Martyr, and other Poems.

Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

Gustavus Adolphus.—Social Aspects of the Thirty Years' War.

Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Poems.

Collected and arranged anew. Fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Poems from Eastern sources, Genoveva, and other Poems.

Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Elegiac Poems.

Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Calderon's Life's a Dream :

The Great Theatre of the World. With an Essay on his Life and Genius. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Remains of the late Mrs. Richard Trench.

Being Selections from her Journals, Letters, and other Papers. *New and Cheaper Issue.* With Portrait. 8vo. 6s.

Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia.

Third Edition, revised. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Sacred Latin Poetry.

Chiefly Lyrical. Selected and arranged for Use. *Second Edition.* Corrected and Improved. Fcap. 8vo. 7s.

Studies in the Gospels.

Second Edition. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

- TRENCH (R. CHENEVIX).—*Shipwrecks of Faith* :
Three Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in
May, 1867. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- A Household Book of English Poetry.*
Selected and Arranged with Notes. By the ARCHBISHOP OF
DUBLIN. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- TRENCH (REV. FRANCIS).—*Brief Notes on the Greek of
the New Testament (for English Readers).*
Crown 8vo. cloth. 6s.
- TREVELYAN. *Works by G. O. TREVELYAN, M.P.*
The Competition Wallah.
New Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
Cawmpore,
Illustrated with Plan. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- TUDOR.—*The Decalogue viewed as the Christian's Law.*
With Special Reference to the Questions and Wants of the Times.
By the Rev. RICH. TUDOR, B.A. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- TULLOCH.—*The Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of
Modern Criticism.*
Lectures on M. RENAN's "Vie de Jésus." By JOHN TULLOCH,
D.D. Principal of the College of St. Mary, in the University of
St. Andrew. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- TURNER.—*Sonnets.*
By the Rev. CHARLES TENNYSON TURNER. Dedicated to his
Brother, the Poet Laureate. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
Small Tableaux.
By the Rev. C. TURNER. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- TYRWHITT.—*The Schooling of Life.*
By R. St. JOHN TYRWHITT, M.A. Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen,
Oxford. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Vacation Tourists ;*
And Notes of Travel in 1861. Edited by F. GALTON, F.R.S.
With Ten Maps illustrating the Routes. 8vo. 14s.
- Vacation Tourists ;*
And Notes of Travel in 1862 and 1863. Edited by FRANCIS
GALTON, F.R.S. 8vo. 16s.
- VAUGHAN.—*Works by CHARLES J. VAUGHAN, D.D. Vicar
of Doncaster.*
Notes for Lectures on Confirmation.
With suitable Prayers. Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

VAUGHAN.—*Works by* DAVID J. VAUGHAN, M.A. *Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester.*

Sermons preached in St. John's Church, Leicester,
During the Years 1855 and 1856. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Sermons on the Resurrection.
With a Preface. Fcap. 8vo. 3s.

Three Sermons on the Atonement.
1s. 6d.

Sermons on Sacrifice and Propitiation.
2s. 6d.

Christian Evidences and the Bible.
New Edition. Revised and enlarged. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 5s. 6d.

VAUGHAN.—*Memoir of Robert A. Vaughan,*
Author of "Hours with the Mystics." By ROBERT VAUGHAN,
D.D. *Second Edition.* Revised and enlarged. Extra fcap.
8vo. 5s.

VENN.—*The Logic of Chance.*
An Essay on the Foundations and Province of the Theory of Probability, with special reference to its application to Moral and Social Science. By the Rev. J. VENN, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Village Sermons.
By a NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECTOR. With a Preface on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Vittoria Colonna.—Life and Poems.
By MRS. HENRY ROSCOE. Crown 8vo. 9s.

Volunteer's Scrap Book.
By the Author of "The Cambridge Scrap Book." Crown 4to.
7s. 6d.

WAGNER.—*Memoir of the Rev. George Wagner,*
late of St. Stephen's, Brighton. By J. N. SIMPKINSON, M.A.
Third and Cheaper Edition. 5s.

WARREN.—*An Essay on Greek Federal Coinage.*
By the Hon. J. LEICESTER WARREN, M.A. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

WEBSTER.—*Works by* AUGUSTA WEBSTER.

Dramatic Studies.
Extra fcap. 8vo. 5s.

- WEBSTER (AUGUSTA).—*A Woman Sold*,
And other Poems. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Prometheus Bound, of Æschylus*,
Literally Translated into English Verse. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Medea of Euripides*,
Literally Translated into English Verse. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- WESTCOTT.—*Works by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT. B.D.*
- A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the
New Testament during the First Four Centuries.*
Second Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Characteristics of the Gospel Miracles.*
Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. *With
Notes.* Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Introduction to the Study of the Four Gospels.*
Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- The Gospel of the Resurrection.*
Thoughts on its Relation to Reason and History. *New Edition.*
Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- The Bible in the Church.*
A Popular Account of the Collection and Reception of the Holy
Scriptures in the Christian Churches. *Second Edition.* 18mo.
4s. 6d.
- Westminster Plays.*
Lusus Alteri Westmonasterienses, Sive Prologi et Epilogi ad
Fabulas in S^ti Petri Collegio: actas qui Exstabant collecti et
justa quoad licuit annorum serie ordinati, quibus accedit Decla-
mationum quæ vocantur et Epigrammatum Delectus. Curan-
tibus J. MURE, A.M., H. BULL, A.M., C. B. SCOTT, B.D.
8vo. 12s. 6d.
- IDEM.—Pars Secunda, 1820—1865. Quibus accedit Epigram-
matum Delectus. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- WILSON.—*Works by GEORGE WILSON, M.D.*
- Counsels of an Invalid.*
Letters on Religious Subjects. With Vignette Portrait. Fcap.
8vo. 4s. 6d.
- Religio Chemicæ.*
With a Vignette beautifully engraved after a Design by Sir
NOEL PATON. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- WILSON (GEORGE).—*The Five Gateways of Knowledge.*
New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. Or in Paper Covers, 1s.
- The Progress of the Telegraph.*
Fcap. 8vo. 1s.

- WILSON.—*An English, Hebrew, and Chaldee Lexicon and Concordance.*
By WILLIAM WILSON, D.D. Canon of Winchester. *Second Edition.* 4to. 25s.
- WILSON.—*Memoir of George Wilson, M.D. F.R.S.E.*
Regius Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh.
By HIS SISTER. *New Edition.* Crown 8vo. 6s.
- WILSON.—*Works by DANIEL WILSON, L.L.D.*
Prehistoric Annals of Scotland.
New Edition. With numerous Illustrations. Two Vols. demy 8vo. 36s.
Prehistoric Man.
New Edition. Revised and partly re-written, with numerous Illustrations. One Vol. 8vo. 21s.
- WILSON.—*A Treatise on Dynamics.*
By W. P. WILSON, M.A. 8vo. 9s. 6d.
- WILSON.—*Elementary Geometry.*
PART I.—Angles, Triangles, Parallels, and Equivalent Figures, with the application to Problems. By J. M. WILSON, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Mathematical Master at Rugby. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
- WINSLOW.—*Force and Nature. Attraction and Repulsion.*
The Radical Principles of Energy graphically discussed in their Relations to Physical and Morphological Development. By C. F. WINSLOW, M.D. 8vo. [In the press.]
- WOLLASTON.—*Lyra Devonicensis.*
By T. V. WOLLASTON, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- WOLSTENHOLME.—*A Book of Mathematical Problems.*
Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.
- WOODFORD.—*Christian Sanctity.*
By JAMES RUSSELL WOODFORD, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. cloth. 3s.
- WOODWARD.—*Works by the Rev. HENRY WOODWARD, edited by his Son, THOMAS WOODWARD, M.A. Dean of Down.*
Essays, Thoughts and Reflections, and Letters.
Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
The Shunammite.
Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
Sermons.
Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- WOOLLEY.—*Lectures delivered in Australia.*
By the late JOHN WOOLLEY, D.C.L. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Works by the Author of
 "THE HEIR OF REDCLYFFE."

- The Prince and the Page.* A Book for the Young. 18mo. 3s. 6d.
A Book of Golden Deeds. 18mo. 4s. 6d. Cheap Edition, 1s.
History of Christian Names. Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 1l. 1s.
The Heir of Redclyffe. Fifteenth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
Dynevor Terrace. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
The Daisy Chain. Tenth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
The Trial: More Links of the Daisy Chain. Third Edition. Crown
 8vo. 6s.
Heartsease. Ninth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
Hopes and Fears. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
The Young Stepmother. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.
The Lances of Lynwood. 18mo. cloth. 3s. 6d.
The Little Duke. New Edition. 18mo. cloth. 3s. 6d.
Clever Woman of the Family. Crown. 8vo. 6s.
Danvers Papers; an Invention. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
Dove in the Eagle's Nest. Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 12s.
Cameos from English History. From Rollo to Edward II. Extra
 fcap. 8vo. 5s.
Book of Worthies. [In the Press.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CLASS BOOKS.

The Volumes of this Series of ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CLASS BOOKS are handsomely printed in a form that, it is hoped, will assist the young Student as much as clearness of type and distinctness of arrangement can effect. They are published at a moderate price, to insure an extensive sale in the Schools of the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

Euclid for Colleges and Schools.

By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. F.R.S. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

Algebra for Beginners.

By I. TODHUNTER, M.A. F.R.S. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Key to Algebra for Beginners.

Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

The School Class Book of Arithmetic.

By BARNARD SMITH, M.A. Parts I. and II. 18mo. limp cloth, price 16d. each. Part III. 1s.; or Three Parts in one Volume, price 3s.

KEY TO CLASS BOOK OF ARITHMETIC.

Complete, 18mo. cloth, price 6s. 6d. Or separately, Parts I. II. & III. 2s. 6d. each.

Mythology for Latin Versification.

A Brief Sketch of the Fables of the Ancients, prepared to be rendered into Latin Verse for Schools. By F. HODGSON, B.D. *New Edition.* Revised by F. C. HODGSON, M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 18mo. 3s.

A Latin Gradual for Beginners.

A First Latin Construing Book. By EDWARD THRING, M.A. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Shakespeare's Tempest.

The Text taken from "The Cambridge Shakespeare." With Glossarial and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. J. M. JEPHSON. 18mo. cloth. limp. 1s. 6d.

Lessons in Elementary Botany.

The Part on Systematic Botany based upon Material left in Manuscript by the late Professor HENSLOW. With nearly Two Hundred Illustrations. By DANIEL OLIVER, F.R.S. F.L.S. 18mo. cloth. 4s. 6d.

Lessons in Elementary Physiology.

With numerous Illustrations. By T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S. Professor of Natural History in the Government School of Mines. 18mo. 4s. 6d.

Popular Astronomy.

A Series of Lectures delivered at Ipswich. By GEORGE BIDDELL AIRY, Astronomer Royal. 18mo. cloth. 4s. 6d.

Lessons in Elementary Chemistry.

By HENRY ROSCOE, F.R.S. Professor of Chemistry in Owens College, Manchester. With numerous Illustrations. 18mo. cloth. 4s. 6d.

An Elementary History of the Book of Common Prayer.

By FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

Algebraical Exercises.

Progressively arranged by Rev. C. A. JONES, M.A. and C. H. CHEYNE, M.A. Mathematical Masters in Westminster School. 18mo. cloth. 2s. 6d.

The Bible in the Church.

A Popular Account of the Collection and Reception of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Churches. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, B.D. 18mo. 4s. 6d.

The Bible Word Book.

A Glossary of Old English Bible Words. By J. EASTWOOD, M.A. and W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A. 18mo. 5s. 6d.

MACMILLAN AND CO. LONDON.

()

